

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Lords' vote is new threat to blacks

by Paul Foot

A LEGAL DECISION on Monday by four peers has opened the door to another wave of harassment in Britain's black communities.

The decision to make the 1971 Immigration Act 'retrospective' gives the Home Office the power to deport any immigrant who came into the country against the provisions of the Act—even if they came into the country before the Act was passed.

Before the Act 'illegal entry' could not be punished by deportation if the immigrant had lived in Britain for more than six months.

Now, thanks to Lord Wilberforce and his colleagues, anyone who came into the country illegally at any time since July 1962 is liable to deportation.

This decision does not only affect the three men who took their case to the House of Lords this week, one of whom, Mohammad Azam, has been in Pentonville jail since 1971.

The fate of 25 other Asians now in jail has been settled by the Lords' decision. About 5000 others throughout Britain suddenly find themselves liable to



Wilberforce: open door to harassment

deportation, to police harassment, and above all, to blackmail.

Many of these men and women have mortgaged more than half their earnings to the racketeers who got them here in the first place. Now the racketeers, working hand in pocket with the police, will demand more money for their silence.

The racials in the Home Office and the police force are preparing for a field day in the black communities.

The Daily Telegraph on Tuesday reported 'Whitehall sources' as indicating that 'illegal immigrants would be picked up in ones and twos as their names became known'.

Enoch Powell has done his war dance, and the Tory leaders have no choice but to join in. Powellite pressure has almost completely stopped black immigration into this country.

In the first quarter of this year 39 workers were allowed into the country from India, six from Pakistan, four from Jamaica, four from Trinidad and three from Barbados.

Even the number of dependants allowed in were down from 9176 to 6734.

Racialists have stopped the flow of black immigration. Now they are turning their attention to the blacks already here.

They can count on the support at all stages of Lord Wilberforce, Law Lords, judges, magistrates and Tory barbarians everywhere.

Fight this poison: see page 6

Chrysler bosses slander workers

THE LIARS

by Laurie Flynn
SW Industrial Reporter

CHRYSLER CAR BOSSES are using lies and deception to distort the facts about the strike at the Ryton plant and to malign the workers. And they are backed by an hysterical press campaign that shrieks about 'shoddy workmanship' and 'bad industrial relations'.

The real facts are these:
● The management provoked the strike de-

liberately to avoid paying lay-off money.

● The management forced through rejected work against the workers' wishes—and then accused them of 'shoddy work'.

● The management inflated the strike record

by including stoppages over shop floor safety hazards.

The present battle at Ryton started when management provoked a strike to get out of paying lay-off money to the men because of a dispute at the Chrysler plant at Linwood in Scotland. Management's tactics were a carbon copy of those used in Linwood in February. Then they provoked a strike in Scotland to dodge paying for lay-offs caused by a Coventry dispute.

And in both cases management forced through sub-standard work and then declared: 'We're not paying for this.' Workers either accepted being clocked off—or went on strike.

At Ryton, sub-standard car panels had their reject stickers removed by foremen and were sent through the paint shop.

As soon as the men struck, Chrysler yelled about the plant's 'appalling' industrial record—and released details to the millionaire press. These seekers-after-truth did not look beyond the company handout to discover how the record is made up.

For example, Chrysler claims that on 17 April 600 men at Ryton stopped work for six minutes. What the firm does not say is that the men stopped work until management agreed to clean up a spillage of underseal on the factory floor.

It is contrary to all safety practices—and the law—for men to work with spillages on the floor. Chrysler wanted the men to carry on, regardless of the fact that the hazard was a serious threat to the men.

Chrysler management has also wheeled out the predictable threat that 'future investment in Britain' was threatened by the 'appalling industrial record' at Ryton. But the firm has no precise details about its plans for new investment—hardly surprising, because it has no plans for any significant new investment.

REFUSED

Stewards at Linwood have demanded investment in new plant for years. Chrysler has refused consistently.

And even now there is a boom in the British market, Chrysler is determined to get increased production without any major new investment in plant. The speed of the production line has been increased and, because the car giants do not expect the British boom to last for long, they are going to sub-contractors for parts they cannot get by speed-up in their own factories.

The Ryton workers are particularly incensed by the charge they make shoddy cars. They do not dispute the fact that the firm produces shoddy cars.

This is not a new development. Ryton stewards have been complaining to management about such dodges for nine months. And they use one story in particular to illustrate the situation.

Both during and after the strike at Pilkington's glass works in 1970, Chrysler could not get windscreens from the firm. So 11,000 were brought in from Venezuela and proved to be too small.

Management ordered that they should be installed—with rubber filler and cork to make up the difference.

Where profits are concerned anything goes—including shoddy work, lies and slander against the workers.



Ryton flying picket turning away a lorry from the Chrysler Stoke plant on Monday. Picture: Christopher Davies (Report). The workers' story: back page. Editorial comment: page 3. Chrysler pay claim: page 12

Rachman is alive

10 years' ago a new word was coined: Rachmanism. It was named after Peter Rachman, the notorious slum landlord who used thugs and vicious dogs to terrorise private tenants to leave their flats so that rents could be pushed up. In spite of government pledges to stamp out this evil, Rachmanism is on the march again. A Socialist Worker investigation is on the centre pages.



PLUS this week:
Lofthouse, week two: page 2
Labour's policy: page 3
Iceland's fight: page 4
New threat to miners: page 7

End of the Shelter illusion: page 9
You Can Say That Again!—new series: page 10
Tom Clarke's TV column: page 11
Your letters: page 13

Fine Tubes strikers call it a day

THE three-years-old strike at the Fine Tubes factory in Plymouth ended this week. The workers voted to call off their long fight for union rights at the American-owned firm.

The strike is one of the longest in the history of the British labour movement. It inspired widespread support, blacking action and factory collections in every part of the country.

The one vital ingredient missing was a determination by the leaders of the Transport Workers and the Engineers to back the Plymouth strikers. A special report on the end of the heroic strike and how union officials pressurised the strike committee to tone down their final statement is on page 14.

Don't stop the line— it's only a dead man...

AT ABOUT 4.30pm on 5 June, Mick Milleric ceased to exist and passed into history. Not that any historian will ever remember him, for Mick was an unremarkable man. He was a Ford worker and he worked at the Leamington Plant for 21 years.

In all that time he was only off sick for two days. The second time was the day before his death when 'he didn't feel too good.' Mick was in his middle fifties, Irish by birth, and unassuming by nature. He was one of those men who do not like to be a bother to other people, hard working and dependable.

If he had lived he would have earned his retirement after years of faithful service to the company for which he worked. No inquest has been held yet, but his death was from 'natural causes'.

On the morning of 5 June he presented himself at Ford medical complaining of pains in his chest. His blood pressure was taken and found to be normal.

He was released from the medical department and told to come back in the afternoon. This he did and reported that he felt better. He then returned to his job.

Normally the plant doctor attends at noon. One wonders why he was not seen by that doctor. However these questions can be answered later at the inquest.

What may not be revealed at the inquest is that when he died of a heart attack he was in the plant on a gantry above a moving track of molten castings. To one side of the gantry was a moving line of baskets containing hot castings on their way to the cooling tower.

He died as he had lived—quietly. The rescue teams were alerted and rushed to his aid. After 24 minutes he was brought down to ground level and taken to the sick bay dead.

Morbid

And the lines didn't stop—not even when they were lowering Mick down from the gantry. They stopped for two minutes after he had been brought down—and then restarted. The following day a joint works committee was held and the inevitable question asked as to why the lines had not stopped.

The sickening reply from Mr Newton, production manager, was: 'The lines did not stop because we did not want morbid sightseers around that could hinder recovery work. And in any event we wanted the men on production to take their minds off what had happened.' Crap.

When Mick's body was recovered he was lowered like so much meat and bones to the shop floor. His head was banging against stanchions. And at one stage, an eye-witness said, his body almost became fouled with the casting baskets.

And what about the danger to the recovery teams with the lines still running? Think again, Mr Newton, it won't wash, not with us.

There is a quiet anger on the shop floor. It can be felt in all corners of the plant. It is the kind of anger born of despair. Despair that a man who has given years of faithful service can be treated in such an inhuman way. That a man can die and it doesn't show on the production sheets. That a man should dare to die in company time and his workmates expect the track to stop.

Let the record book show that yet another sacrifice has been made to the great god production and will be forgotten when the next shift starts, at least by the management.

Goodbye Mick. I didn't know you very well, and you didn't know me very well. But you knew what we were fighting for and what it was all about. And I guess that's all the epitaph a man needs.

Tony Barrow

Shop Steward, Ford Leamington

COAL BOSSES BLASTED BY UNION

THE public inquiry into the Lofthouse Colliery disaster ended at Wakefield last Friday with Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers president, putting 25 recommendations to the Commissioner, James Calder, Chief Inspector of Mines and Quarries.

Calder now has to prepare his report for Peter Walker, Tory Minister for Trade and Industry. The inquiry was told last Monday by Peter Wood, Lofthouse Colliery surveyor, that when he drew up the plans for the development of the doomed S9B face, he consulted several old 19th century documents. One of these was of a section of the Bye Pit, an old abandoned shaft that collapsed at the time of the fatal inrush.

He discussed this document with Eric Radcliffe, senior surveyor for the North Yorkshire area of the National Coal Board, and they both decided that the Bye Pit extended only as far as the Haig Moor seam—though the section clearly showed that the shaft went 80 yards lower to the Flockton seam, only 70 yards from face S9B where the inrush killed the seven miners.

CONCERNED

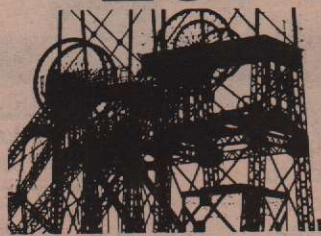
Wood told the inquiry that John Oliver, under-manager on the S9B district, had told him about the water on the unit, but had not mentioned the smell. Mr Wood said that Oliver had seemed more concerned than anything else about the production life of the face.

Wood and Radcliffe described a visit they had made in September 1970 to the Institute of Geological Sciences in Leeds, where they examined a 19th century geologist's field map of the area. This showed the Bye Pit lying directly between Low Laithes Colliery and Alverthorpe Colliery. All the pits in the area seemed to have formed an extensive mining complex.

Both collieries on the map had been marked X111.74. The geologist, Prof A H Green, had written this in as a reference to his supplementary notes. These notebooks are available at the Institute of Geological Sciences but neither Wood nor Radcliffe were aware of them.

The notes referred to page 74 of notebook 13 which reads: 'Low Laithes Colliery sunk 80 yards below Haig Moor and bored 38 yards lower at the Bye Pit.' Beside this

LOFTHOUSE



**Bill Message
at the last week
of the inquiry**

there are some scribbled figures indicating the depth of the Bye Pit to be 663 ft. This corresponds exactly with the measurements taken nearly a century later by NCB officials after the shaft had collapsed and the men on S9B had died.

COMPETENT

Dr Edward Francis, assistant director of the Institute of Geological Sciences, said that there was a record of the surveyors' visit to the Institute in September 1970, but according to the records they had only visited the library. There was no record of any consultation with a geologist on the staff, neither could any geologists at the Institute recall the visit.

From what Dr Francis said it was clear that neither surveyor was apparently competent to interpret

the maps without expert guidance.

Dr Francis also revealed that before the Coal Board reorganisation in 1967 it had been policy for a qualified NCB geologist to consult the Institute over such matters.

Since 1967 NCB surveyors, with no special geological knowledge, had visited the Institute, without consulting the staff about the interpretation of crucial geological documents.

It is a sadly ironic comment that the NCB reorganisation in the mid-60s productivity drive not only took away the jobs of thousands of miners, it also took away the lives of seven miners in Lofthouse.

When making his submission on behalf of the NUM at the end of the inquiry last week, Arthur Scargill said: 'Mr Commissioner, I would invite you to consider that there may have been a breach of the Mines and Quarries Act section 75 by those people whose responsibility



SCARGILL: breach of the Act?

it was, under that section, to ensure that all information was in their possession, regarding all old workings, old shafts, and water bearing strata etc.'

PROCEDURE

Mr Scargill went on to list 25 recommendations for the location and treatment of old shafts, adequate research work and planning of new faces, immediate and thorough investigation of any abnormalities at any pit, and thorough training in emergency procedure for all miners.

Dr Leslie Willett, for the Coal Board, tried to show in his submission that the NCB bore no real responsibility for the disaster. In a remarkable statement, he claimed that 'too much fuss had been made about the water that had appeared on the face prior to the inrush.'

Meanwhile, humane chiefs wield jobs axe

GOMERSALL Colliery lies seven miles to the west of Lofthouse and it has a long history of being one of the most profitable pits in the North Yorkshire coalfield. But its days are numbered if the Coal Board has its way.

The NCB claims that Gomersall is threatened by the same dangers highlighted by the Lofthouse disaster, but Barry Wilson, the local NUM branch president, is convinced that the board is using this as an excuse to close the pit.

Thomas Wright, the NCB North Yorkshire area director, announced after the Lofthouse tragedy that Gomersall would close on 30 June, although no official reason has been given.

Board officials claimed to be worried about two old shafts and work on two faces was suspended immediately after the Lofthouse inrush. Work on the other face also stopped.

The board rented a five-acre field at a cost of £3,750 to probe two shafts. It was found to be a dry-wall lined shaft with a diameter of just seven feet and only 22ft deep—perfectly safe.

The other shaft, which was believed to be brick-lined and much larger and therefore more dangerous, was never touched. It lay on the other side of the fenced-off area. No further shaft-probing work has been carried out.

Barry Wilson told me that he was convinced that these antics were 'just a method of stalling for time.'

The real reason that the NCB

want to close Gomersall is because they no longer consider it to be a profitable pit. The death of the seven miners at Lofthouse, caused by Coal Board incompetence, is simply an excuse for closure. Barry Wilson told me that there are at least another two million tons of coal in reserves at the pit, mostly in the untapped Black Bed seam.

He blames the 'unprofitability' of the pit on board planners, who he says, 'have gone at the coal available at Gomersall like a man with no teeth eating crusty bread.' In other words they have torn the soft heart out of the coal seams without any regard for overall planning.

Three hundred and eighty men were employed at the pit, two thirds

of whom are still there on salvage work. Others have been 'redeployed' to Lofthouse, Wheldale, and Kellingley collieries. Some men have to travel 20 miles to work at Kellingley.

Twelve months ago the NCB closed Thorne Hill Colliery, near Gomersall. Men working there were offered jobs at Gomersall, which was described as being a 'long-life pit'. Pit electrician Dennis Brooks, who worked at Thorne Hill, didn't trust the board and he went straight to the new show-piece pit at Kellingley. Others were not so lucky.

Barry Wilson told me: 'Some of the men at Gomersall have been at three or four pits. One lad I know of has been at six. They just have us like

nomads.'

Gomersall was the western-most pit left in the North Yorkshire coalfield. Many of the men at the pit are dispirited and just want to take their redundancy money to get out of an industry that offers them no security, though there are few other jobs in the Gomersall area.

The NUM is appealing against the proposed closure with the NCB in London, but there is little hope of the death sentence being commuted. The union should be pressing the Coal Board to carry out extensive tests in the area to prove whether it is safe to continue work at the pit, and whether it is safety or 'economics' that lies behind the closure.

Bill Message

Corruption charge on police

A TOP NORWICH policeman and a former inspector in the force were sent for trial to Norwich Crown Court last week on corruption charges.

Inspector Roy Browne Woodhouse of the city police traffic department and the former inspector, Frank North, are charged with offering bribes to other policemen so that they did not proceed against a promi-

nent Norwich businessman on an alleged speeding offence.

Both North and Woodhouse were charged on two counts of conspiracy to offer inducements to police officers.

Woodhouse is also charged with corruptly offering two bottles of whisky each to two constables in return for their agreement not to

report speeding allegations against company director Adrian Serruys to their superior officers.

North was charged with counselling and procuring Woodhouse to offer bribes and also with offering a policeman a bottle of whisky in return for an agreement not to breath test Mr Serruys.



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editorial

LABOUR'S PLAN TO PROP UP BOSSES

by Sabby Sagall

THE LABOUR PARTY'S latest policy document Labour's Programme for Britain was published last week amid a great fanfare of publicity. Those proposals which claim to entail a 'fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people' provoked a torrent of disclaimers from Harold Wilson and right-wing stalwarts such as Denis Healey and Anthony Crosland.

General Secretary Ron Hayward is at great pains in his foreword to emphasise that the document is a programme, not a manifesto. In other words, we are warned in advance that the parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party will jettison any proposals that provoke a head-on collision with the ruling class.

The document, however, insists that 'basic socialist goals must lie at the very heart of our policies', that power must be made 'fully accountable to the community, to workers and to the consumer.'

FANTASTIC

Praiseworthy objectives indeed, which the document claims must be met if Labour's economic strategy of full employment, sustained growth, regional balance and rising living standards is to be realised. The document correctly points out that the share of output of the hundred leading manufacturing companies has risen from 20 per cent in 1950 to 50 per cent in 1970.

But one small point is omitted—the policies of the last Labour government were instrumental in bringing about this fantastic rise in the concentration of private economic power.

The years 1964-1970 are quietly forgotten and the leopard appears to have changed his spots. For now we are told that 'if the causes of inequality are to be attacked at their roots, economic power must be transferred from a small elite to the mass of the people.'

An expanded public sector will ensure that this shift occurs. Labour proposes to set up a National Enterprise Board to enlarge the public sector and 'to exercise control in the area of profitable manufacturing industry.'

However, when it comes to hard commitments, the only industries



No discrimination against bosses: Wilson and Callaghan launching Labour's programme

Labour appears serious about nationalising are the docks, the aircraft industry and shipbuilding, industries either heavily dependent on state investment or, as with the docks, vital to the efficient running of British capitalism as a whole.

The big banks and insurance companies and the drug industry are referred to as candidates not for outright nationalisation but for a Royal Commission in the case of the financial institutions and 'some element of public ownership' in the pharmaceuticals.

As regards the 100 top manufacturing firms, Labour is concerned merely to 'influence and shape their strategic programmes on investment, location, training and import substitution,' a proposal which hardly amounts to transferring 'economic power from a small elite to the mass of the people' even if the ruling class were to allow Harold Wilson to carry it out.

After all what had happened to Harold's much-vaunted National Plan by 1966? It was quietly shelved under the pressure of international capitalism's demands for deflationary policies.

The crux of Labour's new programme is not any kind of real transfer of power in society from one class to another but economic planning, not transforming the existing economic system but merely raising its level of efficiency. Indeed, the document openly states that any new public enterprise would be one of the main pillars of Labour's future planning.

Such planning and public enterprise would enable a Labour government to encourage much higher levels of investment in manufacturing which in the past 'has shown itself to be highly resistant to incentives and exhortations.'

In a society in which the levers of economic power are in the hands of a tiny minority, economic planning and nationalisation have nothing to do with social reforms or increasing democratic control. They are concerned solely with improving the overall efficiency and profitability of British capitalism, enabling it, or rather forcing it, to compete more effectively on the world market.

ENTERPRISE

Both Labour and Tory governments have run nationalised industries just like any other capitalist enterprise.

In addition, the so-called 'public sector', far from being in competition with private industry became its ally and tool. The nationalised industries have provided goods and services to the private sector at well below their true cost. Further, successive governments have restricted the expansion of the nationalised industries whenever this threatened to transform them into competitors of private industry.

And while the public sector has been systematically milked by private interests, the standard dominating the nationalised industries themselves have been purely commercial. The objective was never to satisfy social needs but how to make ends meet.

In this way, the state uses workers in the public sector as chopping-blocks to discipline the working class as a whole. Miners, railwaymen, electricity supply workers and gasmen have in recent years been victims of vicious productivity deals resulting in intensified workloads and massive redundancies. Their wages have lagged behind those of many workers in the private sector.

Steelworkers are currently fighting for their lives against government plans to slash the labour force by at least 50,000 in the interests of greater international competitiveness.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

THE CONFERENCE of the Scottish Liberal Party was told by its president, Russell Johnston, MP, that he was writing to the 'top 100 industrial companies in Scotland' asking them for money. The Liberal Party would say to big business, said Johnston: 'You must pay for your politics and for better-ordered government.'

Of course, big business pays already. It finances the Tory Party. With yet another 'Liberal revival' underway it is useful to hear from the horse's own mouth that the Liberals are an alternative Tory Party devoted to the politics of big business.

The fact remains that at a time of unparalleled inflation, with wage rises kept well below price increases, regular rent increase and rocketing house prices, the popular discontent with the government, insofar as it can be measured by elections, is not leading to increased support for the Labour Party. On the contrary, each successive round of local elections this year has shown a fall in the proportionate Labour vote. Even Dick Taverne's renegades were able to rout the Labour Party at Lincoln.

The 'third party' successes show that deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the Tories is matched by general scepticism and lack of enthusiasm for the Labour Party. And, of course, the usual voices are raised to tell us that this is because the party is too 'left wing'.

Mr Anthony Crosland, who once wrote a book explaining that capitalism no longer exists, adds his mite to the Tory propaganda campaign with talk of 'half-baked' plans for nationalisation. What Crosland objects to is not that the plans are 'half-baked'. He does not propose a 'full-baked' alternative. He objects to the Labour Party having any policy that is substantially different from that of the Tories.

The truth is that the right wing of the Labour Party has no perspective other than that of waiting until some day the electors turn out Heath in sheer disgust. They agree with the Tories about the Common Market, about incomes policy, about the need for state control of the unions—about pretty well every big issue you can think of. They are anti-Tory only in that they want to get their own snouts in the ministerial trough—and that means pushing aside the present guzzlers.

The left wing of the Labour Party does have a perspective—a 'left Labour government' that will introduce 'fair shares' and nationalise some big companies. The trouble with this (as the article on this page shows) is that it is an unrealistic perspective, as the experience of four Labour governments—each one led by a former 'left-winger'—proves. The memory of the Wilson government is too fresh for the 'left wingers' to deceive many people, other than themselves. That is the basic cause of the erosion of the party's electoral support.

The job of socialists in this situation is not to waste time and energy 'resolution mongering' with a view to getting still more 'left wing' resolutions through the next Labour Party conference. The job is to build the socialist alternative at the grass roots.

Mr Hunt's 'democracy'

WE LIVE, so we are always being told, in a democracy where we all have a say in what happens. This 'democracy' has a 'national interest' which we should support because it is really our interest, as we are all running the show.

Mr Gilbert Hunt of Chrysler UK has just announced that unless he gets his own way in a dispute he himself provoked there will be no more investment in an important section of the British car industry. Actually, Mr Hunt decides nothing. He is merely the nominee of a handful of multi-millionaires in Detroit. They decide. So much for 'democracy'. So much for the 'national interest'.

Not that our home-grown capitalists pay any greater heed to the alleged democratic national interest. 'The birth of the giant new Hill Samuel bank,' proclaims the big business weekly The Economist following the bank's merger with Slater-Walker, 'is liable to have a greater effect on the ordinary British citizen than any such transient event as the temporary election of a new government.' The Economist is right. It will be time to talk about democracy when working people have kicked out the Gilbert Hunts and the Slater-Walkers. Not before.

Plot to amend union law in bid for TUC pay pact

by Laurie Flynn
SW Industrial Reporter

THE PACKAGE the Tory government is prepared to offer the TUC in return for agreement on a voluntary Phase Three of the incomes policy for the autumn is becoming increasingly clear.

The Commission on Industrial Relations is now looking at a precise formulation for employment minister Maurice Macmillan's negotiating brief.

Macmillan approached the CIR secretly last week and asked for assistance in preparing amendments to the Industrial Relations Act.

As Socialist Worker reported five weeks ago, the Tories are prepared to offer a deal whereby unregistered unions can obtain agency shop agreements and National Industrial Relations Court proceedings will be started only with the consent of the Attorney General, the chief government law and order man.

The council of the CIR started work on the brief last week and it will be ready for the Downing Street talks when they resume shortly.

The Tories are pinning a great deal on getting the TUC leaders to accept amendments that will restore some credibility to an Act shattered by successive rank and file challenges last year.

Sir John Donaldson, the NIRC president, at least is convinced that there is a considerable likelihood of success.

'With the kind of judgements I have been giving recently, every union will soon be coming before my court,' he said in a recent speech to a luncheon of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. Donaldson has been primed to give supposedly pro-union judgements at the NIRC as part of the softening up process on the union leaders. But most of these have been reversed in the Court of Appeal.

The Tory government is also pursuing another tack. It is directing the Police and Director of Public Prosecutions to use existing criminal law to attack rank and file trade unionists.

'Workable'

There may be a 'sweet' face for the trade union leaders concerning amendments which would make the Industrial Relations Act more 'workable'. But the conspiracy laws are being neatly lined up to deal with effective rank and file action.

UCATT and the TGWU have both refused the most minimal assistance to the 27 North Wales building workers who are currently facing a battery of conspiracy and other charges at Shrewsbury.

And it is possible that the trade union leaders are prepared to swallow the use of criminal charges in return for soft peddling on the Industrial Relations Act.



BRIEFING

ARGENTINA: General Peron, the ex-dictator of the Argentine whose party was restored to power at the presidential elections earlier this year, has launched a vigorous attack on the Trotskyists and 'extremists' of the urban guerrilla movement after two industrialists were kidnapped by guerrilla groups—both were later released.

This would not be surprising, in view of Peron's anti-socialist past and his reliance on trade union bureaucrats for his main core of support, but during the election campaign both Peron and his

presidential candidate Campora refused to condemn guerrilla activities, and turned a blind eye to the guerrilla-type 'special forces' among young people in their own movement. Peron publicly hinted that if he had been younger he might have considered joining them.

Now the honeymoon is over, Peron is returning soon to the Argentine, and the slogan is now: 'Planning and discipline: the new order.'

CHILE: A strike by miners at one of the country's biggest copper mines is being

used by the opposition to try to bring down President Allende and his Popular Unity government.

The strikers are demanding a 40 per cent wage increase in addition to the 100 per cent increase already granted by the government. Since inflation in Chile last year was 163 per cent, the government's increase still leaves workers well behind the rise in the cost of living. Allende's reaction was to place the strike area under military control: one worker has been killed by an army vehicle and the soldiers have fired shots in the air.

But the miners' resistance to the government's repression is being used by others. The local offices of all the Popular Unity parties have been attacked, and the secretary of the Young Communists seriously injured by a bomb. These attacks are the work of right-wing extremists, but those who stand to benefit are the Christian Democrats, who have more peacefully brought their leading figures to join the picket line.

EASTERN EUROPE: Beside the propaganda image of women liberated by equal work with men, some facts must be placed. In Czechoslovakia, where equal pay is prescribed by law, a third of women actually get less than men for doing the same job. In Hungary, the opportunities for equal work are less: among skilled workers, men outnumber women by four to one.

The division of labour within the family has taken new forms, especially in the less-developed East European countries, where the men often commute to factory jobs from rural areas, leaving the women to keep up the farms.

As well as doing hard and lower-paid work, East European women are expected to produce and maintain larger families. In Czechoslovakia, concern over the divorce rate and juvenile delinquency has led to a new stress on femininity and motherhood. In Bulgaria and Rumania, recent measures such as the banning of abortion, limiting of contraception and increased family allowances are part of a strategy for population increase—while at the same time Rumania wants to almost double the female labour force.

A recent survey by the Czechoslovakian government revealed that three-fifths of women workers suffer from constant fatigue as a result of their double task as workers and housewives.

SOUTH VIETNAM: The torture and murder of political prisoners continues while the peacemakers talk. There was a new wave of repression in April and May, when at one concentration camp five prisoners were beaten or tortured to death and the police attacked the women and children's quarters. When a warder was killed, some of the political prisoners were moved to a Saigon prison on civil charges.

The notorious 'tiger cages' are still in use in special detention camps, and some prison hospitals produce death more regularly than cures. A doctor at one camp is said to have told prisoners: 'It takes only a simple injection—and we have the right to give it—to send you to Hill 37 [the prison cemetery].'

ICELAND FIGHTS FOR LIFE—AND PROFITS

by Norah Carlin

IN Iceland's struggle against the profit-grabbing British trawler owners bent on over-fishing and the destruction of Iceland's fishing industry, a leading role has been played by Fisheries Minister Ludvik Josefsson.

Josefsson is a member of the Common People's Alliance, Iceland's equivalent of a communist party, which has been in the government since 1971.

Much has been made of 'Communist Minister Josefsson' by the British press and television, but the presence of Communists in the government does not mean that Iceland in the present struggle is fighting for socialism.

The Icelandic fishing industry, like the British, is controlled by big trawler owners. Few fishermen own their own boats, and the workers who clean and pack the fish, mainly women, are casually employed and poorly paid. Josefsson was himself a director of big fishing firms from 1944 to 1952.

Most Icelandic workers are concentrated in light industry, the building trade and various services in the towns. Though agriculture employs only about 13 per cent of workers, the other main party in the coalition government, the Progressive party, draws the core of its support from farmers.

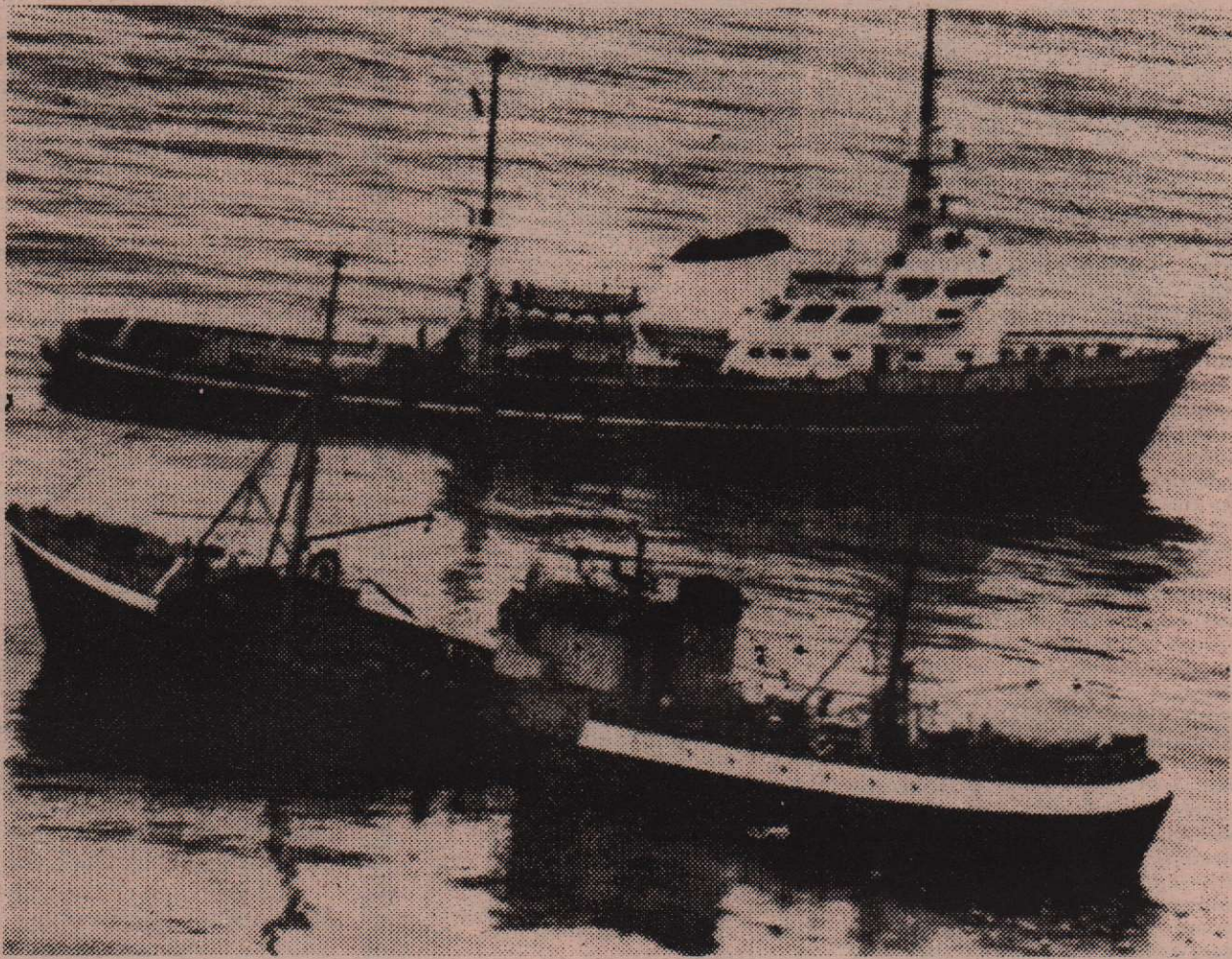
PRESERVE

From 1958 to 1971 Iceland was ruled by the right-wing Independence Party, a united party of Iceland's capitalist class, who depend heavily on foreign trade and investment. In those 13 years American influence in Iceland grew, especially through its troops and the NATO bases there, and the fight to preserve the fishing grounds, begun in the mid-1950s, was called off.

The government today certainly represents a turn to the left compared with the Independence government. The programme on which it was elected in 1971 included higher wages for low-paid workers, better social services, and more government intervention in the economy (though no more nationalisation).

The raising of fishermen's wages which it carried out almost immediately was done with the co-operation of the boat and trawler owners, who realised that they needed to offer higher wages to attract the labour they needed.

A foreign policy more independent of NATO, without leaving NATO altogether, is also part of the government's programme. But this problem has not yet been tackled directly,



The Grimsby trawler *Everton* (foreground) damaged by shells from an Icelandic gunboat, being protected by the government employed tug *Statesman*

and the coalition is in fact split on it. Recent Icelandic threats against the USA and NATO are bargaining counters in the fishing dispute, reminiscent of Mintoff's tactics in Malta.

Nor does the presence of Communists in the Icelandic government automatically mean a 'Russian threat'. The Common People's Alliance has departed furthest of all European communist parties from the Russian-inspired model, and in taking over the remnants of the social democratic parties from 1938 to 1968 it became increasingly like a traditional social democratic party, such as Britain's Labour Party.

STRATEGY

It was strongly critical of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and has gone further than many other 'critical' communist parties in breaking its remaining ties with the Eastern bloc and refusing to attend any meetings or conferences organised by Moscow.

There is nothing particularly socialist, let alone revolutionary, about the Iceland government or the Communists of the Common People's Alliance. Their strategy is one of defending national interests, including those of the Icelandic capitalists.

But the national interests of a country fighting back against potential economic destruction by an imperialist power such as Britain are far different from the 'British national interest' involved in this dispute, which is nothing other than the British Trawler Owners Federation—who can keep and reinvest their profits even if they destroy the livelihood of Iceland and their own trawler crews.

Spain lurches rightwards as fascists swing the wheel

by Mike Gonzalez

When the liberalising tendency began to emerge, the middle sectors of Spanish society, bureaucrats and state employees in particular, saw themselves threatened on two sides. The strong state they depended on was under threat now from both the 'liberals' and the rising working-class movement.

Their response was to form the 'Radical Falange', whose programme recalled the fascism of the old days: official unions to be strengthened, the authority of the state restored by crushing all opposition and so on. The bureaucrats had nothing to gain from progress, and everything to lose.

Strength

On the other hand, they were soldiers of Franco's political army, as well as the people who ran his police state. At first Franco tried to steer a middle course, bringing in the princely Juan Carlos to be a puppet Emperor with no clothes. But the young and future king proved inadequate even to that task.

The determining factor, the blow that broke the compromise, was the strength of the workers' movement.

In the late 1950s, the Workers' Commissions began to organise on a factory basis. They were clandestine organisations, set up to fight for basic rights and improvements and to oppose the official government-organised unions. By the end of the 1960s, they had proliferated throughout Spain and despite political rifts and divisions, represented a basis of strength and militancy on the factory floor.

But it is in the past two years that the Spanish working class has demonstrated its strongest militancy since the Civil War. The fighting miners of the Asturias have been joined by the workers of the industrial city of Vigo, who paralysed the city through a general strike last year, the shipyard workers of El Ferrol, Franco's birthplace, whose strike could only be broken by a massive terror campaign which left a toll of dead and wounded, the Basque fighters whom the government has not been able to repress, and the workers throughout American-owned industry of the Seville area, who have won considerable victories at plant level.

In this light, the meeting of the national committee of the Workers Commissions in Madrid earlier this year was a significant event. Their meeting in the monastery of Pozuelos was discovered and the 10 members arrested and imprisoned. They are now awaiting trial. The government prosecutor is demanding sentences of from 12 to 20 years each.

Despite the arrest, the response to the call for a general strike on May Day was massive and national. It was this show of strength and working-class mobilisation that finally turned the tables.

Trial number 1001, as the trial of the ten is called, will now be the test of the struggle in Spain. The right, now in power, will try to make them the first victims of a new terror, a new rejuvenated fascist state which has successfully defeated its own 'liberal' wing.

The key to the future is the workers' movement and the international support it receives will be crucial. That support will only come from the organisations of the working class, because whatever moral condemnations the governments of Europe may pronounce, the importance of cheap Spanish labour will quickly silence their qualms.



Iceland's 'Communist' Fisheries Minister Ludvik Josefsson

FOOT

PRINTS

Papist corpse floors No Hope Davie

THERE HAS BEEN more religious trouble at Glasgow Rangers Football Club following the transfer story of Graham Fyfe, the talented inside forward whose fortunes with the club took a rapid turn for the worse when he became engaged to a Catholic girl.

Rangers, as is well known, have never played a Catholic in their team, and their treatment of Fyfe made it fairly clear that they had no intention of playing someone who marries a Catholic.

Now comes the announcement that 79-year-old millionaire John Lawrence will not, as expected, be handing over the chairmanship of Rangers to his vice-chairman, the financial 'genius', Davie Hope. A Rangers board meeting on 30 May decided by a majority not to appoint Hope as chairman. Among the matters discussed at the meeting was Hope's religious qualification for the job—Hope was accepted onto the Rangers board in 1967 after the directors had satisfied themselves that he was a Protestant.

They also discovered that Mr Hope had no family. His wife, they understood, died in 1958. Only later was the appalling truth made known to the Rangers board. Hope's wife, whom he had married in 1930, was . . . A CATHOLIC.

Mr Lawrence himself was very cross about the board's decision not to appoint his friend Hope. 'I pray night and morning to my maker,' he said, 'never to hurt anyone. Yet Davie can be hurt in this way . . . It's beyond me. I don't ask a man whether he is Catholic or Protestant. As it happens, Davie is a staunch Protestant, and one of nature's gentlemen.'

Mr Lawrence has also described Mr Hope as 'the best signing Rangers ever made.' His financial genius, apparently, was more important to Mr Lawrence than the ability of any of his players to please their supporters.

Stamping a reputation

NO TEARS have been shed at Economic Stampings Ltd., part of the Bentley Group at Leicester over the departure of Mr D A Hall, the personnel manager.

Mr Hall is leaving shortly for Swaziland, a former British protectorate encircled by South Africa. He told colleagues recently that two thirds of the workforce of 2500 were 'natives'.

His terms of reference, he said, were 'to act as a buffer for Courtaulds against organised labour.' He also said that he had been instructed 'not to spoil the natives, as they would be hard to discipline and be naughty like children.'

Untouched by human hand

THE BRITISH Safety Council, which is not a political organisation, has put out a press release about 'low hygiene standards' in the handling of food. In line with the best traditions of the Safety Council, not a word of criticism is directed against the food industry, supermarket proprietors or hoteliers.

The 'problem' was, according to the statement: 'Most people handling food are totally ignorant about modern hygiene standards. This is largely due to the high influx of foreign labour in recent years. Many of the people working with food today come from countries which don't have any standards of hygiene.'

Most of the immigrant labour in hotels and restaurants and shops in this country comes from Spain. These immigrant workers, are always surprised by the fact that the laws against filth in Spanish hotels and restaurants are tougher, and more

toughly enforced in Spain than in Britain.

In Spain, for instance, there are spot checks without warning on food establishments, and breaches of the regulations can result in heavy fines.

In this country, the whole business of inspection for hygiene is made into a farce by co-operation between the inspectors and the industry, which is then whitewashed by the British Safety Council.

In a word...

MR WOODROW WYATT, the rich, pompous printer and former Labour MP, posed an important question in the Sunday Times last Sunday. Reviewing Ann Dummett's new book, A Portrait of English Racism, Mr Wyatt wrote:

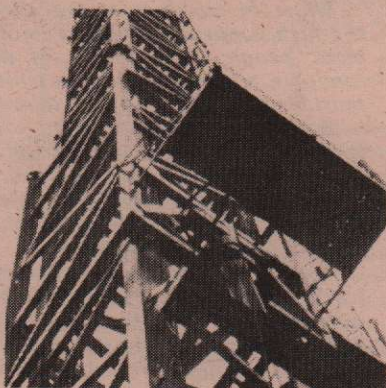
Phantom sniper sheds his 'IRA' mufti

THERE HAVE BEEN some curious goings-on in and around Butt Road, which adjoins Cavalry Barracks, Colchester, a 'top secret' army barracks which specialises in training troops before they go to Northern Ireland.

During April, building workers on the giant Wellington House office block in Butt Road were fired on by a hidden sniper, who used an airgun. Crane driver Ernie Rugles was hit and his signalman Peter Richer has scars on his back from several airgun pellets which pierced his donkey jacket.

Labourer Dave Chapman, who was working several hundred feet up on scaffolding, was also a target of the sniper.

Inhabitants of Butt Road thought they had tracked down the sniper



The crane where the sniper struck

on 21 May, when they saw a young man in fair hair and jeans rushing about the road firing a rifle. He was being chased by a soldier in uniform. Several civilians gave chase, as did the police and the gunman was

'Recently, when we set out for the country, my two small children were being distractingly troublesome at the back of the car. "Count the coloured people you see until we get to the Hammersmith flyover," I said . . . Did it make me a racist?' YES.

My Hert went Tring

I STEAMED for most of last Wednesday in a train which stopped at Tring, Herts, for two and a half hours, and which got me into Liverpool just in time for the end of the IS meeting I was meant to speak to.

Our Liverpool branch had about five minutes to prepare for emergency speakers to a meeting of more than 120 people. The following people then spoke about why they joined IS and the need to build a socialist

workers' party:

Jim Singleton, deputy steward at Standard Triumph.

Tommy Douras, Merseyside IS builders' branch.

Les Waring, well-known militant in the Liverpool post office.

Tony Boyle, secretary of the Tower Hill Tenants' Action Group, Kirkby.

Sean Docherty of the NUT.

The speakers were greeted with much enthusiasm, and nine workers

joined IS.

I have been asked officially to deny strong rumours that the hold-up to my train was organised by Merseyside IS.

LEGAL NEWS: Five Indians who took part in the recent wave of strikes in South Africa have been charged in Durban with breaking the Bantu Administration Act in that they 'uttered words, or distributed pamphlets containing words, that are likely to promote feelings of racial hostility.'

Evans



THE MAN WHO THOUGHT THE LABOUR PARTY STOOD FOR NATIONALISATION...

Top Marks from hacks

MUCH PUBLICITY was given to this year's report of the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Robert Mark.

While all the press devoted headlines and much space to the rising crime figures for teenagers, very few even mentioned the astonishing fact that 106 policemen in London were last year 'retired' from the force as a result of complaints from the public. Only three newspapers published the figure, all of them in the last paragraph of their report.

This could be because of a 'special appeal' which Mark made to the assembled hacks shortly before the end of his press conference. He called upon all 'responsible journalists' to 'play down' the statistics about police complaints. 'We have,' he said, 'excellent machinery now for dealing with this problem.'

To a man, the hacks responded to this appeal.

Other facts to emerge from the report which have not received much publicity are as follows: There were last year 5564 complaints about the activities of London's police (that's one for every four policemen). This represented a 23.9 per cent increase on last year.

As a result of these complaints, 1639 reports were sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions. In 1517 cases the Director decided to take no action.

Charges were brought against policemen as a result of these complaints in nine cases.

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MANIFESTO by Kuron and Modzelewski. The famous open letter to the Polish Worker's Party, written in 1964. A vitriolic analysis of the Eastern European regimes and a call for social revolution. 29p postage included. from PLUTO PRESS Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road London NW1.

Fight this poison

THE MENACE OF RACIALISM is on the increase. In step with the deepening crisis of the Tory system, racist politicians like Enoch Powell and fascist groups like the National Front spread their poison that people with black skins are responsible for unemployment, slum housing, overcrowded schools and declining social services.

During his by-election campaign in Rochdale earlier this year, Jim Merrick of the British Campaign to Stop Immigration, hysterically argued that black people have contributed nothing to the material well-being of Britain.

In fact, black people had no say in whether they wanted to contribute to Britain's material well-being or not. Was the slave trade conducted with the support of the slaves?

Certainly not. They were torn ruthlessly from their homelands and shipped to the Caribbean and the Americas.

By the time slavery was abolished, with astronomical compensation paid to the slave owners, Britain had many millionaires, their wealth derived from the infamous traffic in human beings.

For centuries during the heyday of the British Raj, the colonies were systematically plundered and denuded of their wealth, wealth that ended up in the coffers of the entrepreneurs and the state.

Another racist lie is that black people are generally disease ridden and carriers of all manner of infec-

tious diseases. But during the recent smallpox scare in London, when two people died, no black people were involved.

In Bradford recently two black children were found to be suffering from TB. The British Campaign to Stop Immigration stated: 'As a result, all the children in the school were forced to submit to anti-TB inoculations'. The truth is that all

Shock report Brutal police attacks in a black Brum ghetto

WHERE INTIMIDATION AND WRONGFUL ARREST ARE EVERYDAY EVENTS



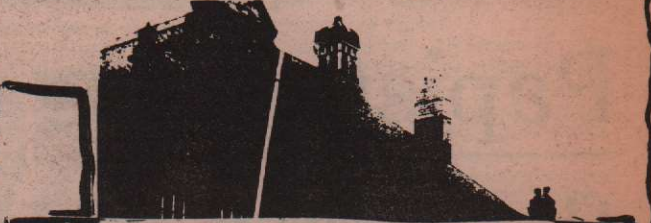
Smashed windows and debris after the racist attack

New fire-bomb attack

BIRMINGHAM:—Racists, responsible for the Brixton fire-bombings, found another target last week—a West Indian house in Handsworth.

While three people slept in a house in Leonard Road, racists broke the downstairs windows, poured petrol over the front door and through the letter box, and set fire to it.

The results could have been tragic, but the people in the house—used as a headquarters by a black community



BRUM POLICE ON RACIALIST RAMPAGE

For such a threat to public order, the appropriate police strength arrived: five panda cars, two black naras, dogs and at least 40 men.

People who were leaving the party were arrested in the street and violence followed as the police entered the house. According to eye-witnesses, truncheons were swung and anyone in the way, men and women, was liable to be hit.

One man, Mikey Brown, subsequently arrested with 11 others

Front's storm-trooper sets pace in Midlands

WEST BROMWICH:—Labour won the by-election here last week with a 8325 majority—but the party has no room for complacency. From the outset, the pace was set by the National Front's candidate, Martin Webster, a former goose-stepping Nazi in Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement.

Webster opened his campaign with a ploy that Goebbels would have been proud of: he queried the right of Pakistanis in the constituency to vote and claimed there were 20,000 'coloured immigrants'



BY GEORGE PEAKE

International Socialists' full-time organiser and a victim of South African apartheid

has opened the door to extreme groups like the National Front and the Enoch Powell Support Group. In the face of a severe crisis they propose one answer: kick out the blacks.

History has shown this is no answer at all. In Germany the Nazi rise to power was marked by appeals to the workers and savage attacks on the Jews. Once the Nazis were in the saddle, the workers were subjected to the same brutal repression as the Jews.

The National Front, engaged in an intensive campaign in West Bromwich, Wolverhampton and North Birmingham,

workers. It is far more profitable to build Centre Point, hotels and high-rise office blocks.

One of the causes of housing shortages stems directly from deliberate government policy. In 1952, 239,000 houses were built. By 1972 the figure had dropped to 118,000, and it is still dropping.

House prices have risen by more than 100 per cent since 1958. Blacks constitute more than 35 per cent of the building workforce. If they were not here there would be an even bigger shortage.

Another hackneyed cry is that the blacks take jobs and cause unemployment. With a million unemployed and a million black workers in the country, it is easy to say they are the cause, but in 1930, when there were just a few black people here, there were 3,000,000 unemployed.

Official

Black people know only too well that the low-paid, dirty, arduous jobs are reserved for them. To witness job allocation at the labour exchange is to see official discrimination in operation.

The labour force of the brick-fields, foundries, hospital services, public transport and catering industry is made up almost entirely of immigrants. And these are the lowest-paid jobs in the country, bar those of farmworkers.

Immigrants are indolent layabouts who thrive on the dole and social security—that's another sick racist assertion. It has been calculated by the Department of Health and Social Security that black workers take out only 80 per cent of what they would be entitled to if there was an equitable share-out.

The findings of a survey conducted in 1966 showed that the combined cost of health and welfare services, child care, national insurance and assistance was £48.70 per head for black people and £62.40 for whites.

In Rochdale, the local council has had to employ a full-time social worker to encourage immigrants to make use of the social security benefits to which they are entitled.

Black people are continuously at the receiving end of racist insult and physical attack. And the police do not emerge with entirely clean hands.

Many policemen actively aid and abet racialism. In South London police harassment and brutality against the black community is so rampant that black youths walk in fear of 'the law'.

The latest amendments to the Immigration Act have helped to increase police harassment of immigrants. More and more black people are being stopped and searched in the street in the police quest after illegal immigrants.

The report of the National Council for Civil Liberties in 1971 stated: 'It is clear from our files that police harassment of immigrants far outweigh the proportion they represent in the country. Annually the cases of police brutality and harassment that comes to the courts increases, but in most cases the police get off.'

Meanwhile, a National Front and other fascist candidates have been polling well in local and by-elections. This shows that racialism is on the upswing. And while racists have spokesmen in high places, it will continue to increase.

Shortages

For maximum effect, racialism requires a demagogue, disillusionment and shortages. The demagogic role is ably filled by Enoch Powell, disillusionment comes from the double talk of politicians and the spinelessness of the Labour Party and the most demoralising shortages exist among the working class—in health, housing, jobs, education, transport and the social services.

In this kind of situation it is easy to make black people the scapegoat. Racialism must be fought

Centuries

In the division of Birmingham with the highest crime rate, West Indians constituted 3 per cent of the population and were responsible for only 6.8 per cent of all indictable crime.

'The blacks take our houses,' say the racists. 'They are responsible for the housing shortage.' But the working class has known little else but housing shortages and slums for centuries.

While it is easy and profitable for capitalists to recruit labour, it is not profitable to build houses for

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Social Security for Strikers



a Socialist Worker pamphlet 2p

A scapegoat for workers'

A bid to stop compensation for sick miners and a new attack on jobs

'Racism needs a



demagogue—a role filled by Enoch Powell'



Hiving off the Heath way...

TWO COAL BOARD-OWNED solid fuel works—Markham Roomheat in Yorkshire and Multiheat in South Wales—are threatened with closure.

Until 1 April this year, the two plants, together with all the other ancillary undertakings of the NCB, were managed by the Coal products Division of the board.

But from 1 April the CPD was split into holding companies, with the door wide open to private capital, controlled by the NCB but no longer a part of it. The board explains—and the miners' union leaders agree—that this arrangement is to protect the assets being 'hived off'.

All NCB ancillary undertakings are now denationalised. After Heath's government sold the Thomas Cook travel agency, the labour movement gave warning that it would take back without compensation any public concern got rid of in this way.

But there is more than one way to skin a cat, as National Smokeless Fuels Ltd, the denationalised company that now owns Multiheat and Roomheat, made clear on 8 April.

In a statement, it announced to the workers that it could see no justification for the further operation of the Yorkshire and South Wales plants. It explained that its job was to run them at a profit for the NCB and that, taking into account the losses incurred in the last financial year, low production performance, technical problems and low sales, it could not hope to succeed.

In other words, a week after founding the new company, the directors felt they had no option but to abandon the market to their two main rivals, Rexco and Coalite, privately-owned and now about to merge.

The area and lodge officials of the NUM disagree with this policy and the firm's findings. First, the plants should be run as a service and, secondly, they could but for gross mismanagement, break even.

TORY THREAT TO MEN WITH 'THE DUST'

THE HEATH GOVERNMENT has become increasingly concerned with the excessive amounts of money going not to the Cayman Islands in untaxed salaries for MPs and company directors but in welfare payments to working-class people.

One of the areas the Tories decided to probe was the amount of money being paid out to miners in the form of disability pensions for the bodies and lungs wrecked by dust diseases contracted at work.

The probe is now completed and the government body, the Industrial Injuries Advisory Council, is expected to announce shortly that the pitiful disability pensions will no longer be paid to miners with less than 50 per cent disability.

In the run up to this announcement the government last week obtained some remarkably useful advance research findings which are designed to lend scientific justification to their schemes.

According to a paper published in the current issue of the British Medical Journal, the miners' dust-induced chest disease, pneumoconiosis, only causes disability or death relatively rarely.

UNRELIABLE

And according to the paper's conclusions, 'One can therefore now reasonably put forward the suggestion that there is no appreciable disability or loss of expectation of life associated with any category of coalworkers' pneumoconiosis except categories B and C.'

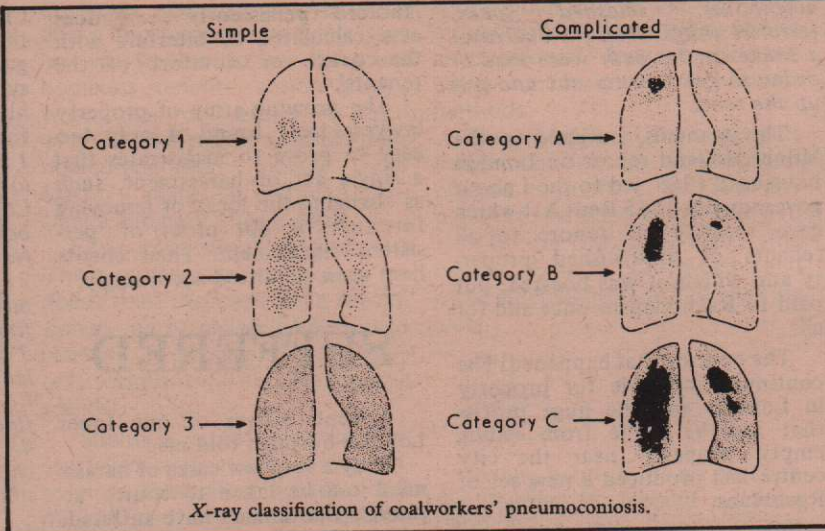
The research was carried out by Dr A L Cochrane, director of the government-funded Medical Research Council's South Wales Epidemiology Unit at Cardiff. All its findings are based on X-ray studies of miners lungs. They are totally unreliable.

Jethro Gough, formerly Professor of Pathology at Cardiff University, and still active in the pneumoconiosis field, has devoted his life's work to showing that such a basis for disability categories is totally unreliable and is no guide to disability. High degrees of disability can coincide with very mild X-ray changes.

The logic of what he and other prominent researchers have revealed is that any miner who is disabled and who has been exposed to certain dust levels should automatically get a pension.

The MRC research takes absolutely no notice of the work that has been done in this field. And in a footnote to the article, Dr Cochrane admits that he rushed out preliminary findings before the research was completed because 'the results appear relevant to the work of the Industrial Injuries Advisory Committee.'

And miners are not the only people that the Tory government intends to put under the hammer. In the wake of the Thalidomide scandal last year, the Tories announced that



they were setting up a Royal Commission on compensation for personal injury. This is now at work under the chairmanship of Lord Pearson, the House of Lords Appeal judge.

This committee has now taken a secret decision to hive off two areas for entirely separate consideration. They are compensation arising from motor car accidents and from injuries at work.

SOLUTION

Initially the commission was supposed to consider the field as a whole and devise a solution as a whole. But the overwhelming representation of insurance company men on the commission has ensured that the two biggest and most important areas are to be hived off for separate deliberation.

On the Pearson Commission there is one regulation trade unionist, Walter Padley of USDAW. There is one solicitor, a partner in the firm Barlow Lyde and Gilbert, the best known insurance company solicitors in the business. And there are three

men from the insurance industry itself, one directly representing his company.

The committee is working towards a system of state pensions for those disabled by the activities of the likes of Distillers.

The Tory government has also recently announced that it has accepted the findings of the Robens Committee on Safety and Health at Work. This report proposes to end the system whereby employers can be prosecuted and punished for breaches of safety regulations.

This is because prosecution and punishment is 'an irrelevancy'. According to Robens, employers are actually prevented from developing a sense of responsibility for workers because there is too much law about.

What this means is that there is one area where the law and order merchants do not intend any law to exist—at work where thousands of workers are killed and injured annually in the pursuit of profit.

Gerry Dawson

by all people who believe that the system we live under is rotten and must be replaced by one that will be in the interests of the working class.

For centuries racialism has been an effective and potent weapon in the ruling-class armoury, employed to divide and mesmerise the working class and divert our attention from the real cause of our misery and from the real culprits: capitalism and its upholders.

Socialist

It is essential that black and white people realise that the struggle in Britain is not a struggle between black and white workers but a struggle between the working class and its oppressor, the ruling class.

That fight cannot be waged by individual sections of the people. It can only be waged effectively by a conscious, mobilised, militant working class.

Only through rank and file trade union organisation, linked politically with a revolutionary socialist programme, can the working class win and take power.

The realisation of socialism depends on the mass of the class refusing to accept their 'fate'. Working-class recognition of the power of collective action on a national scale to end once and for all the subjugation of man to machines and the class which owns and manipulates the means of production will be the spark that unites the active revolutionary process.

To galvanise workers into action and draw black workers into the mainstream of the struggle, it is essential that revolutionaries establish contact with militants in black organisations.

The time has seldom been better for revolutionaries. We have the opportunity to build a revolutionary party that will despatch capitalism to history's dustbin and usher in a society where racialism and inequality will not exist.

problems

Satisfied

The losses declared for last year—£594,000 for Roomheat and £894,000 for Multiheat—can be put down in part to the warmest winter in years. Other factors include the high ratio of management to men, hiring machines from private firms instead of buying them and offering work to private contractors that could be done and often had to be re-done by the men in the works.

The men have frequently pointed out these failings and would have expected the board to have taken account of their views as part of the procedure for reviewing works where they are not satisfied with performance. The first step in this procedure is to call a meeting to discuss the problem. This was never done.

As with the pits, the main use the board puts this machinery to is rubber-stamping closures.

The full absurdity of the present situation can only be understood only by looking at the running of the industry as a whole. It has long been known that the coal industry is being milked at the processing and distribution end and that this will cease only when it is completely nationalised.

It is ridden with parasites, from the coal merchant who buys at £18 a ton and sells for £30 upwards, to Rexco and Coalite who depend for their very existence on the Coal Board. The board not only supplies them with raw materials but even markets their products in competition with its own.

Last year 500,000 tons of solid fuel were imported, much of it made from exported Welsh Anthracite Duff, a by-product of mining anthracite. Multiheat, capable of producing 250,000 tons of high-quality smokeless fuel and next door to two million tons of unused Welsh Anthracite Duff, is to be closed.

Markham Roomheat is to give way to the Coalite plant at Rossington, which produces fuel of an inferior quality and pollutes the air for miles around.

But there will be a fight. The members of the cokemakers' area of the NUM are calling for a full-scale public inquiry into the reasons for the closure and demanding that the books be opened.

Workers at the plants are resisting the closures but they need the support of all sections of the working class. From the NUM leaders' lack of success over pit closures, it is clear that only the active support of the rank and file in the mining industry will beat both pit and plant closures.

The Meaning of Marxism
by Duncan Hallas
20p plus 3p postage
IS Books
6 Cottons Gardens,
London E2 8DN

John Dodd

NUM lodge secretary, Markham Roomheat

RACHMAN

is alive and well

...as tenants are harassed by property men's thugs

AT 12.30pm on 19 March, Diane Carmichael, an Australian teacher, returned home from work to her flat in Greville Place, Maida Vale, which she shared with four other teachers. The door was padlocked and the lock on the door had been changed.

The furniture and belongings of all five women had been taken out of the flat and dumped in the garage.

The flat was owned by the man who lived upstairs, a Mr Hamilton. The previous November, a 'House for Sale' notice had gone up outside the house.

The tenants promptly went to the Rent Tribunal which gave them security for three months and reduced the rent from £30 a week to £16 a week. Mr Hamilton had lost his temper and announced, a few weeks later, that he had sold the house to a mysterious Mr Gray.

With the help of local police officers and the Camden Law Centre, Diane managed to force the door into her flat and the lock was promptly changed. Three days later she returned from work again to find that a group of seven thugs had cut their way into the flat from the upstairs floor, and had boarded up the door against all comers.

The thugs appeared at windows and on a veranda and hurled abuse at her. The police arrived, and, after discussions with the men inside, they advised Diane and her friends to 'go quietly'.

Like decent gentlemen, they then helped the women to load their furniture and belongings onto police cars and trucks, and drove them away. It took the five women several days to find somewhere else to live.

The Camden Law Centre has been hunting ever since for Mr Hamilton and 'Mr Gray' to serve on them a summons for possession. Neither man, nor any of their thugs have been found or identified.

UNLAWFUL

They have committed harassment and unlawful eviction, but they will not be prosecuted, nor even sued.

The 'Hamilton' case got some publicity—but all over London and other big cities similar and no less scandalous cases of harassment take place almost every week without any publicity at all.

Ten years ago a man called Peter Rachman achieved notoriety for the methods by which he cashed in on the Rent Act of 1957. That Act allowed landlords to charge unlimited rents for 'decontrolled' property, and property became 'decontrolled'

when it was vacated by its 1957 tenants.

Peter Rachman employed some well-tried methods of achieving the necessary 'vacation'. 'Noisy' neighbours, smashed locks, terrorist thugs, even (in one case) a snake in the bath were used in order to get tenants out and put up the rents.

The scandals, outlined in the Milner Holland report on London housing in 1965, led to the Labour government's 1965 Rent Act which gave security of tenure to all tenants of unfurnished property and which, it was boasted, put paid to Rachmanism once and for all.

The opposite has happened. The continued scramble for property in London and the huge profits that can be made from selling empty property near the city centre has produced a new set of Rachmans.

The 'security' provided by Labour's Rent Act has been treated with contempt by the men and women who enforce the law.

Section 30 (2) of the Rent Act makes harassment a criminal offence. To get a conviction, the local authority must prove that the

REPORT BY PAUL FOOT

landlord 'persistently . . . does acts calculated to interfere with the peace or comfort of the tenants'.

The growing army of property lawyers have found it only too easy to prove to magistrates that a single act of harassment, such as changing the locks or removing furniture, is not proof of 'persistent' harassment. Their clients have been acquitted accordingly.

SUFFERED

A rent officer of one Inner London borough told me:

'Only a very few cases of harassment can be taken to court, although the tenants have suffered. In March this year, we had 32 complaints of harassment, but only took out three summonses. Then again, in half the court cases the landlords are found not guilty.'

In a recent report to the Islington Borough Council Social Services Committee, the borough's

Chief Solicitor complains bitterly that even when landlords are found guilty, they are gently handled by sympathetic magistrates. He listed nine recent cases, of which the following are examples:

- 1 Single man, living in two rooms, locked out, locks changed. Couldn't get back, even to get his belongings. Landlord fined £20. No costs.
- 2 Young married couple, locked out. Furniture in yard. Landlord fined £40. No costs.
- 3 Single woman, employed by landlord in his shop. Locked out. Lock on her flat changed. Landlord fined £2, £5 costs.
- 4 Two single girls, one with a child. Twice locked out. Each time, mattress and bedding re-

In many London boroughs, the officials do not take landlords to court at all. When I asked how many convictions had been achieved this year for harassment in the London Borough of Hackney—a huge area for rented housing—this year, a council spokesman told me: 'Nil.'

On 23 May this year, Jock Stallard, Labour MP for St Pancras North, moved the first reading of his Anti-Harassment Bill, which will, he told the Commons, 'seek to shift some of the burden of proof from the prosecution and thus ease the burden of local authorities which are trying to deal with this problem.'

He spoke of the need for 'minimum penalties . . . including very heavy jail sentences' for landlords convicted of harassment.

CLEARING

Jock Stallard is certain that the new Rachmanism is not the sole preserve of private householders who want to sell their house with vacant possession at a huge profit.

His researches, and the many letters he has received on harassment from all over the country, have convinced him that some very big property speculators are engaged in clearing London and other big cities of rented accommodation.

'One of the directors of a



prominent firm agents came to House of Commons told me. 'She statement about the "winking" company used.

'First they tenants out with Then there are of accommodation, better than they.

'But in the people refuse to they have to be respectable meth was very nervous should find out me. But she was.



STALLARD: Brutal face of capitalism

- moved. Landlord pleaded in defence that the girls had been visited by 'an assortment of friends of both sexes'. Landlord fined £3 on each of two counts. Costs £5.
- 5 Single woman and child in one room and kitchen. Lock changed. Landlord claimed that the child 'jumped up and down on my ceiling'. Fined £2. £2 costs.
- 6 Unmarried couple, in one room. Went to the Rent Tribunal and had rent reduced. Locked out, all belongings removed. Landlord received absolute discharge on one count. Fined £20 on the other. £19.60 costs.

The harassment officer told me that it was 'very rare' for lay magistrate to fine a landlord more than £20 on harassment offences. Even stipendiary magistrates seldom impose fines of more than £100.

Mr Peter Walker's dynamic decision last year to raise the maximum fines for harassment from £200 to £400 has made, the harassment officer told me, 'no difference at all'.

Mrs P gets

MRS PARKINSON is 74 and she lives at 42a Camden Street, a row of broken-down terraces in Camden Town, North London.

She has lived in Camden all her life, and she likes it there. She likes her ground floor flat, and she doesn't want to move out of it, even though the two upstairs flats are empty, and she lives in the house all alone.

Strange things started happening to Mrs Parkinson in her flat about last December.

A huge burly man appeared at her door one evening to ask a lot of questions about the flat, pretending that he was from the council's rating department.

On 9 March Mrs Parkinson went out as usual in the afternoon to help her brother with his paper stall. When she returned about

6pm, she let herself door to find the confusion.

In the bedroom been turned upside clothes scattered a In the kitchen, all pulled out; plates saucepans were s floor.

Wren

Similar chaos the living room. had been wrenched of all three rooms

No damage had the front door. been broken. The is always bolted was left slightly 'I think they let

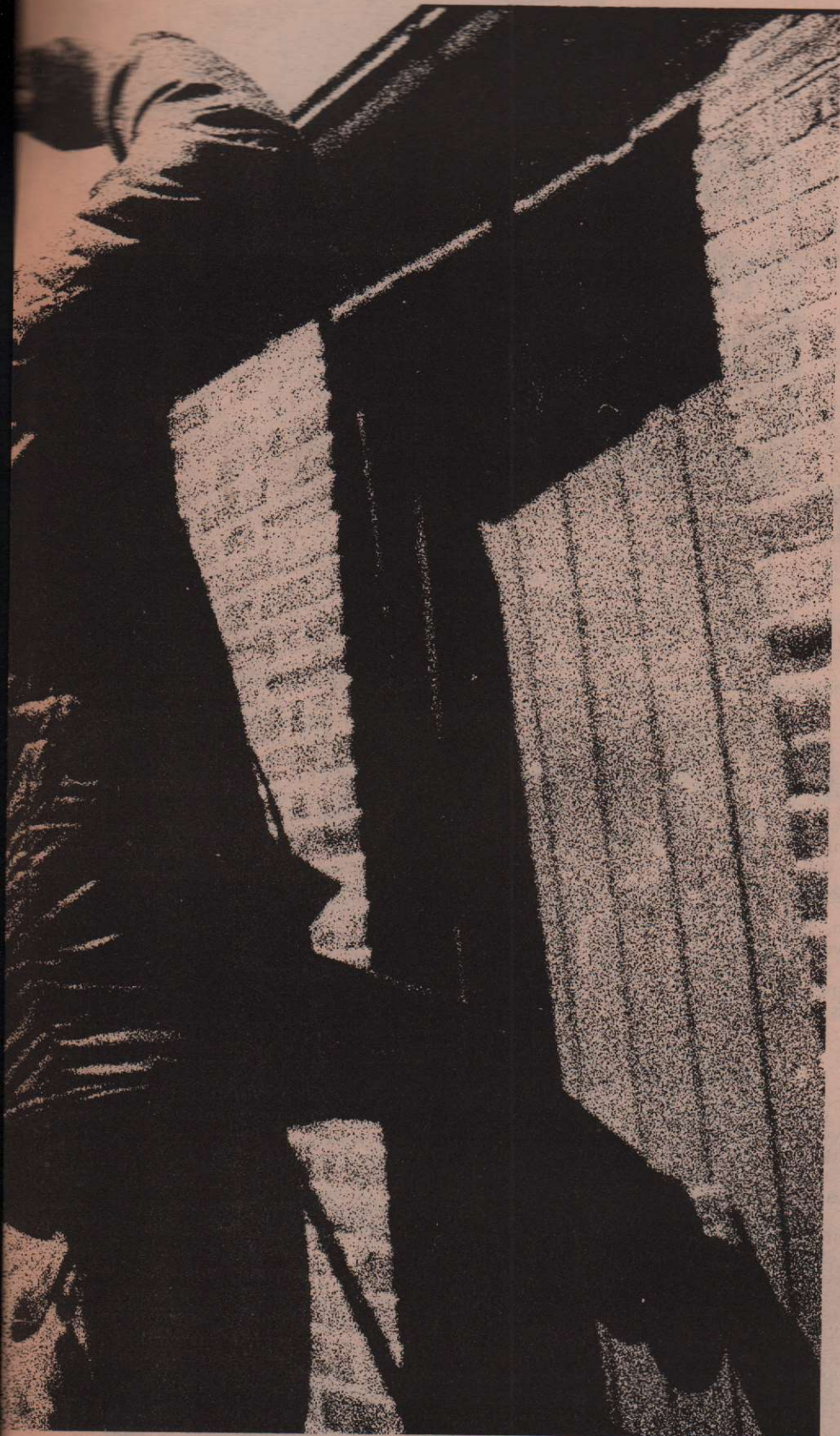
International Socialism 59



The June issue of International Socialism features an article by Brian Trench **Perspectives for the Irish left** that is essential reading for all socialists fighting British domination of the 32 counties. Other features include: **The Electricians—decline of a union:** George Russell **Crisis in Southern Africa:** Basker Vashee **Memoirs of a revolutionary:** Reg Groves **Briefing on wages and the cost of living.** Notes of the Month and Reviews.

International Socialism Journal, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Annual subscription £2.10



MIKE COHEN

SHELTER: END OF AN ILLUSION

THE liberal dream is over. In the same week that the London Evening Standard reported that house prices were still 'surging', 1.8 million people were living in unfit homes and another 25,000 were homeless, Shelter, the help-the-homeless group, was hit by internal strife.

Behind the workers' revolt for more democracy is the sad story of an organisation which showed that while charity begins at home it can never solve the housing scandal because it fails to attack the system that breeds it. It ends up as a soft option, bossed by an aspiring career politician with dubious connections who can't even stand his workers talking back.

Ron Bailey, ex-squatters leader and now £50 a week Shelter homeless families group leader, says he's refusing to join the growing dismissals and sackings queue until Geoff Martin, Shelter's new hatchet man and red basher, sacks him. Bailey agrees Shelter lacks political direction, is all things to all liberals, and attracts too many middle-class do-gooders—but still sees it fulfilling a need.



He went into it because he believed in the cause and like everyone else has a wife, kids and a mortgage to feed. He says he was hoping to set up more homeless tenants' action groups when the row broke in April when Shelter workers started their non-co-operation policy over Martin's plans to improve efficiency and sack a few people.

Bailey calls himself an anarchist—he's a non-marxist because he doesn't see the need for a revolutionary party giving leadership to workers in struggle. But he says only socialism will end the housing scandal.

'Shelter's a safety valve for capitalism and it eases a few consciences. Even those figures of 1.8 million bad homes and 25,000 homeless are only the tip of the iceberg,' he says.

'They don't include people forced to live with the in-laws or sleeping on the floor. Shelter is not going to change the housing problem and neither is a new Minister of Housing, no matter who he is. What we need is a change in the structure of the country.'



'But I do believe Shelter does a lot of good at grassroots level, in forming action groups. We gave £100 to a squatters group in London. Okay, it was the usual hippy drop-out thing but it was a step forward for us in these semi-legal activities.'

'A lot of Shelter workers around the country do get their hands dirty. It should be political in commitment but not a political party. It should encourage working people to do things for themselves. You have to annoy people and not feel that things are happy and nice.'

'I think it is unfair to call Shelter workers careerists. The money in London for social and case workers is only £1600. I'm convinced people come here to help the homeless.'

'The row has been a trade union struggle, between the workers calling for more democracy and an autocratic, untrustworthy boss. A reformist struggle, perhaps, but



MARTIN: Dodgy connections

still a trade union one.'

Many Shelter workers believe Martin was brought in as a hard liner to push through management reforms and cultivate contacts with MPs. The question many wonder is: Has the management committee taken on too much by appointing Martin to do their bidding?

Martin, an ambitious man, isn't too popular among the staff. The more printable descriptions of him are 'careerist', 'opportunist' and 'none too fussy in his business methods'.

The make-up of the trustees is interesting for an organisation pledged to improve the lot of the poor. It includes Lord Harlech, KCMG, the Bishop of Kerry, the banker Francis Carnworth and other emancipators of the working class.



Money seems to be no problem for Shelter. Its income is about £800,000 a year. About 30 per cent goes on administrative costs. Martin gets £5000 a year.

Martin's appointment in some way marks the end of Shelter's six year liberal honeymoon as a nice and cosy pressure group.

Martin is a hawk—and he's being told to tread the corridors of power to make Shelter more effective among the barons of Westminster.

After a career in student politics Martin later joined Hill Samuel as a broker. A circular of unknown source drifting round the Shelter office reveals some interesting tidbits of Martin—including his alleged involvement with the American anti-communist spy network, the CIA.

The circular also tells of Martin's connection with the Ariel Foundation, an organisation supposedly existing to foster British links with the 'underdeveloped' countries.



'It is in fact a liaison group and conduit for the political operation of MI5,' says the circular, 'working often in close conjunction with the CIA. Its activities, organised from offices in Abbey House, Victoria St, SW1 . . . have ranged from the training of operatives such as the now-jailed Zambian opposition leader, Simon Kapwepwe, to the sponsorship of the fact-finding missions for recruited MPs such as Nigel Fisher and the somewhat incautious Geoffrey Johnson-Smith to destinations such as Rhodesia.'

Directors of the foundation include Charles Longbottom, ex-Tory MP and industrialist, and Maurice Foley, Labour MP, who apparently 'carried out MI5 recruitment of impartial observers in the Biafran war.' Led by the redoubtable Martin, Shelter really are going places.

Neil Hamilton

of London estate
see me at the
ns,' Jock Stallard
gave me a long
what she called
cess" which her

her company had been doing.

'What is most scandalous of all is that some councils are taking money from speculators to re-house awkward tenants.'

'I know at least one case where Camden has agreed to take £2650 to rehouse a tenant. The sale of the empty property brought the landlord a good £50,000.'

PROBLEM

Jock Stallard is determined to press his Bill through parliament. He ended his speech on 23 May:

'The Bill will not solve the housing problem. But by strengthening the hand of those

local authorities which are trying to deal with this evil practice of winking, it will help to curb those greedy, ruthless men who are concerned only to make enormous profits out of the misery, unhappiness, hardship and desperation of usually the most vulnerable, the weakest and, in many cases, the oldest of our citizens whose only fault is that their continued presence in their accommodation interferes with the selfish plans of property developers and individual speculators.'

'This is really the most brutal face of capitalism, and I intend to expose it at every available opportunity.'

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it open so that

they could run away if anyone came in the front door,' says Mrs Parkinson. 'I'm sure they weren't thieves. Nothing was stolen, though I'd left my purse with £25 in it on the kitchen table.'

Mrs Parkinson promptly put a Chubb lock on the front door, and called in the local tenants' association. She has not been troubled since, although one evening she came across a man trying to get into her house with an ordinary key. As soon as the man saw her, he ran away.

Mrs Parkinson's house was bought last year by Mr I Steinhouse, who runs a substantial property empire and about 120 separate property companies from an office in Camden Town's Gloucester Avenue.

Asked about the raid on Mrs

Parkinson's house, Mr Steinhouse told Socialist Worker:

'Yes, I have heard about this from the council. I don't say this lady is wrong. All I can say is that it had nothing to do with us. I can assure you that we don't do that kind of thing. We don't harass.'

'I've run across this kind of thing before, people's houses being broken into by thieves.'

Raided

Asked how he explained the fact that, according to Mrs Parkinson, the people who raided her flat must have got in through the front door with a key, Mr Steinhouse replied:

'If you've made up your mind that we did it, then I can't change it. But I can assure you that we didn't.'

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You can say that again!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

YOU HEAR talk about workers' control from the strangest quarters these days.

Certain trade union leaders can be relied upon to refer to it occasionally—although rarely in relation to control by union members of full-time officials. Labour Party spokesmen too often let the words slide from their lips. And even the house newspapers of big business, such as *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*, have been known to mention the subject.

The trouble is that when such people talk of workers' control they invariably pull the teeth from the slogan. Their idea of workers' control is about as revolutionary as the Greek colonels' 'republic'.

To them it's a matter of drawing up blueprints of how 'workers can get an effective voice in management'. These usually consist of schemes for workers to elect representatives who will sit alongside the representatives of the shareholders on boards of directors.

Under such schemes shop floor workers would have no more real control over their own working lives than now. The most important questions are still decided by the majority of directors, who represent the shareholders.

This is not workers' control, but participation. Big business keeps overall control, but tries to give workers the illusion that they can influence things.

A poster produced in France during the May events of 1968 summed up what is really involved:

I participate We participate
You participate You participate
He participates They profit.

Even if the workers' directors were in the majority, it need not change things drastically. A single firm run by its workers in a society in which other firms were run by capitalism would soon be forced to imitate the others. It would have to sell its goods in competition with them, to rationalise production as they did, to hold wages back to their level, to borrow money from the banks to buy new machines and to pay interest on this money. The workers' directors would try to make bigger profits than other firms, to get new machines and new factories more quickly than them.

Control

The situation that exists under capitalism would continue—with each group of workers still being told that unless they accept low wages and speed up 'their firm' will be driven out of business.

The Bolshevik leader Bukharin, who was liquidated by Stalin in 1936, summed up the problem more than 50 years ago.

'If a state of affairs came about in which every factory belonged to the workers of only that particular factory,' he wrote, 'the result would be competition between factories; one factory would attempt to gain more than the other, they would strive to win each other's customers: the workers of one factory would be ruined, while the others would prosper, would employ the workers of the ruined factory, and, in a word, we would have the old familiar picture...'

Real workers' control cannot mean workers taking over their factories and running them in competition with other workers. This way many of the worst aspects of the present system would remain untouched: unemployment, the vast wastage on advertising or on Concorde, the massive sums spent on arms, the miserable living standards of old age pensioners.

Such evils cannot be ended in one factory. They demand a fight by workers to control the whole economy.

Every factory has to be taken over by the workers. But the relations between factories have also to be changed, from competition to co-operation. And that means a complete transformation of society, so that a council of genuinely representative workers' delegates runs industry and the state.

Only then will workers have real control and be able to insist that production is to their benefit and not at their expense.

This is not to say that the struggle for workers' control has to wait until some indefinite time in the future. Precisely because workers' control is not a question of blueprints which some kind fairy godmother of a

Labour government will put into effect, the struggle for it goes on now.

At present all our working lives are subject to capitalist control. The small minority who own the means of production—less than 2 per cent of the population—determines the conditions under which the rest of us can earn a living.

One employer can threaten, as Chrysler management did last week, that unless thousands of men ruin their lives by working ever harder, investment will be moved away

Organised

Whenever workers resist such blackmail, they are, even if they do not know it, struggling for workers' control. They are insisting that their needs are more important than the property of the capitalist, that workers' interests, not those of big business, should determine how production is organised. In this sense, every attempt to prevent speed-up, every protest at bad and dangerous working conditions, indeed every wage demand, is part of the struggle for control, and is a hundred times more important than the most impressive blueprint.

In such struggles, workers succeed in making small encroachments in the power of big business. But while the ruling minority keep their power elsewhere, they await the chance and then put an end to those encroachments.

The struggle for workers' control goes on here and now. It is vital because it shows people they have the power and the ability to run things. But it cannot be successful until it leads to a revolutionary reorganisation of the whole of society.

No fairy godmother for workers

BOOKS

REVIEW

England's grey and unpleasant land

THE UNKNOWN MAYHEW, edited by E P Thompson and Eileen Yeo, Pelican, £1.

'IT can't be much worse. Mary... how much leg of beef do we use? 4lb. ain't it, in the week... and that's among half a dozen of us... But what's that to people? What's it to them if we starve?' (a silk-weaver).

'The children took it (a piece of toast) and thought it very nice, but they little thought that we were so soon to be parted. The first was seven years old, the second three, and the infant was in my arms... The children were then taken and separated.' (a needle-woman on her workhouse experiences)

'I left my child at home wrapped in a bit of old blanket while I went out. I brought home half-a-crown by my shame, and stopped its cries for food for two days... I made up my mind to commit suicide. I wrote the name of my boy and the address of his aunts and pinned them to his little shirt, and left him in bed... and went into the Regent's Park to drown myself...' (a slop-worker)

No, this is not a load of Dickens, these are the words of real people, recorded by Henry Mayhew in the last century. And there is plenty more where that came from.

Henry Mayhew, who died in 1887 was one of our greatest social journalists. To read Mayhew is to experience, almost at first hand, the living reality behind the theories of Marx, Engels and the fiction of Dickens, Mrs Gaskell and Kingsley. In the foreword Mayhew wrote for his book *London's Underworld* he refers to his work as the 'task I have imposed upon myself.' That task was to record for all time the living and working conditions of the lower and criminal classes of the first industrial nation.

He came to journalism through a varied career. The son of a lawyer in London, he ran away to sea from

Westminster School, and tried one job after another, including a brief and unhappy period in his father's office. He drifted to freelance writing, founded *Figaro* in London, a satirical journal, in 1831 and ten years later, with others, founded *Punch*, which he left in 1846, by which time it had become a complacent pro-establishment journal.

In 1849 his immense investigation of workers, street-traders, lower and criminal classes began to appear in *The Morning Chronicle*. The complete work is contained in the volumes *London Labour and the London Poor*, *The Great World of London*, *The Criminal Prisons of London*. These rank as some of the earliest investigations, and remain some of the most moving.

These works, based on personal interviews which covered many trades, occupations and social groupings, bring one face to face with the real human cost of Britain's commercial greatness. They present what, in our more genteel terminology, we might call the less attractive side of capitalism.

This is a superbly edited selection of the less well-known—and less readily available—sections of his letters to the *Morning Chronicle* between 1849-1850. In doing this work, Mayhew says he learned 'how many are defrauded of what he believes to be their due, he has found the labourer cheated... he has discovered whole families too poor to purchase candles by which to work... he has heard women tell how they were forced to prostitute their bodies for the bread they could not earn by their labours, he has found employers, who had palaces for shops... he has learned how the late Sheriff of our City amassed no less than £80,000 in a few years by reducing the wages of the thousand operatives in his employ to 10 shillings a week...'

A classic never dates. A classic has a message and a meaning for all time. This book is a classic.

ROBERT GIDDINGS

CULTURE BY THE PEOPLE

UNDERSTANDING BRECHT, by Walter Benjamin, New Left Books, £2.25.

THIS is a book for the student of the theatre, for class conscious poets and all with an interest in how Brecht's epic theatre works. Walter Benjamin gives us all a better understanding of the technical background and the political basis of the famous German playwright and socialist.

A lot of nonsense has been written about the relationship of art to political society. The middle class would have us believe that art is for 'cultured' people (meaning themselves) produced by intellectual artists somehow separated from the real world. Art, for them, is something beautiful to look at or listen to between the cold days of tiresome economic decisions.

Brecht rejected this completely. He believed that a true artist is one who reflects and is inspired by the life around him, one who identifies himself with working people in the class struggle. While he is moved by human suffering and misery he nevertheless understands the basic conflicts and contradictions of class society.

Brecht founded his theatre on the teachings of Marx. He rebelled against the style of theatre where the audience would identify themselves with a particular moral hero—a hero who through his own individualism attempts to change society for the common good. He created a new theatre where conditions of historic life could be depicted instead of mere dramatic actions. He called this the epic theatre.

He searched for a link with the people, but was not obsessed with originality for its own sake. He wished to reveal his understanding of class society in the most effective way that would reach the people. Brecht wanted to 'astonish' working people into recognising themselves in the material world. He interrupts the flow of his works with constant reminders of the real world and not some magical never-never land.

Instead we are led to realise our ability to change society through struggle. This is Brecht's essential teaching. He is successful only because he understands the nature of class society, which creates the need for struggle against exploitation and injustice. But how can this be depicted on stage?

Simply by showing us the horrible contradictions of life that lead to the need for a socialist society. Wealth, when there is poverty. Food, when there is starvation.



BRECHT: Threw the hero off the stage

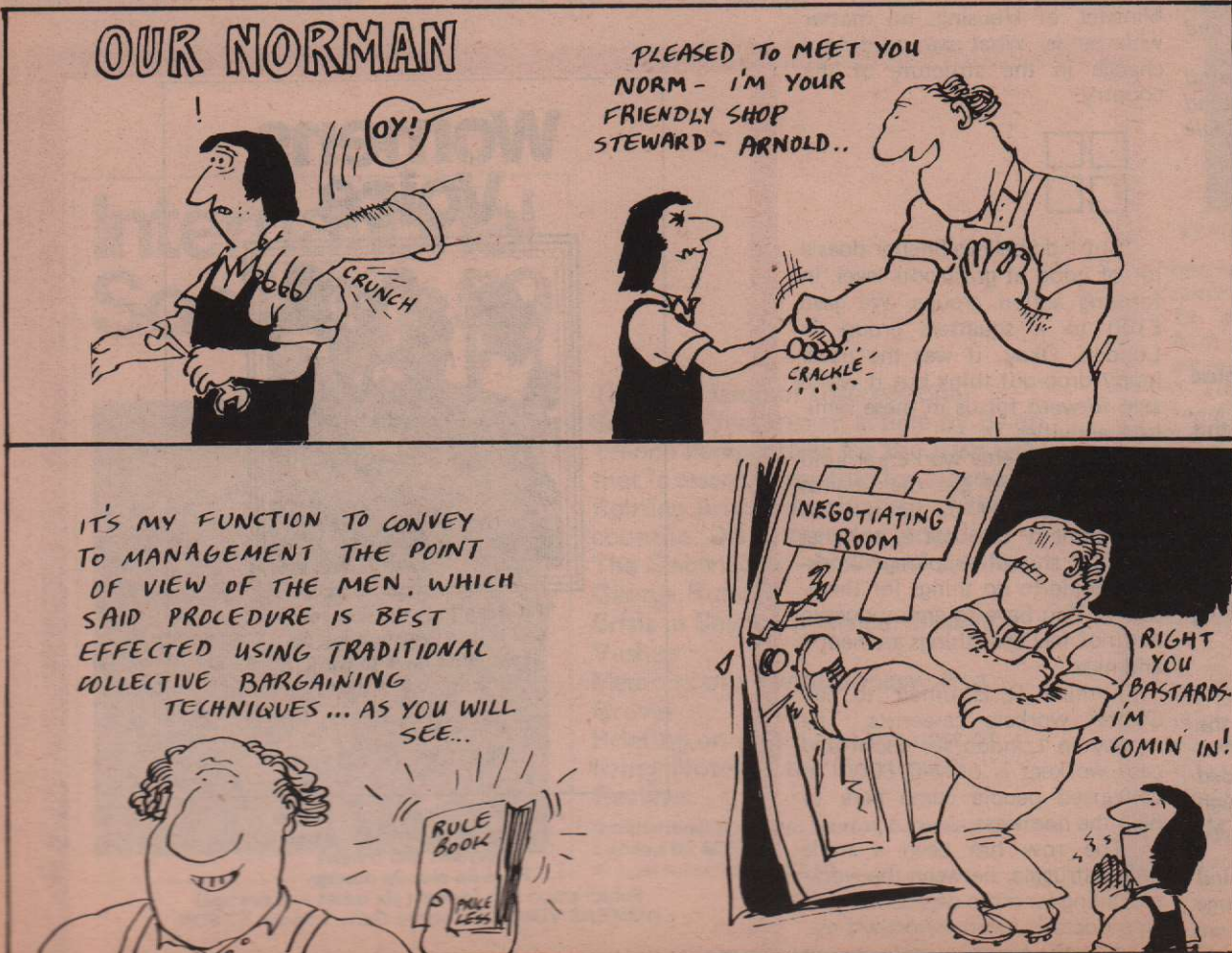
On the one hand the human aspiration to be free, to live together in peace, to help one another in collective action. On the other the social forces in capitalism that conspire to prevent these desires being fulfilled.

Brecht shows poor workers and peasants who have dignity based on their optimism for a better world. They do not understand why they are poor, why they suffer (that is for us to discover), only that somehow they must survive.

It is a common fault of critics to put Brecht's success down to his technical development of the epic theatre. Benjamin explains the fundamental world outlook of Brecht that has established him among socialists. For the method of presentation is merely the brush-stroke of the painting, it is not the painting itself. The greatness of the work is the revolutionary nature of the pigment, the understanding of human struggle in history.

Walter Benjamin admitted a debt to Brecht in personal enlightenment. The tragedy was that Benjamin took his own life while attempting to flee the country from Hitler's Gestapo. His writings, though fragmented in this book, will do much to contribute to an understanding of the political structure shaping a great artist's works.

PHIL HARRISON



PLAY FOR THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY

THE Russian writer Yuli Daniel, recent resident in Siberia, wrote:

'Art is jealous. Starting from incommunicative data and impelled by its overheated imagination, it creates a second universe in which events unfold at a heightened tempo and are seen in their nakedness. The artist must love life jealously, that is, distrust its passport likeness, move away from it and suspect something at the back of men and nature which no one else thinks of suspecting.'

Once a writer falls victim to the truth of this statement he finds himself afflicted with an incurable disease. Once infected he becomes unfitted for regular employment, loses his credit-rating, contracts a divorce and lapses into unwholesome habits.

In Russia they send him to Siberia in case he transmits the disease to his fellows.

A great many people, probably nearly all the readers of this newspaper for exam-



ple, suspect the 'passport likeness,' but are unable to distinguish it from the reality 'at the back of men and nature'.

This is why artists are necessary to society and are, at the same time, barely tolerated. He is barely tolerated because those who wish to change society suspect the artist of lacking ideals, while those

who wish to preserve it suspect him of having them.

In fact the artist is not concerned with ideals. Unlike the activist he's not concerned with attacking an unsatisfactory society and unlike the conservative he's unwilling to recognise it as immutable.

I should hastily add that I don't mean an artist can't be an activist. But he'd be wise to keep his creative activities separate from his political ones.

What the artist is concerned with is reality. And far from wishing to sweep away, to reject, the 'passport likeness', he must face it, stare at it so hard that it disappears and he can distinguish the 'something at the back of men and nature which no one else thinks of suspecting.'

In achieving this intensely private exploration of reality, he does of course attack 'the passport likeness' which lies buried in established institutions, in social

evils and malpractices. But he does not set out with this end in view. What he's after is 'truth', his truth, not a better way of living, however desirable it may be to bring that about, and however much his clarification of the truth does, indeed, help to bring it about.

It's equally true that the writer doesn't exist in some kind of alienated state, isolated from his surroundings and unaffected by them and his relationships. He is a member of society and its constant critic.

He is a critic because organised societies, of whatever nature, rapidly assume the facades of appearance which are necessary to make them workable, but which nevertheless obscure their reality. And this despite the 1934 definition of Socialist Realism by the Union of Soviet Writers.

What's all this got to do with tele-

vision? Well, if you're unfortunate enough to have contracted the disease I've described above, and you decide, as many of us have, that television offers you a vehicle to proclaim your discoveries in a way that no other medium can, then you'll find that the single play is your only outlet.

All the rest of the television output, and I don't exclude sport, is aimed at maintaining appearances and keeping reality in the undisturbing background.

The single play alone provides airtime in which the writer can stand up and say what he thinks without someone else, under the sanctions of Royal Charters, jumping up and contradicting him. This being so, it becomes immediately obvious that considerable pressure is brought to bear, by the most indirect, only partly conscious means, to make sure that what he thinks isn't extravagantly different from what everyone else thinks.

I should amend that to read 'what the television executives think everyone else thinks.'

The writer who wants to get his message across soon becomes an expert at sailing close to the wind. Of course, he never knows for certain from which direction or with what force the wind is blowing at any one time, which explains why so many of us take to the bottle or number the bailiff amongst our best friends.

He also learns to recognise, among his fellow-writers, those who are trying to say something, and those who aren't. To those of us who are, constantly aware of the difficulties of the task we've set ourselves, of the pressures to conceal the true meaning of the work, of the paucity of airtime available for it, of the smallness of our numbers and the difficulties facing those who are willing to join us, it is nothing less than an outrage that the producers of 'Play for Today' spend their allocation of money and airtime on a load of old-fashioned rubbish like 'Three is One', by Penelope Mortimer.

OFFENCE

For those of you lucky enough to have missed it, doubtless numbered in millions, the play concerns the preoccupations, never clearly defined, of a fashionably alienated male and female without visible means of identification, as a result of discovering that they attend the same psychiatrist. The psychiatrist says they are using each other to communicate with him. When he realises that they are using him to communicate with each other—which takes him all evening—he goes batty. That's all.

No, not all. The play is an offence against the sensibilities of anyone who has suffered from loneliness, sexual maladjustment, total loss of a sense of purpose, or a desire to kill themselves.

I will not do this piece the honour of criticising in detail its falseness, its blatant inaccuracies, its distortion of the puppet-characters to accommodate the feeble whimpering of its unlikely 'plot'. I shall content myself with telling you that it represents, at its lowest level, an example of the kind of work which has brought television drama into its present disrepute.

When they told Lew Grade he had to put on some straight drama as well as the comedy series and the dead film stars he was flogging to the Americans he's reported to have said: 'Problem plays? Certainly I want problem plays. But I want plays with happy problems, with happy people.'

Which wouldn't get Penelope Mortimer on to the ATV drama slot, but Lew's message has ever after sounded in the ears of every producer in the business. And this is why we get these moribund travesties of life, week after week, year in, year out.

As long as it's got a problem it's a television play and a play isn't a television play without a problem.

I have news for them. It isn't the problem that's the problem. The problem is life. Reality. You know what I mean?

Tom Clarke

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WYTHENSHAWE MORNING

IT'S cold and windy selling papers on one of the industrial estates scattered around Wythenshawe like the seed pods of modern capitalism.

Wythenshawe, which is the part of Manchester that drops unnoticed into Cheshire between Altrincham and Stockport, also boasts, so I'm told, the largest housing estate in western Europe—a seventh of Manchester's population, which is a tidy sum.

Everything's low and spaced out, overlooked by a mountainous motorway as barren as the rest of the place. A sort of artificial Siberia of modern capitalism. A concrete desert rather than a concrete jungle, with chilly winds and freezing rain.

While much of Manchester looks as if the Great Depression never stopped there, Wythenshawe, like most of the rest, has the feel of a great depression of the soul. What do people do in Wythenshawe?

They watch telly, listen to the radio or to records. The men trek through the cold night air to the bare-boarded public bar of one of those enormous, unfriendly pubs you see on large housing estates. The women may go to bingo or to adult education classes. Occasionally, they may go out together to eat or drink in the velvet-covered saloon bar of one of those same public houses. Sometimes they must go to the one cinema in Wythenshawe, and, of course, every month or so there's a union meeting.

How do people bring themselves together when they're set apart in their houses, in their factories, by the production line and the telly?

How can they feel their strength in unity when it might as well be a million miles to the next GKN factory on the same estate, no less a distance to a house down the street and sometimes even further between husband and wife and children?

Selling papers is a small act that can bring people together, the paper-seller can act as some kind of catalyst.

Holding meetings is a small act too. A strike or a sit-in, a mass demonstration are bigger acts. A social for the Gardner's workers sitting-in in Eccles, messages of support and donations to fighting funds—these help.

THE paper themselves help bring people together. Socialist Worker tells us we're not alone. Greater Manchester Engineer tells us what's going on in the factory down the road, and helps us talk to people we might not drink with or go and see United with. GEC Rank and File does the same for those people fighting the same boss.



So we sell papers and slowly begin to talk with people in other factories, other towns, other housing estates and other countries. We learn that we're not isolated, in time or in space.

There's a great tradition to be drawn on—a tradition of struggle over years and over miles. A tradition dedicated to the destruction of the separation and divisions of this society, through the unity of the working class and by the destruction of the mother and father of all divisions—the one between those who have to work to live and those who live off the wealth we create.

The workers and the bosses. The people who wrench coal and iron from the earth, who turn it into motor-cars and plastic dustbins, the people who chop trees and pick cotton and those who turn them into paper, outrageously priced furniture and clothes to keep us warm and make us feel good, the people who grow and pick the food we eat, the people who move all these things from place to place, the people who teach us how to do these things and who look after us when we can no longer do them.

All these against the people who take what we produce and sell it back to us, keeping a nice part for themselves, the people who lend the money to build bigger factories, to make more profit, the people who sit on our backs.

So we produce and sell papers to help people talk together and then to act together. A small step, a very small step—but with a great future.

THEN the rain came out on this Wythenshawe morning. My papers were like blotting paper in the rain and nobody was going to stop and buy one. Somebody said I could step inside the gates where it was dry. He said they wouldn't dare throw me out, so in I stepped.

A mate of mine wasn't so lucky the other day. Rain pelting down at half past seven on a cold morning. An armful of tattered papers sagged and ripped under the weight of the water they'd soaked up. So he asked the foreman who happened by if he could stand inside the gates out of the rain.

'Not a chance, friend,' the foreman said. As the foreman turned to walk away, Roger muttered something under his breath. 'You bugger,' he said. 'There's a lot of us about,' came the reply.

Well, perhaps there are. The bosses and all those Right Honourable Gentlemen in our mother of parliaments, for a start.

For one thing, there's not that many people saying anything that endangers their positions at the top. For another, they can come into our houses any day with that hole

in the wall called television. That gives us plenty of harmless rubbish to talk about, if we can be bothered to talk—especially after a hard day's work.

Then, if things get bad and the mutters begin, the working-class heroes in the trade union offices can and do always take it upon themselves to be the mouth, eyes and ears of the class they're supposed to represent.

Except that the order of the day for Feather and chums, in the presence of the high priests and altar boys of British capitalism, is 'See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.' They play the bugs to Heath's foreman, instruments of the class they're meant to oppose—transmitting every message from the shop-floor and the union meetings, but small and inactive in the presence of the government duly elected by (class) law.

OF COURSE under pressure even Feather might crack and start doing his job. But then the bosses think they hold the last card. They think that because they control the purse they've got the power.

But they're wrong. We've got the real power because we fill the purse. What they've got is strength—the strength of organisation, the strength of unity.

And their strength is our weakness. Trades councils and the TUC are no match for boardrooms and the CBI. The Labour Party is no match for the Tories. Because all too often the people who run our organisations are just like the little bug Feather, only sometimes even smaller.

We need to build our strength at our level and not depend on mouth-pieces and artificial limbs to make our voices heard and our actions felt. And when we have built that strength no power on earth will be our match. The two-face masks of Feather and all the little and bigger Feathers will give way to the single united and real face of the working class.

To break out of the boxes in Wythenshawe, the separation and divisions imposed from above. To stand together, and so to be warm in the cold and strong in the fight. To talk and to act together and let the telly talk to itself.

After all, a clenched fist is so much more powerful than an an Ironside.

Sam Meacham

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'.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND

- Aberdeen
- Cumbernauld
- Dundee
- Edinburgh
- Dunfermline/
- Cowdenbeath
- Glanrothes/Kirkcaldy
- Glasgow N
- Glasgow S
- Greenock
- Stirling

NORTH EAST

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

NORTH

- Barnsley
- Bradford
- Dewsbury
- Doncaster
- Grimsby
- Halifax
- Huddersfield
- Hull
- Leeds
- Pontefract/
- Knottingley
- Scarborough
- Selby
- Sheffield
- York

EAST

- Basildon
- Beccles
- Cambridge
- Chelmsford
- Colchester
- Harlow
- Ipswich
- Leiston
- Lowestoft
- Norwich
- Peterborough

NORTH WEST

- Barrow
- Blackburn
- Bolton
- Buzley
- Crewe
- Kirkby
- Lancaster
- Manchester
- Merseyside
- Oldham
- Preston
- Rochdale
- Salford
- St Helens
- Stoke
- Stockport
- Trafford
- Wigan
- Wrexham

WALES and SOUTH WEST

- Bath
- Bristol
- Cardiff
- Exeter
- Gloucester
- Llanelli
- Mid-Devon
- Neath
- Plymouth
- Swansea
- Swansea Valley

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

- Bexley
- Camden
- Chertsey
- Croydon

- Ealing
- East London
- Enfield
- Fulham and Hammersmith
- Hackney and Islington
- Harlesden
- Harrow
- Hemel Hempstead
- High Wycombe
- Hornsey
- Houslow
- Ilford
- Kilburn
- Kingston
- Lambeth
- Lewisham
- Merton
- North Herts
- Paddington
- Reading
- St Albans
- Slough
- Tottenham
- Walthamstow
- Wandsworth
- Watford
- Woolwich

MIDLANDS

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

SOUTH

- Brighton
- Canterbury
- Crawley
- Eastbourne
- Guildford
- Portsmouth
- Southampton

THE UNIONS

SENIOR shop stewards at Chrysler's Linwood factory, near Glasgow, have now presented their 1973 claim to management.

Negotiations between Chrysler and the shop stewards take place separately at Chrysler's four principal British factories. But for the first time, because management won an 18-month agreement at Linwood in January 1972, the Stoke engine plant, the Ryton assembly plant, both at Coventry, the Linwood assembly and stampings plant and the Luton and Dunstable truck complex are all negotiating at about the same time.

The disadvantage for the workers is clear. Chrysler now only need fear one annual period of dispute over wages, and can more easily plan to take that in its stride. It can also play off the weaker-organised plants against the others, as happened during the Linwood strike in January 1972.

After we had been on strike for three weeks we learnt that Chrysler had offered to pay anything we won over £4 a week to the Luton and Dunstable workers, and that the stewards there had agreed to this. In other words we were fighting not only for the 7500 Scottish car workers, but also for Chrysler's 4000 truck workers. This situation must not be allowed to happen again.

Sometimes Ford or Vauxhall workers wonder why, with the claim going in at the same time, the Chrysler shop stewards aren't interested in just one set of national negotiations. Ford and Vauxhall both negotiate nationally with shop stewards and full-time union officials.

Outvoted

The Ford and Vauxhall experience of joint national negotiating bodies is itself one reason why Chrysler's pressure to involve national officials in national negotiations has always been resisted by the shop floor. Ford and Vauxhall, the two motor companies that have been on Measured Day Work the longest and negotiating the longest on a national basis, are also the lowest-paid in the industry.

What happens is that the national officials have a much bigger say than the shop stewards, and the shop stewards from the best-organised and militant plants get outvoted by the others.

Quite rightly the shop stewards in the Chrysler combine want to avoid being brought down to any 'lowest common denominator'. Plant-by-plant negotiations and action can still bring much better rewards to the Chrysler workers. This is particularly true for Linwood, for the impact of a total strike there is immediately felt at both Stoke and Ryton.

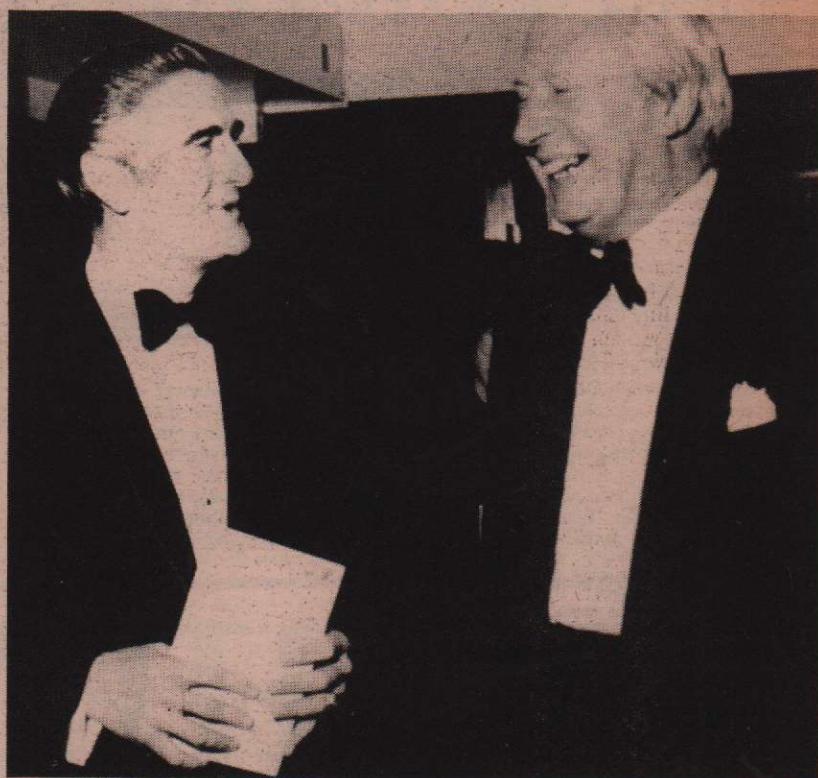
A danger this year is that in the light of the government 'norm' of £1 plus 4 per cent, Chrysler will repeat last year's attempt to bring in pay talks on a national scale.

But such a move by Chrysler is not a simple thing. In Ford and Vauxhall negotiations are held on one nationally-agreed wages and grading structure. In Chrysler things are different.

Parity

The Stoke and Ryton plants went straight on to measured day work in June 1969 from payment-by-results, and their top wages were much higher than at Linwood, and the difference between top and lower-paid workers was much greater too. Measured day work was imposed at Linwood in its present form in 1968, but piecework did not operate at all in the new Rootes part of the factory when it was opened in May 1963, and was gradually eroded in the old British Light Steel Pressings part of the factory from 1964. The difference at Linwood between skilled workers and labourers was therefore quite small, and the wages paid bore no relationship at all to the Midlands rates.

Linwood workers have therefore been presenting parity claims since



Chrysler president John Riccardo with Prime Minister Ted Heath at an eve-of-Motor Show dinner. 'Now there is a real possibility for sustained growth,' Heath told the car manufacturers. He didn't say who was going to do the work.

Behind the Chrysler dispute

by Steve Jefferys

AUEW shop steward
Chrysler, Linwood, 1969-72

1970, and while the settlements of 1971 and 1972 (£5 and £6 respectively) helped narrow the gap between wages at Linwood and at Stoke and Ryton, the difference today is still 17p an hour, £6.80 a week.

At the same time, the Scottish workers' policy of leaving the differential between top and bottom at Linwood at £6 a week, and going only for across-the-board rises, means that the Scottish grading system is completely out of tune with the one operating at Ryton and Stoke, where the difference stands at £15.20 a week.

Other important differences include an agreement at Ryton that allows the track operator an average 'unassigned' time of eight minutes in every hour, where the equivalent worker at Linwood can be assigned work—and most are—for every second of every hour.

Linwood workers, quite rightly, have no intention of losing the grading system that benefits the lower-paid. And the Coventry workers, while they wish their Scottish brothers the best of luck in their fight for parity, are not prepared to stand by and wait for the Linwood workers to catch up before they put in for another wage rise.

So while the danger of a nationally negotiated deal has still to be guarded against, it is unlikely that any proposal Chrysler could come up with would even remotely interest the majority of workers involved.

The Linwood workers, by claiming a substantial rise to bring their rates of pay into line with those paid to Chrysler workers in Coventry, are entering the government's firing line. Their other demands—for four weeks annual holiday, a 35-hour week, immediate payment of equal pay for

women workers, improved lay-off and overtime rates—are all likewise 'illegal' under Phase Two of the freeze, and so is any action to try to force Chrysler to cough up.

Yet Linwood workers are in one of the strongest positions ever. Chrysler is under attack in America for not producing the expected profits, and is again turning to its overseas subsidiaries to make up the shortfall.

Chrysler UK has been moving from strength to strength over the past two years, now having clearly overtaken Vauxhall to win third position in the sales league behind British Leyland and Ford. Production and sales have never been higher.

Attitude

The assembly track speed at Linwood is now at 60 cars an hour, the top rate for any single European line dealing with two cars. The press shop has been on three shifts since 1968 but has recently been expanded and is now offering almost constant overtime.

The question marks that hang over the negotiations during the next two months are basically these. What is the attitude of the top officials of the transport and engineering unions? Already TGWU officials are quoted as preaching moderation and acceptance of the Tory wage limits.

Secondly, are the Chrysler shop stewards going to take up the reins when the full-time officials pull back? Are they prepared to launch a real campaign to win support and action for the claim?

At Linwood, are they prepared to head the field against the Tory government on the wages issue as they did early in January 1972 and as they've done on the Industrial Relations Act and with every political strike against Tory policies over the past three years?

It's not enough to hate the rich

LETTERS

I HAVE read Socialist Worker for some years and agree with the principles expressed in What We Stand For. I have often considered joining IS but I have become increasingly worried by some aspects of IS policy and the standard of writing in Socialist Worker which I feel contains too much diatribe and not enough in-depth analysis of important issues.

Otherwise hard-hitting articles are ruined by the unnecessary introduction of a 'cattiness' more reminiscent of Jean Rook. It is vital to expose the ruling class—it is not enough to pour venom on them just because of their wealth.

It is time to re-examine our motives. Are we moved mainly by pure hatred of the ruling class or a love for all humanity? There is no so-called socialist society on earth not dependent on state violence and repression for its existence.

A socialist society here will only be created by a mass movement driven on by love and respect for one another.

The encouragement of emotional hate I now feel is prevalent in Socialist Worker only devalues our cause and delays the achievement of a socialist society.

Until such time as IS can allay the fears and anxieties of many like myself then I am afraid we must always remain standing on the sidelines.—LINDA FOX, Halifax, Yorks.

Gullible

I WOULD LIKE to express my utter and mounting disgust with people like Celia Deacon (9 June) who appear to regard the working class as a powerful but rather gullible blob and art as something that should be utilised to bludgeon them into socialism.

The attitude behind her attack on Themroc and Review page seems to be that although she is bright enough to have worked out that there can be no individual solution to capitalism, industrial workers aren't quite so gifted and might leave the cinema and commence acts of vandalism in Piccadilly.

Celia's rancorous pharaseism has blinded her to the fact that Themroc is a satire consisting of realism, fantasy and, dare I say it, humour. Cannibalism and incest are metaphors for Themroc's defiance of the state and the family, not intended as a day-to-day strategy for industrial militants.

Presumably she is equally indignant about Man Friday's failure to apply the correct transitional demands to Robinson Crusoe or Donald Duck's refusal to build the revolutionary party.

Themroc is not a vastly important movie and probably appeals to those of a somewhat irresponsible nature. But the assumptions behind this marxist Mary Whitehouse's militant narrow-mindedness are.

The classical marxists, particularly Trotsky, have all emphasised that art cannot be judged by its overt politics but rather the skill with which it expresses social reality. Artists like Flaubert or Scott Fitzgerald, or for that matter B B King and John Ford can be frankly reactionary and still great artists.

Conversely J B Priestley is not a major novelist because he happens to go on the Aldermaston March. There is a theory, which Celia Deacon would like, which sees art as a thing

Let's hear from you. Socialist Worker wants to hear from readers—your likes and dislikes with the paper, your disagreements with IS policy, plus thoughts and comments on the multitude of problems affecting working people. Letters must arrive first Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals to avoid confusion.

which must be manipulated to express the correct line and talks of 'anti-working class', 'individualistic' art being 'a load of crap'. That theory is Socialist Realism, it was devised by J V Stalin over the (literal) grave-stones of the revolutionary Russian artists of the 1920s and it is part of what the International Socialists came into being to oppose.—DAVID WIDGERY, London N1.

J PREEN (2 June) says we should boycott the Tory press until they go bankrupt. But people will not do this until they get an alternative press that gives them a good coverage of sport, film stars, pop music, etc, as well as policy and news.—R A LORDES, Fakenham, Norfolk.

Spleen

DUNCAN HALLAS' commentary (2 June) on Ernie Roberts' fine new book, Workers' Control, contained so many downright untruths about the Institute for Workers' Control that it is difficult to answer it briefly. But your readers have a right to know the facts, so that they can judge for themselves the degree of factional spleen in which your contributor has indulged.

At the 1970 Conference of the Institute, the resolution, which was approved unanimously, contained an unequivocal declaration of support for the 8 December stoppage called by the Liaison Committee. I was the author of this paragraph, which owes nothing whatever to comrade Hallas.

Not one IWC 'academic' opposed the 1970 stoppage on any grounds at all, leave alone on the ludicrous

grounds that it was 'unofficial', as your contributor quaintly puts it.

What was agreed by a slender majority of the IWC council prior to the 1970 meeting was that it would recommend that the conference should not discuss resolutions, because there were a large number of these, including some tabled by councillors themselves through the groups to which they were affiliated, and they would inevitably involve a great deal of procedural time-wasting.

Since the IWC is an open forum, with no executive machinery for implementing resolutions, the majority, which in point of fact included most of the trade union activists on the Council, but only a minority of the 'academics', agreed to recommend this point of view to the conference.

The conference decided, after a reasoned and free discussion, to reject the council's recommendation. No-one of either viewpoint tried to prevent this, or to intimidate any delegates, a fact which, in the light of recent events, is noteworthy. The elected Conference Arrangements Committee, of which Jim Higgins was a member, unanimously presented a composite resolution which consisted of a text of the Humberside group with two minor additions. Humberside had previously discussed their resolution with me, and had accepted my suggestion that the 8 December action should be highlighted as the central call, adopting the form of words I proposed. It was these words which conference approved in unanimity.

Every sentence in this letter up to this point documents a misrepresentation or a lie in Duncan Hallas' article. Why does he use such methods? KEN COATES, Nottingham.

Crucial

IRENE BREUGEL's review (2 June) presents a good analysis of Audrey Wise's pamphlet Women and the Struggle for Workers' Control. But she hits on a crucial problem that needs further discussion.

She criticises Audrey Wise as 'she fails to show that the fight against male domination in the unions is part of the fight against bureaucracy—by men and women together'. This is easily said but glosses over the obstacles that stop men and women fighting together.

1. Militant rank and file men often don't see the importance of involving women in union organisation.

2. Nor do they understand the problems preventing women becoming involved—family commitments, predominantly male union and the whole series of subtle messages that tell a woman she doesn't need to be interested—after all 'a woman's place is in the home.'

3. Men are sometimes antagonistic towards working with women—they undermine the strength of the unions, break strikes, work for poor pay and often in poor conditions. But look at the hospital workers' struggle—this shows what women can do, once they become involved.

We've only scratched the surface and would like to see the debate opened among all readers.—GILL HINE, PAM BAINBRIDGE, Birmingham.

The car strike exclusive that was a pack of lies

THE INDUSTRIAL REPORTERS of Fleet Street went on their annual outing last week—searching for Reds in the undergrowth of the car industry. They didn't find any, of course, but a missing corpse doesn't stop a reporter loyal to his news editor's instructions.

Everyone knows how these things happen. The editor complains in morning conference that the car dispute story is getting complicated and boring. Can't someone, he asks, dig up a new angle?

The news editor hums a bit because he doesn't really know what the dispute is about either and mutters something about a Red plot.

The editor, like a small child learning to talk, latches on to one word: Red. And it's down on the schedule.

Because it's on the news schedule, it has to be in the paper, which is how the Sun newspaper came to produce the page two headline: 'Did Reds Plot the Allegro Car Strike?'

The Sun story went on: 'Last night there were suspicions that the strike was stirred up by left-wing activists.' The Sun doesn't say who voiced the suspicions, nor present any proof that the so-called suspicions could be justified.

It merely reports that an anonymous industrial relations expert—could he possibly be the paper's industrial editor—said a Red plot was quite likely.

The paper goes on: 'He explained that the car industry's high labour turnover made it easy for experienced activists to infiltrate companies and stir up trouble.'

Launched

It would serve the Sun right if its present high sales among car workers dropped overnight out of disgust for such unprofessional reporting.

Once the Sun had launched the Plot, it was picked up by the other papers. No one can let a rival get away with an exclusive—even if it is a pack of lies.

Strangely, it was left to the Daily Mail, not normally the worker's friend, to explain what the strike was really all about.

When the strike ended, all the papers made it sound as though the men had been horsewhipped back to work by their union leaders. All, that is, except the Daily Mail again, who rightly reported that the dispute 'ended in victory for the car workers.'

But the Mail's newfound sympathy for the mindbending monotony of the car worker's job didn't stop that paper from splashing on the threat to Chrysler workers from the managing director of Chrysler UK.

The story itself was pretty straightforward, quoting at length the American company's accusations against the British workers. But the headline—'Worst In The World'—

Another important aspect of the forecast of flowwater is the way it highlights the need for the merged company to buy up UK profit. Only £4.7 million is expected to be available out of a pre-tax profit of £15.2 million and while this includes an un-known amount for minority interests, the rate is 40 per cent. So expect an important UK acquisition before the end of this year. No one is giving clues as to what sectors of industry will diversify, or on indeed what existing companies will be acquired. But would you not think the decision to give the plant to the British way of doing things is a bit of a surprise? Among the reasons for the decision to present two sets of consolidated accounts. Thus last year the consolidated net profit was £78.27 million for the French and only £72.7 million for the British. This arises because of a different treatment of certain items. French directors, for instance, are usually entitled to a proportion of the dividend—£6 million for the British. In Britain the directors' off-charge profit is paid of direct remuneration to include the profit in the consolidated accounts. In fact, the profit in the consolidated accounts is £1.5 million less than the profit in the consolidated accounts. The items which are accounted for differently in the two countries are:—

screamed that the Mail agreed with the accusations without further investigations.

Why do the industrial correspondents let their papers get away with such distortions? To answer that, we must look at the calibre of some of the industrial reporters around Fleet Street and see where their long-term interests lay.

The Daily Telegraph is a good spawning ground for management men. Alan Hughes was very happy picking up £4500 a year reporting industrial news for the Telegraph—until the National Federation of Building Trade Employers offered him £2000 a year more to become their press officer.

Hughes will now be able to arrange a slap-up expense account lunch for his old mates in Fleet Street, feed them the latest commandments of the building trade employers and be certain that out of loyalty to an old friend, the one-sided titbit of information will find its way in the Newspaper Gospel.

Alan Hughes' predecessor, John Richards, fell into a similar, silk-lined trap. Richards was a staunch, left-wing supporter, even a rebel against unnecessary authority until his mortgage caught up with him, whereupon this solid union man joined the press office of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

When the unions denounced it as a backroom guillotine for workers who failed to co-operate with the Industrial Relations Act, did Richards leave?

Not at all. And when the CIR has completed its investigation into the car industry troubles, as ordered by the Prime Minister, who will be responsible for pushing out the report to the press?

None other than our old friend, John Richards. End of vicious circle.

Leonard Hill

KATH DENNIS

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WOMEN FIGHT BACK

Picket troops for Ireland

ON 1 July the Duke of Edinburgh's Royal Regiment (Berkshire and Wiltshire) is to do its first tour of duty in the North of Ireland. In Reading, as a morale booster, the regiment will hold a band concert in the Butts shopping precinct at noon, and a 'Beating the Retreat' (!) ceremony on the Caversham Promenade at 6pm.

All those who know the truth about what the British Army is doing in the North of Ireland will be sickened by this farce. The Reading Anti-Internment League will be holding meetings and leafletting sessions in the preceding weeks, and Saturday 23 June we will hold a mass picket

in the town centre to protest about this propaganda exercise.

In this way we hope to combat the lies in the press and make known the truth about the role of the British Army in Ireland—that is, to maintain an artificially created, sectarian statelet and to repress in the most brutal manner the nationalist minority, in order to keep Ireland safe for British profiteers.

We will be assembling for the picket in the Forbury Gardens (near Reading Station) at 11.30 and we urge any of your readers in the west of London and Reading areas who can possibly support us to come.—CATHERINE COPE, Secretary, Reading AIL.

FINE TUBES: THE FINAL BETRAYAL

THE Fine Tubes strike is over. This Friday, 15 June, exactly three years after 172 men and women walked out of the Fine Tubes factory in Estover, Plymouth, demanding union recognition, the strike committee finally called off the strike.

In a letter distributed to hundreds of trade union branches and shop stewards' committees throughout the country, Dick Williams, strike committee chairman, and Herman Welch, secretary, write:

'The decision has been made with great regret, but we all feel that it is better to end the strike when we are still an organised body rather than watch the strikers disintegrate.'

The letter goes on to thank all the trade unionists who have helped in the Fine Tubes struggle.

'Most of all we have learnt that solidarity is not a dream; it is a reality which has been expressed to us in many different ways.

'In spite of all this solidarity, however, the strike has failed in its main object, and a stubbornly anti-union

boss is still operating. Employers who think like Barclay [Tom Barclay; managing director of Fine Tubes] should take warning of our efforts. We must tighten our organisations, demand more from our officials and executives, and prevent another Fine Tubes.'

I can reveal that this version is very different to the one which was initially agreed by the remaining 31 strikers at Fine Tubes, and that the newer, shorter letter is the result of strenuous intervention by officials of the transport and engineering unions (TGWU and AUEW).

The decision to call off the strike was taken by a full meeting of all the strikers on Friday 1 June. The strikers also approved unanimously a letter proposed by the strike committee for mass circulation in the labour movement.

This letter was at least twice as long as the letter which has been distributed. The first six paragraphs, thanking the trade unionists who assisted the strike, were substantially the same. The original letter then continued:

'We owe it to you briefly to set out what we feel are the main reasons for our apparent lack of success.

WILDCAT

'First, of course, we received no assistance from those employers who profess their support for trade unionism. The Engineering Employers' Federation, although they pretended that they did not approve of Fine Tubes' anti-union stand, did nothing whatever to back up that disapproval. A single threat from them could have finished Barclay off, but they preferred to shelve their so-called support for trade unionism in solidarity with a wildcat employer.

'Secondly, the capitalist press was at all times unconcerned about our case at Fine Tubes. We have had to put up with all kinds of nonsense and vitriol from that quarter.

'Only the left-wing press, in particular the Morning Star, Socialist Worker and the Workers Press, gave regular coverage to our case and our campaigns.'

After some acid comments about the role of the committee of inquiry, the letter continued:

'In several crucial cases we came across shop stewards and convenors who for reasons best known to themselves did not black Fine Tubes: in particular, Rolls-Royce, Derby; Osborne Steels Group, Bradford; Henry Wiggins, Hereford; UKAEA; BAC of Preston—all 100 per cent organised firms, who thus left open crucial loopholes through which Barclay operated.'

RECOGNITION

The letter ends with an assessment of the role of the official trade unions:

'We are bound to say that although the strike has been official from 15 June 1970, and although official blacking notices have been sent out again and again by the two unions involved, our cause has not been pursued by the official union machinery with the persistence and dispatch for which we had hoped. We cannot believe that the two biggest trade unions in the country have not got it in their power to break a small trade union employer, whose workers had voted for recognition.

'In more than one case, the unions officially stood aside while stewards and convenors agreed to black Fine Tubes. "There is nothing more that we can do", we were told again and again, when effective and determined leadership from the top could have ensured the total blacking of Fine Tubes...'

Blackmail threat over cash used to muzzle strikers

BY PAUL FOOT

The letter went on to warn that employers could be encouraged by the developments at Fine Tubes to stage further 'recognition' disputes. 'We must be vigilant to ensure the failure of such attempts', the letter stated. 'We must tighten our organisations, demand more from our officials and executives and strengthen the left-wing press...'

This letter, after having been unanimously agreed by the strike committee, was forwarded to the two unions before distribution. On Wednesday last week the strikers' four shop stewards—Dick Williams, Herman Welch, Frank Clarke and Jack McQuade—travelled to London for a meeting with union officials about arrangements for the winding up of the strike. At the meeting were Tom Crispin, national officer of the TGWU, Bill Johns, national officer of the AUEW, Ron Nethercott, South West regional organiser of the TGWU, Vic Evans, AUEW district organiser, Ron King (AUEW) and Ron Webber (TGWU), both Plymouth officials.

Almost the entire meeting was devoted to a discussion of the document. All the officials agreed at once with the sentiments expressed in the letter. Their sole concern, they assured the stewards, was for the future of the 31 strikers.

If the document attacked the Engineering Employers and the unions, ran the argument, and associated the strikers with extremist papers like the Morning Star, Socialist Worker and the Workers' Press, the strikers would find it that much more difficult to get work.

For three and a quarter hours, the stewards fought for their document. They argued that these things needed saying, and needed saying particularly by the Fine Tubes strikers.

Finally, Tom Crispin delivered his coup de grace.

DECISIVE

The finance and general purposes committee of the TGWU, he reminded the stewards, had agreed to 'discretionary' payments of £130 per striker once they resumed work. The decision had to be ratified by the union's executive the following Wednesday. If the executive saw a document attacking them, there was at least 'the possibility' that they might change their minds about the discretionary payments.

This intervention was decisive. The stewards agreed to the dismemberment of the document. They insisted only on the inclusion of the last sentence: 'Each and every one of us intends to take jobs in factories in this area, and to do all in our power to strengthen trade unionism in this part of the world.' The trade union officials regarded even this statement as 'unwise'.

At the strike committee meeting the following day, last Thursday, the stewards put their recommendation for cutting the letter.

The proposal met with bitter protest. But in the event the threat of victimisation, both in jobs and money, won the day. The committee voted by seven votes to three for the document to be cut.

The following day, Friday, the strikers voted, by 29 votes to 4, to accept the strike committee's recommendation.

So it is that after three years of delaying, the union officials of the two 'left-wing' trade unions have denied the strikers a full statement of their views to the labour movement. They have saved their own puny reputations at the expense of the strikers' dignity and have ensured that this magnificent gesture of working-class courage and solidarity ends not with a bang, but a whimper.

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday morning. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

IS MEETINGS

WALTHAMSTOW IS public meeting
WHY THE SYSTEM STINKS
speaker: Bob Light
TGWU Royal Group Docks
Thursday 21 June at 8pm
Grove Tavern, Grove Road (off Hoe St) London E17

ACTON IS public meeting: Are Busmen being taken for a ride?—The crisis in London Transport. Thursday 21 June, 8pm, Six Bells, Acton High Street.

EALING IS Immigrant Committee meeting on racism and the unions. Sunday 17 June, 3pm, The New Hall, near the George and Dragon, 33 High St, Southall.

IS INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' meeting: What's happening on the Docks. Speaker Bob Light (TGWU). Saturday 23 June, 12.30pm, White Lion, Horse Fair, Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS public meeting: The Fight against Racism. Speaker George Peake. Sunday 17 June, 7.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall lecture room 1. All welcome.

LONDON IS IRISH FORUM
James Connolly—his relevance today
Speaker Jimmy Grealy
Friday 22 June, 7.30pm
The Roebuck, 108 Tottenham Ct Rd (nearest tube Warren St and Goodge St)

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD IS public meeting: The Arms Race. Speaker Peter Latache. Thursday 21 June, 8pm, 105 Turners Hill, Adeyfield, Hemel.

CHELMSFORD IS public meeting: The Fight to build the Revolutionary Party. Speaker Jim Higgins (IS national secretary). Tuesday 26 June, 8pm, Civic Centre, Chelmsford.

ESSEX AGGREGATE of IS members: Sunday 24 June, 11am-6pm, Oddfellows Hall, Legg Street, Chelmsford. Details from branch secretaries.

PAISLEY AND CHELSEA public meeting: Why the system stinks. (Tham)

LAMBTON public meeting: Why the system stinks. (Tham)

ILFORD AND DAGENHAM IS public meeting: Watergate, Lonrho, Poulson, Lambton—Why the system stinks. Speaker Roger Protz (editor, Socialist Worker). Thursday 21 June, 8pm, Becontree Labour Hall, Green Lane, Dagenham (buses 150, 25, 87, 23).

GLASGOW IS public meeting
PROFITS AND CORRUPTION IN TORY BRITAIN
Speaker Paul Foot
Thursday 21 June, 7.30pm
McLennan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street

LUTON IS inaugural public meeting
THE NEED FOR A TRUE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE TO LABOUR
Speaker Tony Cliff
Wednesday 20 June, 8pm
Community Centre, Old Bedford Rd (near station)

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS MERSEYSIDE BUILDING WORKERS BRANCH public meeting
STOP THE RETREAT
Speaker John Fontaine (UCATT)
Sunday 17 June, 12.30pm
Hare and Hounds, Commutation Row, opp Wellington Memorial, Liverpool

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS SOCIAL
Friday 22 June, 8-11pm
Jake Thackray
Sandra Kerr and John Faulkner
The Mermaid, Stratford Road, Birmingham 12
Admission 50p (or 40p in advance from South Birmingham IS treasurer: phone 021-444 5692)

MERSEYSIDE IS District Conference
Saturday 16 June, 2pm
Strand Hotel, Brunswick Street, L'pool
Speakers: Tony Cliff, Andreas Nagliatti and Roger Rosewell
Members only—all members are urged to attend.

MERSEYSIDE DISTRICT IS
9pm
11am
Street, L'pool
Session 50p
E

CONFERENCE for socialist teachers in the ATTI, sponsored by local Rank and File Technical Teachers groups. Saturday 16 June, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham (room 3). ATTI members only. Details from Liz Peretz, 81 Lansdowne Road, London W11.

RANK AND FILE TECHNICAL TEACHERS meet at The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road, London W1 (near Warren Street tube). Sunday 10 June, 7pm, to discuss the National R&FTT, aims and constitution, national paper.

CONFERENCE: REVOLUTION AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM
Saturday 23 June/Sunday 24 June
Manchester University
Speakers include Marcelino Dos Santos (view-president FRELIMO), Bob Sutcliffe, Fred Halliday and Basil Davidson
Registration (includes set of 10 conference papers) £2, should be sent in advance to: Convenor, End the Alliance Campaign, 'Welfare', Students Union, Oxford Road, Manchester
Floor accommodation 50p, bed accommodation £2 may be reserved at same address
Conference sponsored by Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2, phone 01-734 9541

SOUTHERN AFRICA IN STRUGGLE LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS SPEAK
Central Hall, Westminster
Wednesday 20 June, 7.30pm
Speakers: MARCELINO DOS SANTOS (vice-president FRELIMO), OLIVER TAMBO (acting president ANC, South Africa), JIMMY REID ABDUL MINTY, JUDITH HART MP, WINSTON PINDER (chairman)
Tickets at 10p each available from: Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1, phone 01-580 5311, and Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2, phone 01-734 9541

NORTH WEST REGION TRADES COUNCIL AND TENANTS' ORGANISATIONS believe the time has come for a complete re-appraisal of the campaign against the Housing Finance Act, and are holding a **NATIONAL CONFERENCE** of Trades Council and Tenants' organisation representatives
Sunday 24 June, 2pm-6pm
Liverpool Students Union Theatre 2 Bedford Street North
Credentials from:
Liverpool Trades Council
33 Hatton Garden, Liverpool L3 2AA

THE STRUGGLE IN CAMBODIA public meeting
Friday 15 June, 7pm
Friends Meeting House, Euston Road London NW1
Speaker: Lek Hor Tan (Representative of the National United Front, Cambodia)
Film of Sihanouk's visit to the liberated areas

ALMOST FREE THEATRE
9 Rupert Street, London W1
C P Taylor's political satire on political satire
THE GRAND ADULTERY CONVENTION
8.15pm, nightly
Phone 01-485 6224 (membs)

NOTICES

LUTON IS BRANCH: Comrades moving to Luton and surrounding area, contact Harry Wilson, 54 Chester Avenue, Luton, for details of branch work etc.

IS WORKER, the International Socialist Worker and SW (Litho) thank all who have responded to our 'Workers Wanted' advert. The positions advertised have now all been filled.

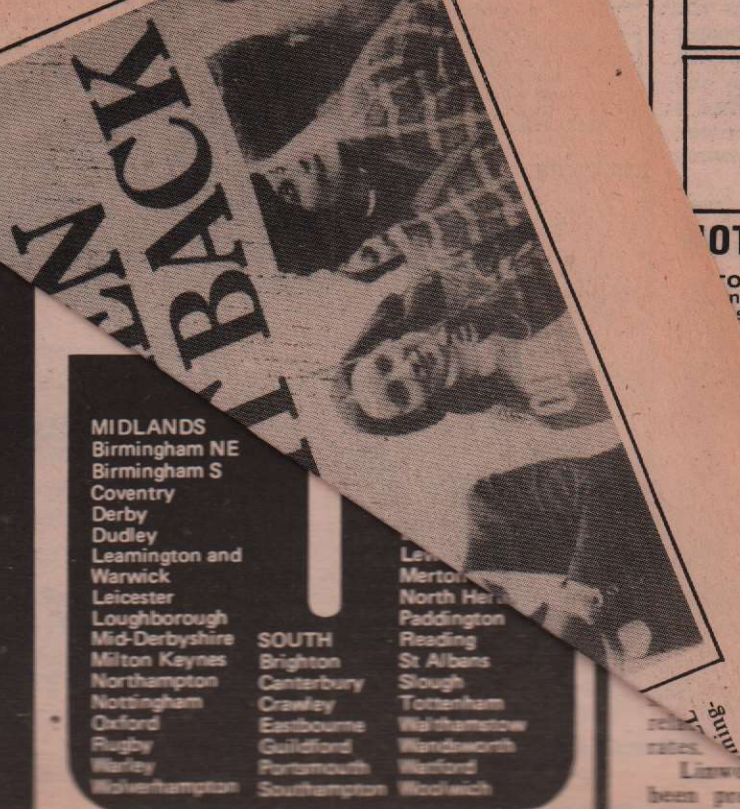
TRADE seeks own room in Luton preferably South West London. Phone 01-252 6252.

IS of International Socialism (Workers 1-26) needed to complete the current issue. Copies will be returned if not used. Please send to IS Journal, 6 Cottons Gardens, London W11.

ANTED July 1979 at or house 100 Tottenham Court Road, London W1. Phone 01-485 3488

Liverpool has been presented

- NORTH
- Barnsley
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- Halifax
- Huddersfield
- Hull
- Leeds
- Pontefract/ Knottingley
- Scarborough
- Selby
- Sheffield
- York
- EAST
- Basildon
- Beeches
- Cambridge
- Chelmsford
- Colchester
- Harlow
- Ipswich
- Leiston
- Lowestoft
- Norwich
- Peterborough
- MIDLANDS
- Birmingham NE
- Birmingham S
- Coventry
- Derby
- Dudley
- Leamington and Warwick
- Leicester
- Loughborough
- Mid-Derbyshire
- Milton Keynes
- Northampton
- Nottingham
- Oxford
- Princes Risborough
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- Paddington
- Reading
- St Albans
- Slough
- Tottenham
- Walthamstow
- Wandsworth
- Widford
- Witchamont



NALGO SNUBS TORY AXEMAN

SCARBOROUGH:-The national executive of NALGO, the government white-collar union, cancelled its invitation to Sir Keith Joseph, the social services minister, to speak cause of the way he has cut crudely through union negotiations to dictate pay scales for new jobs in the reorganised Health Service.

Joseph's action is yet another indication of the way the Tory government is attacking the unions.

NALGO's response was predictable and a confrontation with the minister has now been avoided, but it is important that the union is not prepared as in previous years to welcome a Tory minister to its annual conference.

The conference began on Monday with meetings of different sections of the union. The health workers section passed a resolution calling for non-co-operation in the reorganisation if the government continues to refuse to negotiate on the new pay scales.

In the local government section the stage is set for further acceptance of phase two of the freeze. The delegate meeting gave the negotiators a free hand to settle for £1 plus 4 per cent, but a quarter of the delegates voted to reject the negotiators' report. In the debate speakers urged the conference to mount a fight against phase two.

The rank and file NALGO Action group is organising a campaign to recall the local government delegate conference after the employers have made their final offer. A motion calling for the special meeting was defeated by 497 votes to 362, but this indicates that enough branches will support a call for a special meeting after the conference.

At the gas workers' section meeting resolutions were passed instructing the union to negotiate for a 35-hour week and New Year's Day as a holiday. If the talks fail, the union is committed to ballot members to seek support for industrial action.

TV steward victimised

BRADFORD:-Last Friday Geoff Draper, a shop steward at Baird Television, part of the giant Thorn combine, was dismissed instantly for 'bad time keeping'. It is a clear case of victimisation.

Geoff, a thorn in management's side, is one of the most militant shop stewards in the area. He said the attack was not on him but on union organisation. Baird's are trying to introduce a job evaluation scheme and new tubes and components which will mean less work and fewer jobs. Geoff has consistently fought against job evaluation and for guarantees of full employment.

Management knows it will soon come into conflict with the union over these issues. The victimisation of Geoff Draper is only the first step in trying to crush union organisation. Workers inside the factory are beginning to support Geoff and steps are being taken to get him reinstated.

STUDENTS 'NO' TO MEAGRE RISE

by Simon Turner

(National Union of Students executive member)

AN EMERGENCY conference of the National Union of Students last Saturday rejected as totally inadequate the Tory government's meagre increase in student grants. But it turned down by a 2-1 majority a call by militant students for a continuing campaign of protest.

The Tories have agreed to increase grants for students taking degree courses by £20 a year, which is not even enough to keep up with the past year's price rises, to the many students on non-degree courses and have rejected the demand for equal grants for married women students.

The union executive called on the conference to end the present grants campaign. New action is to begin in October to influence the government review of grants early next year. This campaign would aim to influence MPs and vice-chancellors through pressure group politics rather than militancy.

But such a policy has failed to budge the government significantly over the past year. Although some vice-chancellors have claimed to support bigger grants, they have been quite willing to victimise students



Socialists picket racist film

CHELMSFORD branch of the International Socialists organised a picket last Friday outside the Shire Hall in protest against the showing of an openly racist film made by the right-wing Monday Club. Other socialist organisations and anti-racists joined the picket and a substantial group gathered outside the hall while the police cleared a path for the would-be viewers of the Monday Club's political pornography. In the event, only 15 people went inside.

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report).

SUPREME VICTORY IN LAUNDRY STRIKE

WEDNESBURY, Staffs:-350 laundry workers, mostly women, have won a tremendous victory at Supreme Overall Services. After five days of strike action affecting all three depots, they won a 5p-an-hour increase on their 32p wage.

Conditions in the factory are appalling. It is a converted foundry, and most of the machines are 30 or more years old. Ventilation is poor. In one workshop 80 yards long, there is a single fan, in another only a few small windows.

One girl described conditions as like a Turkish bath in summer and the North Pole in winter.

It is not unusual for the girls to faint two or three at a time. This happens when the machine for

by Socialist Worker reporter

degreasing overalls breaks down. Trichlorethylene cascades over the floor and the fumes spread to other shops.

The men who work the degreasing machines get only £18-a-week wages and no bonus. Trichlorethylene is banned in America unless oxygen masks are supplied, yet few safety precautions are taken in the factory.

Many of the women suffer from burns and skin rashes. Two 15-year-old girls who have worked in the factory for only two months have already had to receive medical treatment. A 16-year-old girl has just recovered from three weeks of dermatitis.

When the strike began, the women put pickets outside the factory. Two were injured and had to receive hospital treatment after a scab driver went through the picket line at speed. The managing director told stewards: 'This is a private road and the driver can go up it at 100 miles an hour if he wants to.'

But the solidarity of the women showed no signs of breaking. One striker said: 'The company sacked the "trouble makers" but they don't dare come that again. They have come out here waving the Industrial Relations Act and phase two. But we have not read them and they know where they can stick them.'

The strikers were aided by workers at Rubery Owen, F H Lloyd and Willenhall Radiators, who promised blacking and picketing support.



DAN MCGARVEY: 'Go back'

Belfast men back on bosses' terms

BELFAST:-The 18-week-old dispute at the Harland and Wolff shipyard ended last week when the 2300 steelworkers who had been locked out for two months accepted management's terms for a return to work.

The offer was £1 plus 4 per cent on the basic rate—the maximum under phase two of the wage freeze—a lump sum of £20.90 for accepting downgrading of jobs to be done by the 600 trainee steelworkers in the yard, and an allowance of 63p a week until productivity earnings overtake this amount.

The men were originally demanding payment of productivity bonuses amounting to £2.50 to £3.50 a week, which management were withholding and which have been ignored in the settlement.

Dan McGarvey, president of the boiler-makers' union, had always advocated a return to work on management terms. The union refused to make the dispute official and since the lock-out began the men had

no unemployment or social security benefit or help from the union.

Sandy Scott, steelworkers convenor, said that many of the locked-out men had been forced to leave the country to find work.

McGarvey has moved the battle against Harland and Wolff's management off the shop floor and into the courtroom. The union executive is taking the firm, which is 47 per cent government-owned, to court for failure to pay the men for 1½ million hours worked under the productivity deal.

Belfast shipyard workers are still paid up to £10 a week less than workers on the Clyde and Tyne. The defeat is a serious setback in the fight against the wage freeze, which has met little enough opposition in Northern Ireland.

Steelworkers in the yards must overcome their isolation from other shipyard workers, which prevented any solidarity action and prolonged the dispute in management's favour.

Corset firm agrees union

SOUTHALL:-First steps towards a union agreement have been reached by the Tailors and Garment Workers Union and the Wynuna Corset Company, which employs Asian women.

All the women received a £1-a-week increase just before union official Michael Mindel met the management. Management has agreed to recognise the union and accept the conditions laid down by the National Council for the Corset Industry. Union meetings and English classes can be held on the firm's premises but not during working hours.

Union dues will be paid by the 'check off' system—deducted by management from the workers' wages. There is some opposition to this from the shop floor for the system weakens the power of the workers' elected representatives.

●An important conference on the drive for unionisation in the Southall rag trade industry will be held this Sunday—17 June—at 3pm in the New Hall, next to the George and Dragon, High Street, Southall.

Blacks battle with police

BRIXTON:-Three policemen investigating a stabbing incident in Brockwell Park last Saturday grabbed a black youth, called in reinforcements as his friends sprang to his defence and soon there was a pitched battle between 200 police wielding truncheons and using dogs and a few hundred local kids.

Five police were taken to hospital with cuts and bruises, though released after treatment. They arrested two youths and one 14-year-old schoolboy and charged them with causing grievous bodily harm.

Eyewitnesses said the schoolboy was sitting on a wall watching the fight when police came up and bundled him into a van. At the station the boy was punched, kicked in the stomach and threatened that if he did not sign a statement admitting guilt, the police would run him over.



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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

'We will close factory' threat

PETERBOROUGH:—Management at Perkins Engines has threatened to close down its diesel engine plant this week and make 5700 workers jobless.

Workers at the factory are in the eleventh week of a work-to-rule ban on overtime, pressing for parity with Perkins' sister plant, Massey-Ferguson, Coventry. The action is costing the firm an estimated £1 million a week.

The firm has refused to discuss the parity, using the ludicrous argument that Peterborough, being an agricultural area, has a lower cost of living than industrial Coventry.

The men's morale is still high and they intend to call the company's bluff and hold out for an agreement. A transport union member said: 'The firm is trying to frighten the men. I don't think they will shut down. The men are too militant.'

This opinion is so widely held on the shop floor that even the local paper, not noted for its favourable attitude towards the dispute, was forced to print quotes from workers who all said that they were prepared to fight on.

Peterborough is a developing area in which Perkins is the major employer. The firm's intention is to expand while keeping a non-militant workforce.

This has been possible for Peterborough has been until recently an agricultural area, where workers had little industrial experience. But workers coming from other areas and the recent notable victories locally—such as the recent dispute for equal pay in the local GEC plant—are changing things. The parity issue shows that Perkins workers have begun to see their interests are the same as those of workers in other, stronger and better organised, areas.

At a meeting addressed by Ron Squires, a Coventry Massey-Ferguson worker, a demand was made for links between the factories. This was probably one reason why management has been determined to break shop floor organisation before it becomes strong.

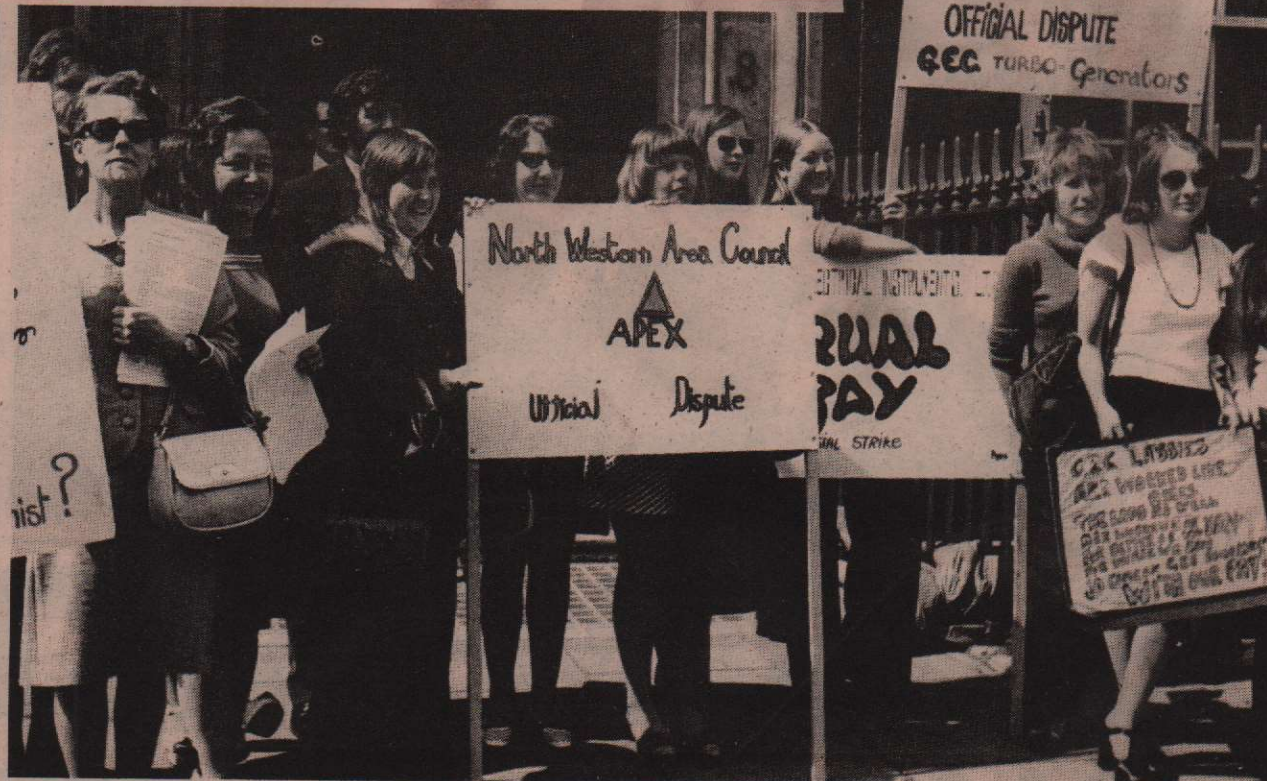
A combine committee for the Massey-Ferguson Group is needed. Massey-Ferguson is a massive international company with profits of £32 million in 1972, compared with a £19 million loss in 1970.

60 support builders on 'plot' charge

COVENTRY:—More than 60 people attended a Coventry Trades Council meeting this week in solidarity with Midlands building workers charged with conspiracy.

Phil Bayer, one of the five building workers charged in Birmingham for occupying a lump labour agency, told the meeting of the dangers to trade unionism in the lump, which had been growing since last year's building strike. He thought it the 'prime objective' of the employers after the strike 'to break union organisation' and the lump was the quickest and easiest method of doing this.

Paul Foot, from the International Socialists national committee, and George Johnson were the other speakers.



Workers from the Manchester factories of Salford Electrical Instruments, part of the GEC group, picketed negotiations in London on Monday. The workers, men and women members of the clerical union APEX, are on strike in support of a claim for equal pay for the women. PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report).

Bail still refused to six

COVENTRY:—Six men are still held in prison awaiting trial on charges of 'conspiracy to cause explosions'. The case grows more important week by week. They have been refused bail on meagre police evidence.

Two men, Frank Stagg and Father Pat Fell, a Catholic priest, are also charged with managing a 'Unit of the Irish Republican Army', 'organised and trained for the purpose of enabling its members to be employed for the use of physical force in promoting a political object'. The charge arises from the Public Order Act of 1936.

The men are being held in solitary confinement, with only two half-hour exercise breaks. They have been in prison for two months already. Another man, Pat Burke, who has now been charged, is on bail.

Coventry International Socialists have been raising the case in the local labour movement arguing for support for the right of Irish people to oppose the occupation of part of their country by British troops.

The most recent bulletin produced by the Coventry Chrysler IS branch points the similarity between the conspiracy charges directed against the men and those being used to intimidate building workers who have been fighting the lump.

CHRYSLER MEN SPEAK OUT



CARWORKERS, as portrayed by the national press, are pretty nasty creatures — over-paid, strike-happy and lazy. Now they have been accused of shoddy workmanship.

The 4500 strikers at Chrysler's Ryton assembly plant, near Coventry, are being denounced by management and press as 'saboteurs'.

Such accusations anger the Ryton men, who have been on strike since 30 May against the company's attempt to cheat men out of lay-off and holiday pay.

To get the truth, Socialist Worker spoke to Joe Molloy, chairman of the Ryton joint shop stewards' committee, and to two of the keenest pickets, Eddie Tomlinson and John Marshall, who both work in the 'body in white' plant where Avenger bodies are assembled before painting.

'Four weeks ago we got a letter from management congratulating us on our efforts,' says Joe Molloy. 'Then a week before the strike we got another letter from the high-ups saying the opposite.'

'We'd like to report the straight facts that people here are being forced to do the job wrong. You get people, they know a job is a reject, so they chop it out. And then someone comes along and because

there's no other door panels, we've got to use the reject parts.

'This means major work putting things to rights afterwards. Then you get a build-up, heads might roll, one starts protecting another and it ends up with the workers on the line getting the blame for the lot.'

Said John Marshall: 'With the strike at Linwood cutting off the supply of body panels, management made us use reject body panels instead of giving us lay-off pay, to which we are entitled.'

KICKED

'For the past five months we've been getting perfectly good panels from Linwood. But with the dispute there, they start scratching around for panels at Ryton to keep the track moving. Any old thing will do. They give us panels that have been lying around, kicked around, and even some that look as if they have been run over by a fork-lift truck. Then when the faulty jobs come through, they suddenly say they've been sabotaged by the workers.'

'If the panels are the wrong size,' says Eddie Tomlinson, 'then they don't get them altered at Linwood. They alter the jigs at Ryton and try to make them fit. So the lads have to try to force them to fit and they get dented. That's what they call sabotage.'

'The dispute started on the day shift. Management came down on the Friday and took photos of cars on the track. They called in the union officials and spread the photos across the table and said: "We're not paying money for this." Except that the day shift workers hadn't even touched these cars—they were done on nights.'

Says John Marshall: 'There's far more lay-offs than strikes here. When you get laid off, they always manage to get you back to work so they don't have to pay you lay-off money. The week the dispute began we worked the Monday, then they said that they wouldn't be needing us until after the bank holiday.'

'Then we got called back on the Wednesday and had to work Thursday night. When we got in they'd got hardly any panels. So to save themselves paying any

lay-off money, they made us produce rubbish and then forced us out the door!'

Eddie Tomlinson said: 'We're out for the principle, not for 30 shillings as the papers put it. One shift lost all their pay for the two days bank holiday plus lay-off money, as much as £30 in some cases. They've got to give full re-imbursment for that.'

'Also we've got to get an agreement that prevents this happening again. Management are too fond of taking people off pay when it suits them. We want consultation and negotiation to take place through shop stewards before they start.'

'We're fighting to win this one. We want to hit them as hard as possible as quick as possible. We need much stronger pickets. If we didn't have the flying picket then it would go on for weeks and weeks.'

'That's why we've stopped them bringing all new cars out of the compound at Ansty, closed up the rail-head to Linwood and thrown pickets round every other major plant. We've got to bring Chrysler UK to a complete standstill to win quickly.'

Picketing closes plant after plant

COVENTRY:—Chrysler Ryton workers have stepped up their picketing after the management's threats. Last week the picket stopped new Avengers coming out of the storage compound at Ansty, near Coventry, and prevented all movement at the railhead which conveys engines and parts to and from Linwood in Scotland.

On Friday they turned to the key to Chrysler's UK operations—the engine plant at Stoke, Coventry. Everything except food and drink has been stopped from going in.

Management, anxious to isolate the Ryton workers, has gone to great lengths to get round the pickets. First of all this meant sending engines, gear boxes and axles up to Lancashire by road, where they were met by drivers from Scotland.

When that was stopped by pickets on the Stoke factory, the company ripped down part of its own fencing to let six container wagons full of parts get out.

On Monday management demolished

part of a wall to let vehicles in and out, and there have been reports of attempts to move supplies at the Stoke plant by helicopter.

Some workers are confused over what are the best tactics to win the strike. Ryton strike committee argue that the aim is to force the company to lay-off the rest of its workers on £29 a week lay-off pay.

However, the feeling among many militants is that the strings attached to the lay-off pay system serve to undermine solidarity. For example, the Stoke joint shop stewards committee refused to support Ryton for fear of losing lay-off pay.

The strike is nominally over 1½ hours pay and loss of pay-off and holiday pay for some Ryton workers. But the management is hoping that it will weaken the workers before their pay claim comes up at the end of the month.

Militants are arguing that unless the pay claim is brought forward and made part of the dispute, it could end up going by the board. Again active solidarity is needed from other Chrysler plants, not just lay-offs.

HEART ATTACK 'MURDER'

LONDON:—The jury returned a verdict of murder at the inquest of Frederick Milton, the caretaker who died from a heart attack after the explosion at the Old Bailey in March.

They were helped in this decision by the coroner, Mr David Paul, who said they could bring in a verdict of murder if they thought that Mr Milton's death had been accelerated by the explosion.

When the inquest opened on 15 March, Professor Keith Simpson, from London University, said: 'There is nothing from my examination by which I could connect this with any recent event which could have disturbed him physically or mentally.' Another cardiologist, Dr Walter Somerville from Middlesex Hospital, said he 'could not say' whether Mr Milton would have lived if the explosion had not happened.

The inquest was then adjourned. Last Friday both 'experts' were much less definite in their assertions, and the jury found accordingly.

Ten people are in Brixton Prison awaiting trial on charges arising from the explosions.

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