

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Big tax wangle for anti-union firms

TOP BOSSES SPONGE ON STATE

by Roger Rosewell and Laurie Flynn

THE ENGINEERING EMPLOYERS FEDERATION, the powerful 30,000-strong bosses' organisation, is receiving substantial government subsidies to finance firms that resist wage claims and strikes.

In March last year the Manchester district of the engineering workers' union launched a campaign in support of a national pay claim.

The EEF moved in behind its Manchester members—unlike the unions, which gave no real support to their members there.

Firms were instructed to escalate the dispute to cripple AUEW funds. In return for this and for adhering to the federation's strategy of total and co-ordinated resistance to the claim, the EEF also agreed to make substantial payments to offset profit losses.

The sum agreed as compensation for loss of profits was £10 a week for each skilled male worker on strike with scaled-down payments for unskilled males, women workers and the young.

In all the EEF pumped more than £2 million into the coffers of member firms in the Manchester area to stiffen their resistance to the prolonged industrial action. The strategy was highly successful, despite the magnificent fight put up by the Manchester engineering workers.

This kind of outlay put the EEF's 'indemnity' or 'strikes and lock-outs' fund into the red. Income for any one year is only around £240,000 from dividends on shares and subscriptions. The deficit for the year 1972 was £2,378,319.

MAXIMUM

This deficit could have been covered by levying member firms. But the EEF did not choose to do this, or even to sell a substantial chunk of its shares.

The accounts of the EEF indemnity fund for 1972—a copy of which has come into Socialist Worker's hands—show that the EEF as an employers' association registered under the Industrial Relations Act has constructed its accounts in such a way that the maximum tax relief could be obtained on the loss incurred by funding the Manchester employers.

Total tax relief on the EEF's outlay in the Manchester battle amounts to the sum of £178,239—a massive state subsidy for financing strike-breaking and making the struggle as expensive as possible for the unions.

This state of affairs shows that the employers' federation's recent campaign against supposed state subsidies to strikers and their families—funded out of workers' contributions—is the sheerest hypocrisy.

'SERIOUS'

But the campaign has met with success. Sir Keith Joseph, the Tory Minister of Health and Social Security, has the 'serious' matter of state subsidies to strikers and their families under review. Already DHSS officials have been instructed not to use their discretionary powers to make payments in favour of strikers and their dependents.

And it is estimated that 10 to 20 per cent savings will be made by turning what were once and for all payments into recoverable loans. The scale of payments to strikers has already been massively reduced.

Meanwhile, Socialist Worker readers will be pleased to hear that the EEF 'indemnity' fund is now up to a real value of around £1.2 million and is being rapidly built up for the next battle.

Exposed: the 'patriotic' thugs who smashed the Chrysler picket line—see page 6



SALFORD PICKETS IN CLASH WITH SCAB

PICKETS clashed with a scab van driver brandishing an iron bar in Salford, Lancs, on Monday. The picket was made up of hundreds of local trade unionists demonstrating in support of women clerical workers, on strike at Salford Electrical Industries for equal pay with men workers. The banner in the picture was carried by engineering workers from Gardner's, a nearby firm and scene of a recent occupation. FULL REPORT: Page 15.

Socialist Worker
PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Hands off top profiteers says Wilson

LABOUR BOW TO

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Prices: who are the Tories kidding?

by Chris Harman

THE LATEST ROUND of price increases announced on Monday have driven even sections of the Tory press to protest.

'Heath must act' screamed the Daily Mail on Tuesday. It pointed out that food prices have now shot up by 35 per cent in three years.

But the government is not going to be panicked into over-hasty action. Agriculture Minister Joseph Godber insisted on Tuesday that 'it is impossible to prevent price rises when raw materials have risen so much. One has to get things into proper balance. Raw material costs have been such that it has been impossible for the Price Commissions to ignore them.'

The head of the Prices Commission Sir Arthur Cockfield, a former managing director of Boots, repeated the same story. 'We are not disconcerted,' he said. Presumably, with a salary of £15,000, finding the money to feed his wife and kids does not cause Sir Arthur too many headaches.

But people for whom such problems are rather more pressing would do well to look further for the cause of price increases. A glance over company reports issued in recent weeks would have told a different story.

Permission

Profits of industrial companies announced in the first half of this year are 19.9 per cent above the figure for last year. And that was 20 per cent higher than the year before.

Among the firms given permission to raise some of their prices on Monday was Cadbury-Schweppes, the giant food and drink company run by ex-Tory minister Lord Watkinson. Their profits have risen by a third—a cool £10 million—in the last two years.

Sausages and pies made by Telfers and Walls rose in price. Telfers is owned by Joe Lyons, who despite a 43 per cent rise in profits on Tuesday are also being allowed to put up the price of jellies, biscuits and preserves as well. Walls is owned by Unilever, whose profits rose by 26 per cent last year.

The chain stores that sell these goods have also been taking their cut. Tesco's profits have risen by more than 25 per cent over the last year.

None of this has been noted by the Daily Mail. The word profit did not appear once in its diatribe on prices. And the Daily Mirror, which usually pretends to be more radical, was just as silent on the subject.

A couple of articles which appeared in small print on the inside pages of the Financial Times on the same day explain why. One was a statement by the chairman of the Daily Mail and General Trust, which noted that 'Associated Newspaper Group Limited has reported profits 46 per cent higher than the previous year.' Associated Newspaper owns the Daily Mail.

The other was a statement by the chairman of Reed International, owner of the Daily Mirror, which boasted of an increase in profits of 43 per cent.

LEFT UNDER ATTACK

REPRESSION against the Left is on the increase. Last week two Irish socialists, Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, were jailed in Belfast for organising an 'illegal' demonstration. And on Sunday International Socialists' member Celia Holt was arrested in London on trumped-up forged cheques charges and flown to Northern Ireland. (STORIES: page 2).

In France last week the government banned the Trotskyist Communiste Ligue. Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle), the French revolutionary organisation closely associated with the International Socialists, has condemned the ban and declared its support for any action to have the ban lifted and the arrested members released. (STORY: Page 4). EDITORIAL COMMENT: Page 3.



AMERICAN SCENE

by Steve Jefferys

THE WATERGATE HEARINGS have been recessed this week but there has been a steady flow of information leaking out of the administration about the extent of corruption in high places. Over the last 4½ years, the Federal government has just admitted to spending nearly two million dollars on Nixon's private homes in Key Biscayne, Florida, and San Clemente, California.

When this news came out the White House said that all the improvements had been requested by the Secret Service for security purposes. But the following day the Federal housekeeping agency, the General Services Administration, said that 'all but two of the improvements' had been requested by the Secret Service and then the Secret Service itself requested more time to confirm whether or not each specific improvement had been requested by them on security grounds.

Next to Nixon's house in the Key Biscayne compound are the homes of his two close friends, C G Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp. Now it is certainly true that they will not have benefited from the expenditure of 3030 dollars on golf carts and 621 dollars on an ice maker for the Secret Service agents based there.

But the Washington Post is beginning to ask questions about the 42,293 dollar 'security' lighting system, the 4786 dollars for removing a low wall and planting high hedges, 3898 dollars for demolishing trees and plants, 2000 dollars for correcting beach erosion, 587 dollars for a flagpole and the 475 dollars for a swimming pool cleaner.

Altogether nearly 600,000 dollars has been spent on permanent improvements to the Key Biscayne complex. But this sum does not include the 340,000 dollars spent by the army to instal a helicopter landing pad, nor the cost of maintenance and operation.

At Nixon's den in San Clemente, the GSA was even more generous. Among the more than 700,000 dollars spent on permanent improvements there are really big investments in landscaping (100,000 dollars), weed removal (10,000 dollars) and moving trees (5600 dollars)—really crucial security objectives. A flagpole had also to be put up (1853 dollars) and painted (476 dollars).

The Federal budget also furnished Nixon's personal study with necessary items from a security viewpoint like a brass lamp, lounge chair and ottoman, leather top desk, decorative pillows and a swivel chair (presumably for fast action)—all at a knockdown price of 4834 dollars.

All this furniture is apparently still owned by the government, but since presidents are given government offices by law after they retire, Nixon will 'keep it until he dies' according to the GSA. After that, the furniture will revert to the government.

One item of house equipment that the Federal budget didn't pay for was the new bowling alley beneath the north portico of the White House. At first, Mrs Nixon's press secretary said that the Nixons had paid for it. But now she has revised her account and the whole world knows that the Nixons—and future incumbents of the White House—can use their own bowling alley, courtesy of Charles G Rebozo. The price has not yet been disclosed.

Suitable caseful

THE AMERICAN legal system is now moving sternly and swiftly against malpractice in politics. The Federal District Court found the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) guilty of concealing a 200,000 dollar cash contribution from Robert L Vesco. CREEP was fined the maximum allowable under law—3000 dollars. A heavy blow indeed.

Vesco, now known as the fugitive financier, had delivered the loot to the Nixon campaign in a brown suitcase full of 100 dollar bills just three days after a new Federal law required that contributions be reported to the government and then disclosed publicly.

Vesco didn't want this public disclosure because in April 1973 he was already the target of an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission for looting some 224 million dollars from Bernie Cornfeld's IOS Ltd, the offshore investment crooks.

Vesco has now gone to Costa Rica where he has loaned 2.15 million dollars to the firm controlled by the family of the Costa Rican President, Jose Figueres, and has sprinkled further millions among other political leaders of all shades of opinion.

One of the men who helped establish Vesco's Costa Rican hideaway is Richard Nixon's nephew, Donald Nixon. He's been on Vesco's payroll since mid-summer 1971 when he was introduced by his father and uncle, the president's brothers, two close friends of Vesco. When the legal roof began to fall in on Vesco, Donald moved with him as his 'personal aide' to the Bahamas and Costa Rica.

Vesco is not merely a recent contributor to Nixon's election funds. In 1968, when he reported to the tax authorities an income of just 29,000 dollars from his gigantic International Controls Corporation, he was still able to scrape together a 20,000 dollar personal donation to the Republican presidential campaign.

Orange split

hope for Fitt

THE NORTHERN IRELAND Assembly election results have produced no surprise. Three main parties, Unionists, Loyalist Coalition and Social Democratic and Labour Party, dominate the scene with Alliance and Labour bringing up the rear.

Whatever the differences between them, all of those elected have one basic thing in common: their acceptance of the existing economic system in Ireland. They disagree only over the type of political setup best suited to restoring 'normality and stability'.

The main issue facing the Assembly when it eventually meets will be the extent to which the Unionist ruling class is prepared to make room for the Catholic middle class, whom they have excluded from political power since the northern state was founded more than 50 years ago.

A mixed executive of tame Catholics and loyal Protestants is being aimed for. In the past Britain was prepared to support Unionist one-party rule in the Six Counties and all the corruption and violence that was necessary to keep it in existence.

But their interests have changed considerably over the last few years and it is now necessary for them to incorporate responsible and respectable Catholics into the state.

That is why power sharing has become the dominant concept in northern politics. What the election results have shown, however, is that Tory overlord Whitelaw has managed to convince less than half of the Unionist population that a compromise with the Catholic middle class is desirable.

Threats

The remainder, led by Craig and Paisley, who in the past threatened full scale civil war if the old, corrupt Stormont was not restored, have rejected the British plan, and will refuse to work with an executive that is not drawn exclusively from the Protestant camp.

As predicted, they have a very strong voice in the Assembly but if their previous record of unfulfilled threats is anything to go by, that is all they will have.

What the intransigent Loyalists can do is obstruct proceedings in the Assembly on the one hand and step up their purely sectarian terror attacks on isolated Catholics on the other. In this way they hope to force the British into giving them concessions.

The British will undoubtedly try to forestall such tactics by stepping up their own terror campaign against the anti-Unionist population. They

by Mike Miller: Belfast

will interpret the big vote for the middle-class SDLP as a rejection of the IRA and will use this as an excuse to increase repression.

This would make it more difficult for the Loyalist terror gangs to maintain their activities and would undermine the militancy of their spokesmen in the assembly. The SDLP has gone so far along the road of capitulation to British policy (they could go nowhere else) that they will see power sharing with the Unionists as their finest achievement.

For them that has been the aim of the mass anti-Unionist movement all along. Their only misgiving now is that Faulkner might head the new executive and they would find it hard to sell the idea of serving with this butcher to their supporters.

Gerry Fitt, the SDLP leader, has now publicly stated that if he had the power to release the internees tomorrow he would not do so. First of all, he says, those who dare to fight on against British rule, now that the SDLP has 19 seats in the Assembly, must lay down their guns and surrender.

They must leave it up to his party to get the internees released. The problem now for the IRA is that most anti-unionists agree with SDLP thinking.

If they continue to offer a purely military campaign as the only alternative to participation in rebuilding the Six County state they will be

further and further isolated from the people they are fighting for. The Faulkner Unionists in the Assembly have said they will share power with the SDLP provided the reunification of Ireland is not its main priority.

Faulkner need have few worries on this point. John Hulme of the SDLP has made it clear on a number of occasions that the top priority of his party is the establishment of an 'acceptable' police force which can enforce the law 'impartially'. Under capitalism, of course, no such police force can exist but the 'socialist' SDLP was never a party to worry too much about small things like capitalism.

Spoils

The British have found another ally in the southern Irish government of Liam Cosgrave. His foreign minister, Garret Fitzgerald, boasted a few days ago that arrests in the republic of people wanted for political offences in the north had soared since his party came to power.

Their only concern is that not enough Catholics hold £10,000 a year jobs in the civil service. And while the middle class decide how to share out the spoils among themselves, life for the working class will go on as before: lengthening dole queues, appalling slums, wages and conditions that workers in Britain would laugh at, and concentration camps and prisons filled to capacity with the political opponents of British rule.

Army protection racket: page 8.

POLICE ARREST SOCIALIST

EARLY on Sunday morning Islington police dragged Celia Holt, a member of the International Socialists in North London, from her bed, held her in police stations all day, and then carted her off to Northern Ireland to face trial.

The charge on which she is nominally held is that of obtaining 'by fraudulent means' a tape recorder valued at £19.63. But the real motives for her arrest are political.

Until last year, Celia lived in Derry, where she was an active supporter of the official republican movement. Since coming to England she has been involved in helping to defend republican prisoners.

When the police arrested her on Sunday they seized socialist literature and a collection box for the Belfast 10 committee, although it is hard to see what relevance they could have to the alleged charge. They also refused to let her friends know what police station she was being held in.

There was a similar case about a year ago. A Derry republican, Seamus O'Kane was arrested in London and dragged off to Northern Ireland, again allegedly for 'fraud'. In fact, he was charged with signing cheques which had bounced two years earlier.

When he was given a conditional discharge, police were waiting outside the court to hold him without trial under the Special Powers Act. Only speedy action by his friends in removing him from the court stopped that happening.



Socialists demanding the release of Celia Holt demonstrating outside Islington police station on Sunday.

Two PD members are jailed

TWO BELFAST socialists, Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, of People's Democracy, are now serving jail sentences of eight months and six months each. Last week a court rejected their appeal against sentences arising out of a demonstration in February.

The demonstration, organised by People's Democracy, was banned by the

British Army, even though more than 30 demonstrations of masked Loyalist sectarians had been allowed.

The judge who rejected their appeal, W W B Topping, was clearly equipped to make an impartial judgment. For 12 years he was a Unionist MP and an active supporter of the sectarian, anti-Catholic Orange Order.



NIXON's warm, generous ways reach out even to Russians. He gave Russian leader Leonid Brezhnev a new Lincoln convertible as a keepsake of his visit to the United States.

But with the press hounding his every expenditure, Nixon was forced to explain who really paid for the car. The answer turned out to be neither Nixon nor the US Treasury. The Ford Motor Company—that well-known lover of trade unions and militants—donated the car free to 'help relations' between the two leaders.

SELLING THE PASS

WHILE WASHINGTON continues to re-verbinate with disclosures, another trial was taking place in Erie, Pennsylvania, that points to the fantastic problems active, militant trade unionists have in this country.

The trial was of Tony Pass, a former assistant to the ex-president of the United Mine Workers, Tony Boyle. Pass was the highest level full-time official of the UMW to be convicted of first-degree murder in the assassination of Joseph Yablonski—Boyle's opponent in the presidential election of 1969.

Pass enabled some 20,000 dollars of union funds, ostensibly earmarked for organising activities, to be channelled

into the hands of three hired assassins. He was a member of the union's policy-setting international executive board and secretary-treasurer of the union's District 19.

Yablonski was murdered on New Year's Eve, 1969, to prevent him testifying before a jury investigating corruption in the UMW, and since his death the government intervened to order a re-run of the 1969 election. In the re-run the candidate from the Miners Democracy movement, Arnold Miller, defeated Boyle.

It is now believed that Boyle will be the next man arrested and charged with Yablonski's murder.

Don't keep the good news to yourself: urge your friends to buy SW

SACKED COUPLE TOLD TO QUIT THEIR HOME

VICTOR AND MARGARET PLATT and their two children aged five and seven will be evicted from their home in 14 days' time. They received the eviction order last Friday at Ilford court in Essex.

by David Paenson

The Platts were taken on last September as fish-fryers in one of the four fish shops owned by the Forbes firm. No contract of employment was signed between the two

parties. The Platts moved into a house owned by the firm.

Friction between employer and employee developed early on, when the Forbes refused to pay the promised £41 to cover half of the expenses incurred by the Platt family in moving from Portsmouth to London.

In January the Platts were given two weeks' notice, without a word of explanation. When challenged over this in court, Forbes claimed that Victor and Margaret were 'too popular' with the customers, and accused them of a low turnover (up by 33 per cent on the previous year).

Victor Platt successfully challenged his dismissal before the chief insurance officer of the Department of Employment, but his victory was short-lived.

For the Forbes have finally managed to obtain the eviction order from the court.

UGLINESS

The real explanation for this is not the alleged misconduct of the employees. It is quite simply that the Forbes want to sell the business, and they want to sell the house with it.

The Forbes, who formerly owned 11 fish shops, are gradually selling off their businesses as the price of land goes up.

But the real ugliness of the whole affair is the 'house and job in one' aspect: Victor Platt was earning £26 for a 65-hour week, and his wife a miserly £14. Nobody in their right senses would accept these conditions for such a low wage if it were not for the free rent of the house owned by Forbes.

This is the same as the feudal system of the tied cottage for farm workers. According to the Secretary of the Fishmongers Association, who testified in court, this is the current practice throughout the industry.

Trade union organisation of workers like the Platts is the only way to fight the exploitation of shop employees and the tied-house system.



Socialist Worker's editorial department has now moved to the new premises acquired as a result of the successful £30,000 fund last winter. The new address is:

**CORBRIDGE WORKS,
CORBRIDGE CRESCENT,
LONDON E2.**

All correspondence—articles, letters, advertisements—must now be sent to this address. Letters sent to the old address will be subjected to considerable delay. The editorial telephone number is unchanged.



The Platt family—victims of the tied-house system

Railmen slam cuts —no action planned

THE NATIONAL UNION of Railwaymen this week produced its statement of opposition to the Tory government's plans for more swingeing attacks on the railway system.

The document contains a useful summary of the mountain of material which shows beyond doubt that the railway system in any sane society would be expanded and run as a social service.

And it records that the NUR is opposed to any further cuts and is seeking more investment in railways.

But, predictably, the NUR statement lacks any perspective for opposing the cuts.

The statement recaps on the familiar story of a railway system plundered by the car, road haulage, oil and petroleum industries, with the full collaboration of successive Labour and Tory governments.

It mentions the way the industry was forced to try to make profits in 'equal competition' with the road haulage operators. The road hauliers did not have to pay a penny towards their track signalling and the like. The government built the roads for free, policed them and maintained them.

The railways were forced to pay for the lot, and were obliged to try to make a profit out of this impossible operation. The railways were forced to borrow, pay interest on

the capital and, burdened with debt, to pay interest on the interest it could not repay.

And now that the first massive dose of the Beeching medicine has so conspicuously failed—as it was designed to do—the Tories are getting ready to try and inflict another dose of the same miracle cure, cuts and more cuts. This will inflict further wreckage on the safest, cleanest, most efficient and potentially the cheapest form of transport.

And, purely coincidentally, the cuts will be of massive benefit to powerful oil, motor, construction and property firms.

But the NUR leadership sees itself in the business of trying to influence government ministers and 'public opinion'. There is no explanation of why this monstrous anti-social assault has been inflicted on the railway system and why the champions of freedom and competition are now back for another bite.

Honeyed words substitute for clear forceful explanation, calls for a change of mind for calls to action.

Certainly the evidence and the information is important. But it is also important that it does not merely end up in the library of some transport museum built as a tiny shrine to the memory of a railway system which died of productivity deals and servility on the part of the NUR leadership.

Big demo counters nazi rally

LIVERPOOL:—When Colin Jordan and his nazi British Movement tried to stage an anti-immigration rally in Liverpool last Saturday he was met by a thousand strong counter demonstration of black defence groups, International Socialist branches, the Communist Party and local trade unionists.

Jordan had hoped to speak at the Pier Head but when he arrived with a handful of supporters he was greeted by the sight of the massive anti-nazi counter-rally. For a while he

hung around watching the anti-nazi crowds from a safe distance, but suddenly the counter demo noticed his uniformed bodyguards and gave chase.

Jordan escaped in his car, leaving his brownshirt supporters to be chased out of the town centre. In the meantime Jordan had returned to the Pier Head and was preparing to hold a meeting surrounding himself with scores of police.

Unfortunately for Jordan, the anti-fascists returned and two major

attempts were made to reach the self-styled nazi leader. These were met by vicious police reprisals.

Thirteen arrests were made on charges of threatening behaviour and assault. Among the arrested was Tony Boyle, leader of the Tower Hill tenants and an IS member. Tony was brutally beaten up by the police on his way to the station and was charged with assault and possessing an offensive weapon.

A defence committee and fund is to be set up for the arrested people.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

THE RULERS of the western nations have always boasted that one of the cornerstones of their societies is political freedom. No barriers, they claim, are placed in the way of minorities organising to win support for their ideas.

The boast was always an empty one. The rights enjoyed by working people today have been won as a result of generations of struggle: the right to form trade unions, to vote and to publish socialist papers.

And even the limited freedoms won by working people are now under increasing attack. As capitalism stumbles through a series of political and economic crises, its rulers start to lash out at those who challenge their right to govern.

In Britain we have seen in recent years crude attempts to shackle the power of trade unionists by both Labour and Tory governments, culminating in the Industrial Relations Act. Now we have the sinister use of the wide-ranging conspiracy laws to attack building workers fighting against the scourge of the 'lump' system.

Both this year and last, the homes of socialists who support the Irish struggle were raided by the police on the pretext of searching for weapons. None was found of course, but documents and publications were seized in an attempt to intimidate the opponents of the British domination of Ireland.

The law lords' ruling that the deportation of 'illegal' immigrants is retrospective—that is, applies to people who arrived before the Immigration Act became law—is part of the same trend to harass so-called minorities and create scapegoats who can be blamed for the problems of the system.

In Northern Ireland the respectable middle-class politicians of the Social Democratic and Labour Party indulge in nauseating backslapping over the 'democratic' elections for the new Assembly, conveniently ignoring the real opponents of British rule who still fester in the concentration camp of Long Kesh. And on the eve of the elections themselves two members of People's Democracy were sentenced to jail for the crime of 'illegal marching'.

Part and parcel

Now in France the Pompidou government has banned the Trotskyist Ligue Communiste and arrested one of its leaders, Alain Krivine. The Ligue correctly stresses that the attack on its members is not just a 'French event' but is part and parcel of the moves towards repression throughout Europe.

The problem for socialists and militant trade unionists is to convince the bulk of working people of the dangers in this trend towards authoritarianism. The attitude 'it can't happen here' runs deep, reinforced by either a total press blackout on police raids and jailing of socialists like Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan or by hysterical attacks on 'violent' building workers (who daily face death or maiming by a violent industry) in a desperate effort to head off support for them.

But it is happening here. Not yet to masses of people but to the socialists and trade union militants attempting to win the mass of working people to their ideas. The early morning raid, the trumped up charge, the police lie, the beating in the cells, the racist abuse are now a permanent feature of our society.

For the left, the best form of defence is attack. As the dockers showed a year ago, even the punitive measures of the Industrial Relations Act could be broken and ignored by a mass movement determined to stand up to the government.

The working-class movement must go on the offensive against the Tory witch-hunters and the legal bully-boys. We must fight with the black community to stop the intimidation and threats and the effort to use the poison of racialism to divide our ranks. We must build a massive movement of solidarity with all trade unionists threatened with court action and jail—a movement prepared to use the strike weapon to ensure their release. We must step up the campaign in this country to force the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland as the first step to ending repression there.

And above all, we must redouble our efforts to build a mass workers' party that will fight for a system where democracy is not the plaything of the minority, turned on or off like water from a tap, but is the bedrock of socialism.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2



Savage ban on left group as Krivine arrested

IN A savage assault on political rights in France, the government banned the revolutionary socialist organisation Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, last week.

The Ligue was ordered to disband under a law brought in by the pre-war Popular Front government against armed fascist groups. The same law was used in 1968 in the wake of the worker-

student revolt to outlaw several socialist organisations.

Last week, before the announcement of the ban by the Ministry of the Interior, police raided the Ligue's headquarters. 25 members were arrested and the bookshop and typesetting equipment were wrecked.

Fourteen of those arrested face charges and one member, Pierre Rousset, is being held in jail accused of violating laws on the possession of arms. Alain Krivine, the Ligue's former head,

has also been arrested under the notorious Anti-wreckers law passed by the Gaullists after the 1968 revolt.

In a ludicrous attempt to appear 'impartial', the fascist New Order movement was also banned by the government. Even the conservative paper *Le Monde* has attacked the government decision and strongly criticised the 'fake symmetry' of the ban on socialist and fascist organisations.

In London this week, Gerard Vergeat, who was a member of the political bureau of the Ligue Communiste, told *Socialist Worker* that the government had used clashes between the Ligue and the fascists as a pretext for attacking the revolutionary movement.

The government was acting from weakness not strength, he stressed. The revolutionary movement was growing in step with the massive outburst of militancy in recent months from workers, students, army conscripts and foreign workers.

The strike movement against the employers and soaring inflation was no longer scattered and isolated but was co-ordinated and politically led.

This movement, in which the Ligue had been deeply involved, had gone beyond the control of the parliamentary and reformist left organisations such as the Communist Party and the Socialists. Their inability to soak up discontent and act as safety valves for the ruling class was another source of concern to the government.

Racist

Gerard Vergeat said the government had clearly set up a confrontation between the revolutionaries and the police outside the fascist rally in Paris on 21 June. After a massive anti-fascist demonstration in March 1971, when the police ranks had twice been broken, the government had banned all fascist rallies.

But the government had allowed the 21 June rally by New Order to go ahead—knowing this might lead to clashes between anti-fascists and the police.

Six thousand assembled outside the New Order meeting, whose theme—'Stop immigration, France for the French'—was openly racist and Nazi in tone.

The police defended the meeting but did not attack the anti-fascists with their usual brutality. There were surprisingly few police, with only a handful of riot police. It seems clear that the government was hoping for large numbers of police casualties to help in their planned crackdown against the Ligue.

The ban was announced. A special court will now attempt to discover whether members of the Trotskyist organisation banned in 1968 helped to reconstitute that movement as the Ligue Communiste.

Critic

Gerard Vergeat said that because of the intensity of the attack on political freedom in France the non-revolutionary parties of the left had expressed their solidarity with the Ligue. The Socialist Party of Francois Mitterand had condemned the ban, along with the PSU left socialists and the CFDT trade union federation.

Even the French Communist Party paper *L'Humanite*, usually an hysterical critic of the 'ultra left' groups, has criticised the ban on the Ligue, because of its current campaign against the government's threats to civil liberties.

Support for the Ligue has come from the far left to the 'left' Gaullists—an indication of the splits in the ranks of the government party as the problems of French capitalism increase.

Gerard Vergeat said that a defence campaign would be waged to have the ban lifted. He was confident that it would win support from wide sections of the labour movement in France, including the large numbers of black and European immigrant workers who had come into political activity in recent months.

The International Socialists have sent a telegram of protest to the French Embassy in London, demanding the immediate lifting of the ban on the Ligue Communiste. The International Socialists will be supporting a demonstration in London on Saturday called by the International Marxist Group. It will assemble at Speakers Corner at 3pm for a march to the French Embassy.

ARMY FAILS IN BID TO TOPPLE ALLENDE

by Vic Richards

THE first attempt to overthrow Chile's Popular Unity government by force has resulted in a victory for President Allende.

Last Friday soldiers of a tank regiment surrounded and shelled the presidential palace in the capital, Santiago. They were supported by armoured vehicles, anti-aircraft artillery and snipers—probably civilians—but failed to capture the palace or to bring out other army units.

The officers of the tank regiment probably overestimated the success of the recent campaign against the government by the right-wing parties and thought the time was ripe for a coup. Their failure will probably mean the end of the campaign against Allende, as support rallies round him and the right tries to clear itself of responsibility for the attack.

In parliament the right-wing campaign has centred around an attempt to limit the president's field of action. Although the right has a majority in parliament, it does not have the two-thirds necessary to change the president's constitutional powers or to get rid of him, so it has to find other means of stopping the erosion of the power and privileges of its middle-class backers.

OFFER

The alarming feature of the campaign is that it got a mass audience among a powerful group of workers.

Copper miners at the giant state-owned El Teniente mine put in for a large wage increase to compensate for inflation. The government offered them much less, pointing to the economic difficulties it is facing and the miners' exceptionally high wages. But since white-collar workers and the middle-class generally get even higher pay, the miners' patience wore thin, and they went on strike despite Popular Unity pleas not to endanger their own government.

The right was able to attract miners to its policies of 'workers' participation' and a system of income differentials, because these seemed to justify the wage claim and in the long-term offer higher wages for miners.

Such policies made headway among workers because of the lack of a positive left-wing strategy. The left pointed out correctly that the policy of differentials and participation keeps workers divided and in-

Shop Floor Review

Industrial supplement, puts the trade union struggle into focus. In this week's issue of the *SOCIALIST LEADER*, paper of the Independent Labour Party, price 3p, plus postage, from 23 King Street Chambers, Leeds 1.

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.



A government jeep with anti-tank gun confronts a rebel tank, whose crew is surrendering

volves the better-paid workers in running a system in which the middle-class still keeps the lion's share of power and income.

But because the left believe in achieving socialism through parliamentary reforms, they are upset by rank and file action and were not prepared to use the miners' strike and lead a direct assault on the middle class. As a result, right-wing elements were able to take the lead, and miners' demonstrations clashed with left-wing counter-demonstrations and with troops sent in by the government.

BRIEFING

THE Portuguese dictator Caetano will be the Tory government's guest in Britain from 16 to 19 July. This visit, the high point of the celebrations of 600 years of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, will strengthen the dictatorship within Portugal.

The publicity, with Prince Philip's visit to Portugal last month, enables Caetano to foster illusions about Portugal having a world role and a 'special relationship' with Britain. It also draws the attention of British investors to the fact that in Portugal they can get cheap labour, super-profits, and the services of the political police to deal with any militants. Portuguese prisons cater for all types of left-wingers—real, potential and imaginary.

In Britain, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea and the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee have been holding a campaign, pointing out how Britain and NATO have been instrumental in propping up the oppressive rule in Portugal and enabling the dictatorship to pursue vicious colonial wars.

The End the Alliance Campaign is calling a national demonstration on Sunday 15 July to demand an end to Britain's sponsorship of the Portuguese regime, and will hold pickets and demonstrations throughout Caetano's visit. The national demonstration will assemble at Charing Cross Embankment at 2.30pm on Sunday 15 July.

SCENE: a restaurant on an Italian motorway. Enter Almirante, leader of the Italian fascist party, followed by bodyguards. As soon as he is recognised by a waiter, cooks, waiters, barmen and cashiers all come out on strike. The fascists are forced to leave, and find that at the petrol station

The attempted military takeover has highlighted the real intentions of the right, and has led most miners and other workers to withdraw their support.

PURGE

But Allende seems likely to squander this renewed strength in a referendum on his proposals to replace parliament by a Popular Assembly. Rather than setting up workers' control throughout the economy and basing himself on such real power, Allende is looking for a more powerful parliament.

the attendants also refuse to serve them.

Three days later, a squad of 20 fascists led by a member of parliament, force their way into the restaurant, hand out leaflets and start beating up a waiter. They are chased out by staff.

Italy's minister of the Interior—the president-elect, Rumor—has ordered an inquiry into these events, which happened between 18 and 21 June. His government has in the past relied on the fascist deputies' votes to keep a majority in parliament.

But the most virulent attacks on the restaurant workers have come from a Bologna newspaper, *Il Resto del Carlino*, which is owned by the oil millionaire Monti, a close friend of Almirante's. Monti recently purchased the BP concession in Italy—and the petrol station where Almirante and his thugs were turned away happened to be a BP station.

The 170 workers at the restaurant concerned have been since January in the forefront of the struggle of public workers in the area to win better wages and conditions. Since the events of 18-21 June, telegrams of solidarity have poured into the restaurant.

NOBODY is quite sure whether the Vietnam war has ended or not. Now, however, there seems to be a problem about when it began. The New Hampshire state legislature has asked the US Congress to define this.

The problem is this. Officially the war is seen as beginning with the Tonkin Gulf incident of 5 August 1964. But this leaves a couple of difficulties. Firstly the first recognised combat death was in 1961—three years before the war began. Secondly the administration has stated publicly that it doesn't consider the Gulf of Tonkin

While the president will probably also purge the army, only the extreme right-wing elements will have to go and the army will still be controlled by 'moderate' officers. The strength of the army as such will not be curtailed, much less will workers be given arms to defend themselves or the government.

Unless the economy improves soon, support for the government will dwindle again and there will be more serious attempts to overthrow it. Allende will then, as now, be dependent on the good will of the majority of army officers.

Resolution gave it authority to operate in Vietnam.

Just to be on the safe side, the New Hampshire legislature is suggesting the war should have officially begun on 1 February 1955.

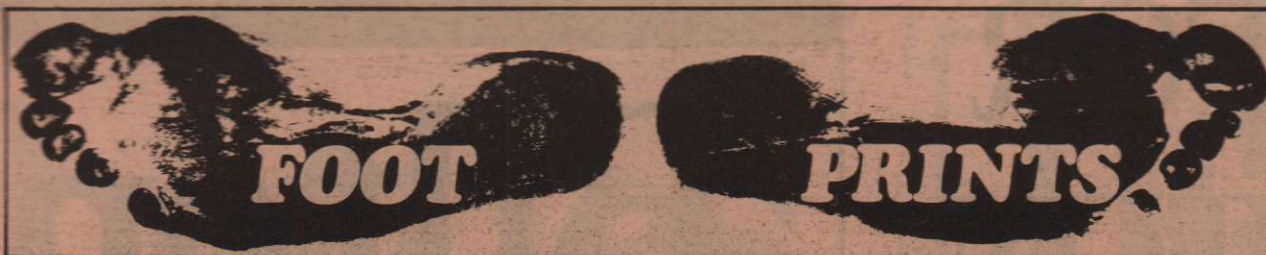
IRELAND's entry into the Common Market has solved one problem for the European parliament at Strasbourg. While most party delegations fit into international groupings—Socialists, Christian Democrats and so on—the French Gaullists, with their peculiar brand of reactionary nationalism, have never found any allies. Now they have teamed up with Fianna Fail to form a group of 'European Democrats for Progress.'

EASTERN European workers face similar problems to workers in the West. In Yugoslavia, for example, the cost of living rose more than 20 per cent in the first half of this year, and during the first four months the buying power of the population fell by eight per cent.

DEFEND THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE DEMONSTRATE

Saturday 7 July 3pm
Assemble Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch)
March to French Embassy

Fight French Government ban



SPURIOUSER AND SPURIOUSER

ALAN WATTS, an AUEW shop steward, recently wrote an article for our union page about a column written in his union journal (editor, Hugh Scanlon) by Keith Mason, the industrial correspondent of the Sun.

Alan exposed the article as a shabby compromise with racism, and has protested bitterly, along with other AUEW militants, about its publication.

A member of the International Socialists in the Civil and Public Services Association writes to me enclosing a number of recent articles in that union's journal Red Tape by one John Kirby.

The articles are uniformly right wing.

Typical titles are 'A mixed economy is far more efficient than 100 per cent socialist system'; 'Revolt against Communism' (a review of the recent, nauseating biography of Les Cannon) and, most interesting of all, 'The Way Out Left'.

This last, published in the journal's June issue, is a review of the organisations to the left of the Communist Party. I am flattered to be mentioned in the section on IS as a 'recent recruit', which seems a bit hard after 11 years hard service. 'The International Socialists', writes Mr Kirby, 'seem to be especially strong in journalism and broadcasting.' Very glad to hear it.

Mason concludes that IS, the Socialist Labour League and the International Marxist Group 'probably have not a membership of more than 50,000 between them.'

Nevertheless, he argues, they should be taken seriously because 'they seek to exercise a spurious influence on trade unions.' I quote from the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, Third Edition (1970 edition): SPURIOUS. a. 1598 . . . Of a writing; passage etc: 'not really proceeding from its reputed origin, source or author, not genuine or authentic.'

It would, I suggest, be a spurious influence on trade unions, if, for instance, an article in a trade union journal by John Kirby was not written by John Kirby at all, but by someone else. Like all those articles in Red Tape.

John Kirby is not John Kirby. He

Writing off the wall

THE GLASGOW HERALD of June 12 contains the following advertisement:

GRAFFITI REMOVAL SERVICE
Enquiries to: John Lawrence
(Glasgow) Ltd

The John Lawrence group of building companies, it will be remembered, is headed by the John Lawrence whose activities as chairman, and now president, of Glasgow Rangers (all-Protestant) football club have been reported in this column from time to time.

Anyone even remotely familiar with Glasgow will know that most of the graffiti on walls and lavatories throughout the city is inspired by the 'friendly rivalry' between Rangers (Protestants) and Celtic (Catholics).

Most of the graffiti written by Rangers' fans consist of a simple slogan calling on the reader to do something horrible to His Holiness The Pope.

This attitude finds an echo in the Rangers supporters club. During a recent visit to Glasgow I was shown three pens recently produced by that club distribution among its supporters.

The first pen was inscribed with the relatively harmless:

RANGERS 3 CELTIC 1, Scottish FA Cup, 1973.

On the second was written:

is Keith Mason. Certain insubordinate CPSA members are writing to Red Tape asking how much Keith Mason is paid from union funds to write under a pseudonym and so augment his fat salary at the Sun.

PS. At a meeting earlier this year of the Central London Branch of the National Union of Journalists, Keith Mason delivered a strong attack on his chapel's efforts to discipline certain members who did not respond to a call for a mandatory chapel meeting.

In particular, Mason said, he was incensed by another speaker's reference to 'Murdoch'. A man like Rupert Murdoch, he insisted, who had done so much for the journalistic profession by providing so much employment, had the right to be called 'Mr Murdoch'. Unless common courtesies were upheld at the meeting, he, Mason, would leave.

Upon which some cheeky fellow shouted: 'And so Murdoch said . . . MISTER Mason then left the room.'

Howe true to type

ON 23 JUNE, Sir Geoffrey Howe, Minister of Trade, after eating an excellent dinner provided for him by the Conservatives at Banbury, made a speech about the success of the government's prices policy and the great need for restraint on all sides in the months ahead.

Socialist Worker's man at the Banbury dinner tells me that Sir Geoffrey had wholly recovered from the magnificent party thrown two evenings before by the Olivetti typewriter company. By all accounts, the Olivetti party is in the running for this year's keenly-contested PARTY OF THE YEAR award.

The guests, who included, apart

from Sir Geoffrey, Lord Eccles (Minister for the Arts), Lord Harewood (royalty), Sir Michael Clapham (CBI), Sir John Eden (Minister of Posts), Sir William Armstrong (head of the civil service), George Loveday (head of the Stock Exchange), Dr Ernest Woodruffe (Unilever), Mr A Tuke (Barclays Bank), Dr G Hobday (Boots), and about 300 others drawn from the boardrooms of almost all major British industries collected at Waterloo station.

At about 6pm they boarded a special train, which had Olivetti painted down the side of each coach. Champagne and peach juice was available in unlimited quantities to stem the guests' thirst on the 1½ hours run to the Surrey town of Haslemere.

From the station, the guests were ferried by coach to Olivetti's new training centre for salesmen, the opening of which provided the excuse for the party.

After more cocktails, the guests were taken quickly round the building, and then forced to listen to a half-hour's music by Tristram Carey, specially composed for the occasion and set to the sound of Olivetti typewriters clacking in discord.

The business done, the company floated out on to the lawn where lobster, squid and other delicious dishes were served with more lashings of wine. The food had been prepared by chefs flown in from Harry's Bar, Venice.

Cod on their side

THE Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland has produced a report which has received remarkably little publicity. It deals with Scottish fisheries in 1972 and reports the following facts:

ONE: 24 trawlermen died at sea in 1972, compared with 10 in 1971.

TWO: The year's catch brought in a record revenue with the fishing companies—£43.7 million compared with £34.7 million in 1971. But the weight of fish caught declined.

The report notes acidly: 'This no doubt is the result of the growing cost of other protein foods, and the

industry benefitted from the high prices offered at the port fish markets.'

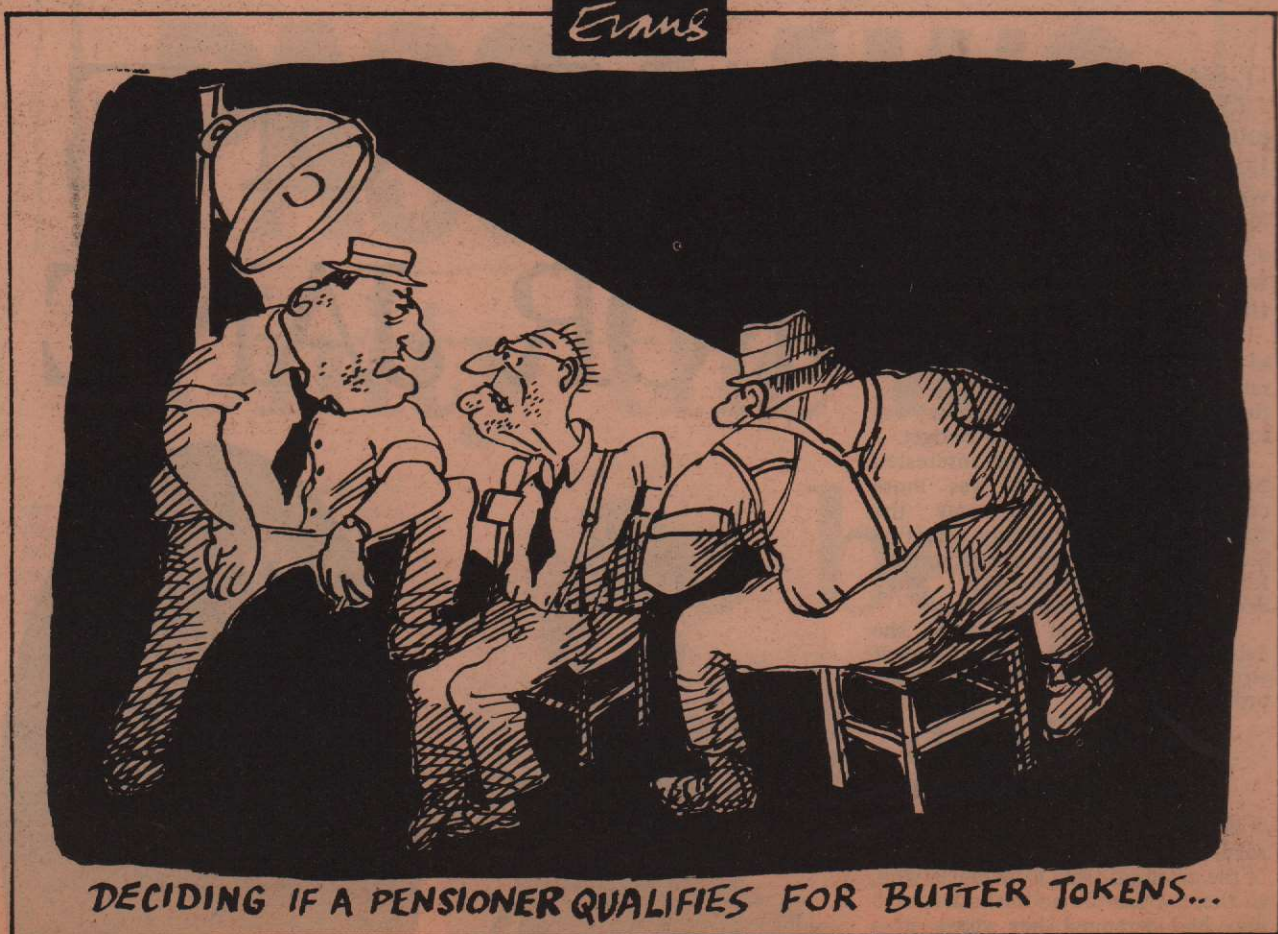
THREE: The decline in the landings of white fish is the result of overfishing and biological factors wiping out fish from entire areas. 'Overfishing', says the report, 'can only be curbed through international agreement.'

The report, in other words, makes out the arguments for protecting the Scottish fishing grounds from the avarice of the fishing companies. The arguments are curiously similar to those used by beastly little Iceland in the 'cod war'.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

'It seemed to me that nothing we have done in politics has brought about any fundamental change. Thousands of people still live on the poverty line. Although some of the poor are more affluent, there has been no fundamental change. The disparity between the rich and the poor remains. This is in spite of all our pronouncements and all our resolutions at conferences. They have not made any difference at all.'

LORD SHINWELL (Seamen's strike leader, 1911. Red Clydesider in the 1920s. Left Labour MP in the 1930s. Cabinet Minister in 1945-1951 Labour government. Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party during 1964-1970 Labour government). Quoted in The Times, 20 June.



Sir Geoffrey Howe and friend

There was some embarrassment at the long tables, as everyone wanted lobster rather than squid and some unseemly shoving and pushing broke out as the bankers and industrialists fought each other for it.

After some appalling speeches—especially from Lord Eccles who made a not very tasteful joke about Lord Lambton—it was announced that each guest would receive a present from Olivetti.

Each man would get a Henry Moore lithograph, worth about £60, and each woman a silk scarf. The coaches were about to leave for the station again, and once more there was some ugly jostling while the presents were handed out.

Everyone got back to the train all right, though, and Sir Geoffrey, apparently, was able to get a few minutes on the train to prepare his speech about how we really must tighten our belts if we are to get through the coming crisis.

HOUSEY, HOUSEY

I AM delighted to be able to report the following examples of restraint in high places in this the nation's hour of need.

30 Curzon Street, London W1: Delightful Georgian town house, bought by the Royal Worcester Company from the government in 1944 for £44,000, sold last week for £2,720,000. Clear profit for the company: £2,676,000.

1 London Wall, London EC1: Convenient office building near all important places in the City of London, bought by Roger Mann, managing director of Associated Development Holdings three months ago for just under £5 million. 97-year lease on building sold last week to the Orion Banking Group for £8,972,562. Clear profit for Mr Mann for doing nothing at all for three months: £4 million.

While on the subject of property sales I am happy to report an improvement in the plight of Lord Londonderry, the Durham aristocrat whose alleged lack of liquid funds has produced floods of tears in Durham mining villages.

Last Thursday, the Marquess sold 1,426 acres of wood and scrub near Long Newton for £895,000. The lucky buyers—they pipped the Dean and Chapter of Durham cathedral at the post—were the Equity and Law Life Assurance Society, which is best known for the fact that Dick Taverne MP, the well-known property speculator, is a director.

ONE LAW FOR LADY LYTTON AND ONE FOR JANE

IT WAS a dull October day in 1909. Lady Constance, who had journeyed up specially from London, was standing in a doorway in the Haymarket, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She had a brick in her hand—and was waiting for her opportunity to throw it.

The Liberals, then the government of the country, were holding a mass rally in the town hall. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to explain his controversial Budget.

But this was not what interested Lady Constance. She was more concerned about the way the authorities were brutally treating Suffragettes—beatings, imprisonment, forcible feedings—because they demanded the vote for women.

As a gesture of solidarity, she deliberately planned to have herself arrested and go through the same ordeal herself.

BATTERED

Suddenly, a car came down the road, obviously going in the direction of the meeting. Lady Constance, who, so there would be no misunderstanding, had wrapped her stone in a message, and addressed it 'to Lloyd George', ran out into the road and let fly.

Alas, the car did not contain the Chancellor, but Sir Walter Runciman, the wealthy Tyneside shipowner. He must have been startled when the brick battered against his expensive and highly-polished limousine.

Lady Constance was quickly arrested. She was arraigned before the local court. When she refused to pay a £4 fine, she was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. This was just what she wanted: she would refuse to eat—and they would be compelled to forcibly feed her.

The authorities, however, were not to be stampeded. They had her medically examined by a specialist,



Lady Constance:
Heart condition
Jane Warton:
'A ripping heart'

who diagnosed that she suffered from a heart condition. Forcible feeding might endanger her life. Therefore, she was immediately released from jail.

Some critics thought this was a flagrant case of class distinction. She had received privileged treatment because she was a member of the aristocracy.

They suggested that while rubber tubes could be thrust down the gullets of working-class women, the authorities would regard it as improper to use such procedures on Lady Constance Lytton, daughter of the Viceroy of India.

Answering this criticism, government spokesmen declared it was 'wilful and deliberate misrepresentation' to say that Lady Constance had been released because of her social position. Individuals are dealt with in an identical manner, stated the Home Secretary, irrespective of the class in society from which they may come. He tried to convey an image of the authorities as being benevolent and fair-minded to everyone.

SEAMSTRESS.

But the Home Secretary had failed to reckon with the resourcefulness of his adversary. Lady Constance appears to have been nurtured on those Victorian novels where the heroines assume disguises to achieve their ends.

This is precisely what she did. Going to elaborate trouble, she acquired the tatty clothes and Lancashire accent of a working-class woman. As a result of this transformation, she became Jane Warton, a spinster, who made her living as a seamstress.

In her disguise, Lady Constance held a protest meeting outside Walton Jail, Liverpool, where some Suffragettes were imprisoned. This time the outcome was rather different. Although the demonstration—unlike the one at Newcastle—was completely peaceful, she was arrested and imprisoned.

On her arrival in jail, Jane Warton received no medical examination by a specialist, as Lady Constance had. On the third day, she was moved to

the punishment cell because of her refusal to take food.

On the fourth day, she was forcibly fed. When this caused her to be sick, they slapped her face. Somewhat later, a doctor examined her. He said her heart was 'positively ripping'.

The forcible feeding and brutal treatment continued until Jane Warton's real identity became known. Then she was speedily released.

Of course, Lady Constance's escapades caused some blushes and embarrassment for cabinet ministers. For the Suffragettes, it was a boost to their morale.

HYPOCRISY

But to the more thoughtful of them it was something else besides. Their encounters with the capitalist state were giving them an insight into the true nature of capitalism—its exploitation, its injustice, its hypocrisy.

Significantly, Sylvia Pankhurst, who greatly admired Lady Constance Lytton's courage, began her agitational work among the poor women of the East End of London.

Low wages, long hours, bad housing, inadequate health provisions—these were the evils that needed eradicating, and it could only be done by changing the social system. The fight for women's liberation was part of the fight for socialism.

The same lesson was made by Lily Gair Wilkinson, a close relation of Ellen Wilkinson—'Red Ellen'—who was a leader of the hunger marches in the 1930s. Writing in *The Socialist*, in March 1910, she pointed out that winning the vote would not end the problems of women, for the problems went much deeper than the ballot box.

So long as capitalism existed, aristocrats like Lady Constance would have privileged treatment while the Jane Wartons of this world only received the slaps in the face.

Raymond
Challinor

Bilton

ANYONE who wants to maintain British standards of decency should contact Tony Bilton, who describes himself as a 'tough entrepreneur', and who hired known criminals to break the pickets at Chrysler's Stoke factory, Coventry, during the recent 'shoddy work' dispute.

Tony Bilton lives at comfortable Ash Cottage Farm, Staveley, and operates from an office in Chesterfield's Britannic Assurance office block. The two companies he runs from this office are Anthony Advertising and Derbyshire Staff Bureau.

Anthony Advertising is not in the local telephone directory. If you ring Derbyshire Staff Bureau, you get a ceased line.

Tony Bilton also has a not-very-successful pet shop in Matlock, Derbyshire, and an even less successful boxing club which was formed to attract 'bored, long-haired kids' who might otherwise be 'persuaded to join the agitators' bandwagon'.

The club has been going downhill ever since Mr Bilton failed to get a government grant for it.

There is no name nor registration for the road haulage agency which Mr Bilton also operates, and which led to his approaching Chrysler during the recent strike.

In a recent interview with the *Sheffield Morning Telegraph* Mr Bilton explained that he was not motivated by the desire for money.

Unpolitical patriot

'You could say we are the guardians,' he said modestly, 'watching the interests of the ordinary workers who are being exploited by professional agitators.'

Mr Bilton, who describes himself as an unpolitical patriot, enlarged on his views with some strong language: 'There are many professional trouble-makers in industry.'

'They are scum. Many of them are known to me and I have contingency plans to help four firms in the North and Midlands to beat strikes. They include two car plants.'

According to Mr Bilton, he approached Chrysler twice during the recent dispute with offers of his services. On his second approach, the company's security officer, a former Coventry police superintendent called Tom Norton, finally agreed to give him free access to the plant. Bilton's instructions were to take 'black' engines through the pickets to Chrysler's factory at Dunstable.

Mr Bilton got into his overalls and wandered around the Stoke factory, chatting to the men and working out his plan of action.

Then he approached John and David Walker, two brothers who run a small haulage firm in Toynbee Street, Stepney, East London. The Walkers and a friend agreed to do the Chrysler job.

'They were,' said Mr Bilton, 'all hand-picked. I had known most of them in the army.'

First principle

And if Mr Bilton had known them in the army, it was clear that all of them would scrupulously adhere to Mr Bilton's first principle, which he described to the *Sheffield Telegraph* as follows: 'We make it quite clear we do not go outside the law.'

Presumably, Mr Bilton did not know that his old army pals had gone outside the law in the past.

On 27 July 1961, Judge Aarvold sentenced seven men at the Old Bailey to a total of 46 years in prison for taking part in an armed

TONY'S BLOWS FOR 'DECENCY'

On Monday 18 June, at 3am, six big lorries crashed through the picket lines at the Chrysler Stoke factory in Coventry. They were loaded with engines for the Chrysler plant at Dunstable.

Men in the lorries hurled bottles and bricks at the pickets. A millwright in the factory, Mr John Docherty, was attacked by the thugs and beaten up with a spanner.

Three of the lorries crashed shortly after leaving the factory. The remaining three reached Dunstable shortly after 7am. Security guard Terry Walker-Spiers approached one of the lorries to ask for documents.

Suddenly, the lorry accelerated forward and charged at the gates. The trailer of the lorry smashed Mr Walker-Spiers against the wall of his gate house. He is now in hospital with a broken pelvis.

robbery of a Post Office van. Reporting the case, the *Daily Telegraph* recorded: 'One of Britain's most dangerous gangs was broken up yesterday.'

One of the youngest members of the gang was John William Walker, who lived at that time in Beckenham, and who was sentenced to five years for conspiracy to rob and another two years for carrying explosives.

Less than four years later, on 30 May, 1965, Walker and a fellow convict escaped over the wall of Wormwood Scrubs prison.

Offensive weapons

The police statement announcing the escapes, described both men as 'violent, who will stop at nothing.' Three days later, Walker was re-captured.

John Walker served most of the rest of his time, but soon after his release he was up in court again. Together with his brother David, and three other men he had been arrested in Hayes, Middlesex, a few minutes before a security van was delivering wages valued at £43,000.

They were found not guilty of conspiracy to rob, but guilty of possessing offensive weapons, which included pick-axes, coshes, axe handles and pepper.

The Walker brothers were jailed for two years. David Walker, who was at that time only 23, was said in court to have had six previous convictions.

In other words, the men hired by Mr Bilton to uphold the patriotic rights of ordinary workers and to stay at all times within the law were

Hiring hoodlums

LEVINÉ

The Life of a Revolutionary

"We Communists are all dead men on leave... I do not know if you will extend my leave or whether I shall have to join Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg... But I know, whatever your verdict, events cannot be stopped..."

We have all of us tried to the best of our knowledge and conscience to do our duty towards the International, the Communist World Revolution."

These were Eugen Leviné's last words in court before his execution.

On 7 April 1919, a soviet government was formed in Munich led by poets, artists and writers. It had little working-class support and was doomed to failure. But the Communists rallied to it—to save what they could from the ruins.

Eugen Leviné led the defence of the Munich Soviet. He was born in Russia, educated in Germany and became a revolutionary very young. He took part in the 1905 events in Russia, was imprisoned, escaped to Germany, joined the German Social Democratic Party and then, during the war, the Independent Social Democrats and the Spartakusbund. Later he was one of the few Spartakists to be elected to the first Central Assembly of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets in December, 1918.

He took part in the January fighting in Berlin, and then worked for the party in the Ruhr, Brunswick and again in Berlin. Finally at the beginning of March he was sent to Munich where he met his death.

This is the book of his life and of the Munich soviet, by his wife and comrade Rosa Leviné-Meyer

published by Pluto Press at £2.50
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by arrangement with Saxon House
Mail only and cash with order to

unit 10 Spencer Court
7 Chalcot Road
London NW1 5LH
telephone 01 722 0141

battles to save 'the British way...'



David Walker (right) and his brother John visiting Chrysler security guard Terry Walker-Spiers in hospital: corcodile tears after the damage had been done.

two of the biggest hoodlums on the London crime scene over the past 10 years.

No inquiry was made by Chrysler into the background of the men they were so expensively hiring. The Coventry police are enthusiastically accepting the company's view that the 'sooner the incident is forgotten, the better.'

Neither the law nor the press is bothered by the assault on John Docherty by the Walkers inside the Stoke works, the smashing of Terry Walker-Spiers' pelvis by one of the rogue lorries outside Chrysler's plant

at Dunstable nor the driving of lorries in the dark without lights and without registration plates.

The attitude of both law and press corresponds closely to that of John Walker's wife, Linda, who runs a hairdressers' shop below her husband's haulage firm: 'I'm proud of him,' she said. 'He did it for his country.'

Paul
Foot

to break pickets

Black groups call for strike action

FIGHT TORY PASS LAWS

Unity the key to beat this Act

Naranjan Singh Noor is president of the Wolverhampton branch of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain. With the backing of his executive committee, he spoke to Socialist Worker last week about the House of Lords' decision to make the deportation of 'illegal' immigrants retrospective.

There is no doubt that this decision is the most vicious attack on the Asian community to date. Previously, if an illegal immigrant had not been detected for 28 days, then he was free to stay in this country.

Now a great many Asians are living in fear and uncertainty. Imagine the psychological effect on a man who had been in this country for perhaps 10 years. What does the future hold for him and his family?

All that stands between him and deportation is the "pity" of a Tory Home Secretary.

If I go to London for a few days and the police pick me up for a trivial traffic offence, it is very likely that they will demand to see my passport. Now there is no law that people have to carry their passports—we have not quite yet got to the situation in South Africa.

But if I do not have my passport with me, the police can harass me in a whole number of ways.

They can insist that I produce it immediately, which means I would have to travel back to Wolverhampton to get it. Or they can hold me indefinitely while they send a policeman round to my house and ask my wife for it.



But because my wife does not speak English, she will not be able to help, and so she too will be open to harassment, intimidation and worry.

The possibility of bribery and corruption is also very high. I know already of a case where the police have accepted £100 to keep quiet. The middlemen who arrange the illegal passages into this country will also be able to make their takings even higher by accepting bribes.

These sharks already make a great deal of money but they are never the people who get caught. As soon as they extort some money they will keep on coming back for more.

The Social Security officials can also spy on immigrants before they issue insurance cards. Any discrepancy must immediately be reported to the Home Office. This is another aspect of the oppression and harassment that Asians have to face.

This decision is in line with the general capitulation to Powellism that has taken place over the last few years. Its purpose is quite clearly to divide black workers from white workers.

The Labour Party is no better than the Tories, as the Kenyan Asians Act shows. They just give lip service to racial equality, but whenever Powell speaks they move further to the right.

Harold Wilson did not say anything against the vicious witch-hunt that was launched against the Ugandan



Naranjan Singh Noor

Asians last year by the press and the racials. The Labour Party has made no attempt to fight the racist propaganda and in my book that means they are giving tacit support to it.

The emotional reaction of Asians has been to withdraw into their own communities and hope that in some way this nightmare will pass. But while this attitude is understandable, I don't agree with it. We must fight

this decision on two fronts:

First, we must build close links with white workers of this country. We must explain to white workers that their interests in no way clash with Asian workers'.

We have the same boss and the common enemy. We must not play the game of those who seek to divide us. It is the task of socialists to fight to extend these links within the trade union movement.

It is only through this unity that we can confront this racist challenge and defeat it.

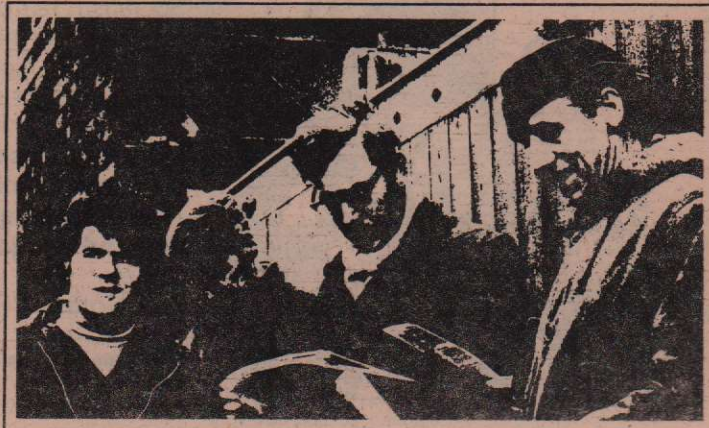


Secondly, we must organise demonstrations and resolutions to get this decision wiped out. Trade union branches, district committees and trades councils must organise against this fundamental attack on our human rights.

We must be sure of one thing: This decision is the first step to compulsory repatriation. It is the thin end of the wedge that could smash the British working-class movement to smithereens if effective action is not taken.

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Army protection

ONE OF THE GREAT propaganda myths of our time is that the British Army went into Northern Ireland originally to 'protect' Catholics and stayed on to prevent a 'civil war' between Protestants and Catholics.

In reality the army has persistently oppressed Catholics—internment and Bloody Sunday can hardly be described as 'protection'—and the government has helped to promote a 'civil war'.

Disbanding the B-Specials, disarming the RUC and the eventual abolition of Unionist Stormont all increased the fury of the mass of Protestants against Catholics, who appeared as the force which made the British government enact such measures.

This obvious contradiction between the myth and the reality can only be explained when the true role of the army is uncovered. Only a small, and less well known part of the propaganda war, conducted in the form of frequent adverts in The Financial Times, gives an accurate indication of the army's role in Northern Ireland. And that is the protection of British capitalism's interests.

The purpose of the full-page adverts in The Financial Times is quite clearly to inform foreign capital that, despite the present crisis, it is very much business as usual in Northern Ireland. They state that there are 37 American companies that have manufacturing plant in Northern Ireland.

'Progress'

Some of them are subsidiaries of major US corporations—Du Pont, Ford Motor Company, Standard Telephone (ITT) and Goodyear are examples—and others not so well known, but: 'US companies together employ 25,000 workers—12 per cent of the manufacturing workforce—and have a stake of about 225 million dollars in Ulster.'

Nor does all the foreign capital come from across the Atlantic. 'To date, 10 German industries have been established in Northern Ireland—among them prominent names like Hoescht and Grundig... they are continuing to progress and are producing profitably.'

What the advert does not say is anything about the major investor of capital in Northern Ireland—it says nothing about Britain's role in this field.

A complete list of British firms in Northern Ireland would be long enough to fill a page of this paper. In the manufacturing field they range from GEC and Rolls-Royce in engineering, through Metal Box and Oneida Steel in light engineering, and subsidiaries of British American Tobacco and Rank in cigarettes and food, to Courtaulds and ICI in textile manufacture.

There are subsidiaries of British subsidiaries operating—the engineering firm of A Kirkland Ltd is part of the Courtaulds group, as is Bairnswear.

In the distribution industry the picture is very similar—the shopping centre of Belfast is dominated by British Home Stores, C & A Modes, Marks and Spencer and Littlewoods. The older 'department stores' are also under the control of British interests—the Belfast city centre store,

Robinson and Cleaver, is a subsidiary of Sir Charles Clore's Sears Holdings.

With financial institutions the story is the same—after a long process of takeover and merger by the Midland and Westminster banks there has been no independent Northern Ireland bank since 1965.

So although it is difficult to obtain precise figures, it is possible to state that almost all of the finance capital, the bulk of distributive capital and perhaps as much as 75 per cent of manufacturing capital in Northern Ireland is directly under the control of British capitalism.

Such a stake, needless to say, means that British capital overshadows the other overseas capital mentioned in the Financial Times' adverts and gives British capitalism almost total control over the

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racket in Ulster

Northern Ireland economy.

British capitalism's interest in Ireland is not confined to the North. By March 1972 there were no less than 986 British subsidiaries operating in the South and 65 per cent of manufacturing industry was controlled by foreign, mostly British capital.

Of all the new industrial projects undertaken during the period 1960-1970, 70 per cent were accounted for by foreign firms. In the same period 74 per cent of the total investment in new enterprises was made by foreign companies.

British companies themselves accounted for 44 per cent of new projects, American for 25 per cent, German for 18 per cent and other countries, notably Japan, for 13 per cent. To get some idea of the scale involved, the total of US investment over the period—£42,000,000—was the same as that of all Irish-owned firms.

profits, substantial capital grants and low levels of wages means, of course, that investment in any part of Ireland can be a very profitable exercise. It is practically impossible to get figures for the North, but they are not likely to be very different from those for the South which show that the rate of profit on industrial capital shows a rise from 11.5 per cent in 1959 to 15.6 per cent in 1964. It remained at that high rate until 1966 when it began to rise again. These rises took place while the rate of profit in Britain was falling.

However, British capitalism's interest in Ireland is not limited to the actual capital stake that it has in that country. Ireland is also

would inevitably border between N would become an sense and, eventu absurdity.

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But the pro pattern of reform emerged, but this British Army that ment of repressio reached its peak and the Derry mas



Whitelaw: return to sham democracy

Britain's third largest export market—more than 55 per cent of total Irish imports come from Britain, and more than 65 per cent of total Irish exports go to Britain.

Almost 75 per cent of Northern Irish imports come from the rest of the UK. So the combination of a large and highly profitable capital stake and a large and subservient market makes the whole of the Irish economy an area which the British capitalist class will want to keep at almost any price.

The first signs that Britain had changed its ideas about the shape of the Irish economy came in the early 1960s with the moves towards Common Market entry. It could hardly be expected that British capital would enter such a restricted club and leave one of its largest markets out in the cold.

But to bring Ireland into a restructured capitalist Europe

The problem imperialism since t get back on to gradualism which early 1960s and it in mind that the Whitelaw adminis understood. Whit return to a sh democratic poli White Paper a Assembly.

The Assembly specifically to acco seeking middle-c who will accept British governmen terms are the acce main voice in the of the Irish econo only voice, mu capitalism's.

And for those toe the British line the threat and the repression and the internment withou

Boast

The most frequently given explanation for these extremely high levels of foreign investment is that the governments, North and South of the border, have offered various incentives to attract foreign capital. Grants up to as much as 45 per cent of the cost of new plant and equipment are made.

But there is a second 'attraction' which is less frequently publicised—the low level of wages in both Northern and Southern Ireland.

In March, 1972 the director of the Industrial Development Authority boasted that labour costs were more favourable (to the capitalist class) in southern Ireland than in the rest of Europe. Figures produced by the Department of Employment in 1970 showed that in every industrial group, wages in Northern Ireland were lower than in the rest of the UK. Taking the average across all manufacturing industry wages in Northern Ireland (hourly rates) were only 78 per cent of those in the rest of the UK.

The combination of tax-free

International Socialism 60

International Money Councils of Action China July 1973 15p



The July issue of International Socialism features an important article by Chris Harman on the experience of Councils of Action and their relevance to the current struggles of the working class. Other articles include:

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Special analysis by FRANK MASTER

On the eve of its conference, a critical look at Britain's biggest union

Putting Jack's house in order



Jones: the supporter of 'workers' control' determined to hang on to the undemocratic structure of his union

Picture: Christopher Davies (Report)

balk at the fact that they are helping to liquidate the registered docker.

This has positive advantages. For dockers have an awkward tradition of independence which, in these times when struggles are inevitably less and less sectional in nature, could lead the beginnings of a reform movement in Britain's biggest union.

And the perfect cover for all this is the manufactured social conscience—the great union with its great campaigns, like the one for the old age pensioners. This has been going on for so long and with such few results that there are few pensioners around from the time it started to challenge Jones' boasts.

Challenge

The dockers are still the group in the union who can provide a basis for launching some serious challenge to the TGWU leadership. Their own survival depends to no small extent on building strong and effective links with other weaker sections of the union.

At the heart of the fight—to create a union where the means is the means to definite ends—will be the mapping out of wholesale changes to make the union democratic, a weapon in the hands of the membership.

For a start officials would be made the servants of the membership. Elected and re-elected regularly, recallable and answerable to a system of democratic policy-making conferences.

The ludicrous situation of powerless section committees and an executive with all the power of a rubber stamp would also be high on the list for wholesale change.

And on top of the list would surely go the illusion that some great left-wing personality—past, present or future—can change it all.

Report by LAURIE FLYNN

THERE IS AN OLD SAYING about trade union officialdom's attitude to the movement—for them the means has become the end.

It may be an old saying but it is still an extremely valuable one, not least when it comes to any discussion of Britain's biggest union, the 1 3/4 million-member Transport and General Workers Union.

The attitude comes shining through in the report of the TGWU's general executive council to next week's Biennial Delegate Conference at Brighton. The union's most glorious achievement in the past few years, according to the report, is that it has grown by a quarter of a million 'units of membership.'

This, it is reported, is the result of extensive if unspecified recruitment among unorganised workers as well as a rather large number of mergers with other unions.

To read the document is rather like perusing the annual reports to shareholders in a unit trust. For the executive's report uses the sheer dimensions of the union, plus a whole number of claims to be the best and the first in other fields like pollution control, the fight for industrial health, accident and disease compensation, to slide over all the real matters of issue in the working-class movement and the TGWU itself.

Disaster

It boasts of the use of research to back up wage claims as at Ford, omitting any mention of the disastrous sell-out that the unions engineered there. It records that the complete about-face on the Industrial Relations Act was not something the TGWU wanted to engage in but something done reluctantly to 'preserve the unity of the movement.'

And by unity is meant the common moves of other elder statesmen of the working class movement to jettison their rhetoric about undying opposition to the Industrial Relations Act so that the funds and assets would not be threatened. The one thing Britain's biggest union would not do was give the rest of the movement a lead.

But perhaps the most outlandish claim contained in the leadership's report to the

membership is the stuff about the 'conscious aim' to 'become the most democratic union in the world.' This, apparently, is 'well on the way to being achieved.'

Although the TGWU is not a one man autocracy like Frank Chapple's electricians, it is a very undemocratic union indeed. And General Secretary Jack Jones, the partisan of workers' control, intends to keep it that way.

Trivia

In their classic history of trade unions, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, describe in great detail how routine petty sectional concerns led to the emergence of a caste of trade union officials who care nothing for the overall interests of the working class, and who are bound up exclusively in the trivia of their piece of industrial territory. This is exactly how the Transport and General operates.

The TGWU is in fact several unions and the members are kept compartmentalised in their sections as far as possible. TGWU propaganda recognises this to some extent with the claim that it is 11 industrial unions.

Each section has its own section executive, though there is no real democratic participation through powerful and effective trade group conferences.

Grafted on top of this structure is the general executive council which, to ensure its effective supervision over all the manifold problems of 1 3/4 million people, meets four times a year. It is supposed to be the supreme authority of the union in between the two yearly conferences, but simply cannot be.

Closely modelled on the structure of the TUC, the TGWU also has a sub-committee of the

executive where real power is wielded—the Finance and General Purposes Committee. This meets monthly and is very much under the sway of the general secretary.

Jack Jones, elected for life, is therefore in a unique position, with overall control of the machine residing in his person.

Jones has set out to make the whole organisation of the union uniform, predictable and responsive to the wishes of the leadership and himself. His strategy has been to engage on the one hand in tub-thumping speeches about participation and delegation of power to the shop floor in the areas where the union is weak, and on the other, where organisation is strong and where there is the real possibility of independent action, to crack down.

Militant rank and file organisation is seen purely and simply as a threat. And so too is any organisation and contacts which cut across geographical and trade group boundaries, like combine shop stewards committees.

Launch

Over the past two years Jones has focussed his attentions increasingly on the dockers. He determined to end the situation where the docks group could act independently and launch policies which ran counter to the union's strategy of sweetheart productivity deals.

Just prior to last year's official docks strike the Sunday Times journalist Vincent Hanna wrote that the TGWU general secretary needed an official all-out strike to undercut the massively successful shop stewards' campaign of blacking and picketing unregistered wharves and container bases and to challenge the stewards themselves.

This was the devious purpose

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YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

ONE of the most deep-seated prejudices of British political life is that somehow this country is different. Elsewhere in the world there may be revolutions, coups, the use of the army to prop up governments or shoot trade unionists, but not here.

This view is put across by the press, radio and television. It is the basic assumption of all school textbooks. It has always been accepted by the Labour Party and for the past 20 years the Communist Party too has argued that in Britain socialism could come about 'peacefully'. They have accepted the idea that socialist revolution 'cannot happen here'.

Most false arguments start off with irrefutable facts. This is no exception. A quick glance at domestic politics over the past 200 years shows it has not seen the same repetition of bloody and bitter internal conflict that has marked many other countries.

But it was not always so. One of the first modern revolutions was in England, 330 years ago. Respectable middle-class Englishmen fought a civil war against the crown, cut off the king's head and proclaimed a republic. They did so because they saw the monarchy standing in the way of a society based on the continual and orderly pursuit of profit.

They allowed the monarchy to return in 1660. But only on condition that it would promote the interests of businessmen, not hinder and obstruct them.

The success of the revolution meant that a more or less modern capitalist state developed in Britain a century or more before it did in other countries. Because the middle classes had asserted their power decisively in the 17th century, they were able to change society gradually to suit their needs in the 18th and 19th centuries. There were clashes of interest between them and the large landowners who ran the state, but these differences were resolved peacefully because the decisive, bloody struggle had already taken place.

CHANGE

Changes did not happen so neatly in other countries. In France the first big conflict between monarchy and middle classes was not until the French Revolution of 1789-93, and it was another three revolutions and 80 years later before a stable form of capitalist rule was established. In Russia, the first major clash between the middle classes and the Czarist regime did not happen until 1905.

The difference in timing was important. It meant that in Britain the revolutionary struggle of the middle class was over before the industrial revolution took place and the modern working class was formed. Because of this it was relatively easy for the ruling class to instil into workers the belief that social change was always gradual. British workers did not have personal memories, as most French workers did, of

Oh, it can't happen here

barricades being erected in the streets and an old order of society being physically overthrown.

All the same, a movement with revolutionary potential did develop in Britain in the first half of last century, the first mass working-class movement in the world, Chartism. Hundreds of thousands of workers identified with a movement that demanded deep-rooted changes and showed, at points, that it was not averse to using force to get these.

The British ruling class was able to survive Chartism and in the years after 1850 political movements of British workers virtually ceased to exist, just at the time they were growing in other countries.

The reason was that British big business was bigger, wealthier and more powerful than its rivals abroad. It accumulated massive wealth through looting countries such as India and Ireland and by pioneering the slave trade.

It produced a fifth of the world's industrial goods, two thirds of its coal, half its iron, half its cloth, two-fifths of its hardware. Under such conditions, big business could allow the living standards of considerable sections of workers to rise, until an old Chartist could relate in 1870:

'In our old Chartist times, it is true, Lancashire men and women were in rags by the thousands; and many of them often lacked food. But their intelligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You would see them in groups discussing the great doctrine of political justice.

'Now you will see no such groups in Lancashire. But you will hear well-dressed working men talking, as they

walk with their hands in their pockets, of 'Co-ops' and their shares in them or in building societies.'

But British capitalism was not able to keep its all-powerful position forever. Other countries began to imitate its methods, developed newer, more efficient industries, and began to eat into Britain's power. British exports fell from a third of the world total in 1870 to a mere 13 per cent in 1913. Both the US and Germany overtook Britain.

The British ruling class was forced, in the first years of this century, to cut into working-class living standards.

PACE

The result was a sudden explosion of working-class discontent that shook society to its foundations. Although no mass revolutionary movement developed, millions of workers began to question existing society and the trade unions expanded at an unprecedented pace.

Not until 1926 were the authorities finally able to defeat the movement and reassert their own complete control. Then in the 1930s mass unemployment meant that it was extremely difficult for the working-class movement to overcome demoralisation and fight back.

But none of this was able to halt the long-term decline of British capitalism. Since the war its power has declined still further, until it now produces less than 4 per cent of the world's goods.

If in the past social change in Britain was 'gradual' and the class conflict not particularly violent, that was because British capitalism was strong and prosperous. But today it is weak and growing feebler. It can only prevent further loss of power by taking from workers many things they take for granted—that is why it has threatened the right to strike with the Industrial Relations Act and conspiracy trials, and why it has been using incomes policies and wage freezes to hold down living standards.

By its own actions, big business is forcing workers to ask questions about society they never asked before. And out of this questioning a mass revolutionary movement can develop in Britain for the first time since the days of Chartism.

BOOKS

REVIEW



The birth of the flying picket

TEAMSTER REBELLION, by Farrell Dobbs, Monad Press 95p.

IN THE years after the First World War the American working class suffered heavily under the combined body punches of government repression, economic depression, mass unemployment, and betrayal at the hands of the union leaders. The American Federation of Labour was reduced from a total membership of four million in 1920 to only two million in 1933. Then a serious fight back began, often led by socialist militants.

This book describes the experiences of one such militant, Farrell Dobbs, a member of the Trotskyist Communist League, in the fight to organise the trucking industry in Minneapolis.

In 1933 the Teamsters Union had a national membership of 80,000 and was run on narrow craft lines by a corrupt leadership that specialised in signing 'sweetheart' agreements with the employers. In Minneapolis, Local 574 had only 75 members.

After much patient work by Dobbs and his mates, who argued the need for a union and organised support, they were strong enough to call the coal yards out in February 1934. The key to victory was a militant flying picket.

Dobbs writes: 'A new picketing technique developed through rank and file initiative during the heat of action. A number of strikers had secondhand cars . . . These cars gave the pickets a high degree of mobility that had several tactical advantages. Constant patrols could be maintained on the look-out for scab drivers on the streets. When trouble developed at a given yard, reinforcements could be brought in quickly.'

The employers gave in after only a few days. Victory boosted recruitment into the union and helped spread it throughout the industry. By April 1934

Local 574 had more than 3000 members.

On 15 May the entire trucking industry in the city struck for union recognition. The employers tried to run scab trucks and this led to bitter clashes between the police and the strikers.

On 21 May two deputy sheriffs were clubbed to death in a fight in the market area of the city. Terrified by the determination and the militancy of the strikers, the employers surrendered on 25 May.

Membership of Local 574 rose to 7000 and a four-page weekly newspaper, The Organiser, was started. The movement was going from strength to strength.

By now, however, the employers were organising themselves and set out to provoke another dispute. On 16 July the men again came out to defend the gains they had already made. From the beginning the police set out to drive the strikers off the streets. On 20 July they opened fire on a picket truck without any warning and killed two strikers.

Picketing was redoubled. When Henry Ness, one of the dead men, was buried, 40,000 people marched behind his coffin.

The situation was rapidly getting out of hand. On 26 July the National Guard was called in, the union offices were occupied, several strike leaders were arrested, and another attempt was made to run the pickets off the streets.

Still the men held together—and eventually, on 21 August, the employers caved in and agreed to recognise the union.

The story is well told and all the lessons about the need for militancy, organisation and a political strategy are drawn. This is a book well worth reading and the promised sequel on the struggle to transform the Teamsters nationally into a militant general union, the equivalent of Britain's Transport Workers Union, is to be looked forward to.

JOHN NEWSINGER

Chinese puzzle

THE CHINESE ROAD TO SOCIALISM, by E L Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, Penguin 50p.

WRITING on current events is a risky business: new happenings can make what was written a few years earlier look pretty daft. The compass of marxist theory helps, but you need a good map of present-day reality as well.

The authors of The Chinese Road to Socialism suffer from the double misfortune of lacking the compass and having an out of date map.

Their book is about the Chinese 'cultural revolution' and was published in hardback in 1970 just as the cultural was being liquidated. Wheelwright and McFarlane saw that revolution and believed that they 'had seen the future and it worked'.

Basically they believed that faith can move mountains, that Mao's little red book 'is an instruction to apply scientific principles . . . an exhortation to work with persistence, overcoming all difficulties, for the good of society, for the international revolution. If all of these thoughts are really applied in a particular case, the peasants concerned probably will grow better cabbages.'

They quote with approval Mao's claim that 'Marxism consists of thousands of truths but they all boil down to one sentence—it is right to rebel.'

True, our authors do recognise that pure exhortation is not enough. 'Mao also took certain organisational steps,' they tell us, 'notably in obtaining the support of the People's Liberation Army and General Lin Piao.' Alas, Lin Piao is today an unperson, not only dead but unmentionable except as a devil to be denounced. The Red Guards, some 15 to 20 million young people, are no more. Now the Peoples Daily denounces

'time-wasting meetings and discussions' and demands punishment for those who resist managerial authority. The 'right to rebel' has become a counter-revolutionary diversion and material incentives are back in fashion. As to the 'international revolution' it must be subordinated to good relations with Yahya Khan, the Shah of Persia, Mrs Bandaranaike and Richard Nixon.

These tragic events can give no pleasure to socialists but equally they can cause no surprise for anyone with a grasp of the elements of marxism. 'Right can never be higher,' wrote Marx, 'than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.'

The notion that an isolated, backward, peasant country can jump into communism by a 'Great Leap Forward' or a 'Cultural Revolution' driven on by the force of moral exhortation is pure utopianism. Not that moral enthusiasm is unimportant. It can indeed transform individuals and groups—for a time, but it cannot be a substitute for developed industry.

I wish I could be more favourable about this book. Its authors are patently honest and enthusiastic people. Their hearts are in the right place, but unfortunately they allow their hearts to rule their heads.

For a serious analysis of the cultural revolution you must look elsewhere. Read Tony Cliff's Crisis in China, which will be reproduced in the August issue of International Socialism.

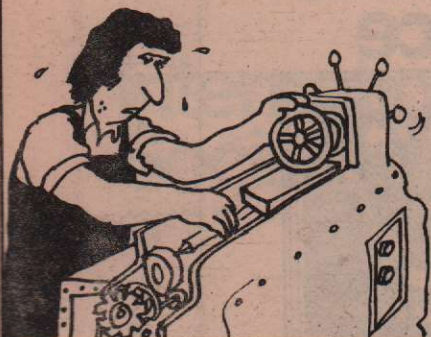
DUNCAN HALLAS



FOOTBALL MANIA, by Gerhard Vinnai, which Geoff Ellen reviewed here two weeks ago, has been published in paperback by Ocean Books, price 35p.

OUR NORMAN

IT'S SUNNY OUTSIDE.



READING THE PAPERS YOU'D THINK WE ALL WENT OFF TO THE SOUTH OF FRANCE FOR THE SUMMER



HOWEVER THIS IS NOT THE CASE.



IT IS THE ROLE OF SOME OF US TO KEEP THE WHEELS OF INDUSTRY TURNING





TUBBY HAYES: His very virtuosity seemed to handicap his powers of invention.

TUBBY HAYES, THE JAZZMAN WHO BLEW HIS HEART OUT

TUBBY HAYES, the West London jazz musician who dominated British jazz for a decade died, suddenly and unexpectedly last month. Earlier this year the legendary London jazz drummer Phil Seaman and the West Indian alto player Joe Harriott went to tragically early graves.

In the space of a few months we have lost the finest of a generation of British jazz musicians.

Hayes was born into a family of dance band musicians and gifted with a quite extraordinary technical talents. As a child he was a virtuoso on saxophone and became a prodigious vibraphone player and a haunting jazz flautist.

His unrivalled speed, bounce, and musical optimism were displayed in several pioneering hard bop small bands of the late 1950s, especially the Jazz Couriers which he led with Ronnie Scott from 1957-59. With an uncanny ease Hayes' small stout and puffy figure cascaded his audiences with solos almost too fast for the ear to follow, decorated with flawless

arpeggio runs and unaccompanied cadenzas. With a local rhythm section in a pub back room, or in front of some of the powerful big bands, that he assembled and composed for in the 1960s, Hayes was a tiny giant.

It meant much to a jazz world dominated by the American musicians, that Tubs was recognised as an equal by musicians like Kirk, Stitt and Gordon. On one famous occasion he was collared in the front stalls of the Festival Hall by Duke Ellington to deputise for Paul Gonsalves and proceeded to sight read his way through the Ellington book and solo to the rapture of the British fans.

DELIGHT

But Hayes was no original. His composing was orthodox and his playing sometimes strangely unfeeling. His very virtuosity seemed to handicap his powers of musical invention and certainly prejudiced him against any developments in tenor playing after middle-period Sonny Rollins.

In some ways Tubby and Ronnie Scott were the bulwarks of jazz conservatism in the 1960s.

But the sheer delight of Hayes' soaring tone and unflinching vigour could melt the heart of the most austere modernist. The playing of his last year, after his recovery from a severe illness and when he was still troubled by shortness of breath, was necessarily compressed and pared down but was ironically some of his most interesting and affecting.

Only his inability to blow to his own satisfaction took him back to hospital for the second operation on his damaged heart valve which killed him. Tubs quite literally blew his heart out.

Joe Harriott, the black alto player who died in January, was a great original. He was an uncomfortable player with a crackling attack and a fiery tone and succeeded in taking the alto saxophone forward from where Charlie Parker had taken it singlehanded 20 years before. Harriott's interests were wide and he recorded some fine rhythm and blues with Tony Crombie's 1954 band, calypso and blue beat-based West Indian jazz and some remarkable experiments with Indian musicians in the days before the sitar became big business. Although unpopular among white jazzmen for his personal belligerence and his forthright views on the position of black people in Britain, his musical aggressiveness concealed enormous melodic riches.

Some of his finest work is on breath-takingly slow blues and the quite remarkable duets with his fellow West Indian flugel horn player, Shakespeare Keene.

BOOZE

In many ways the most tragic of the three was Phil Seaman who altered the whole direction of British drumming. He was a fixture of just about every major British jazz recording of the 1950s and taught a generation of drummers their sticks.

But Seaman's playing was utterly wrecked by his addiction to heroin and although he could still produce fine drumming and good teaching in the Islington pubs where he ended his life playing, junk and booze ravaged his enormous talents and musical intellect. For, like Hayes, he belonged to that generation of British jazz musicians so utterly overawed by black music that they actually got involved in heroin in a grim attempt to reproduce the conditions that had produced the jazz originals.

What is so appalling about the deaths of these musicians is that although more young people are listening to music than ever before, these men die largely unknown and unheard. The industry, the BBC and the record companies surrounded these musicians with a conspiracy of indifference.

'Glam rock is dead says Marc' was the front page headline of the Melody Maker, which announced Hayes' death on page 28. That headline is a precise reflection of a society which rewards Marc Bolan with golden records and Hayes, Harriott and Seaman with tragic graves.

because by it the working class begins the abolition of classes altogether, including its own class.'

Nevertheless he strongly believes that the Left in this country does not give enough encouragement to working-class imaginative writing. 'I think every imaginative book published by a working-class man or woman about working-class life should be given special notice in the left-wing press.'

Upward is now completing his trilogy, following on from In The Thirties and The Rotten Elements. The third part deals with how he came to be a socialist from his middle-class background, and with his partial return to politics.

An important theme is opposition to all attempts to find merely personal and 'inner' solutions—whether by drugs, psychoanalysis or mysticism—to problems which are essentially social. 'Freud would have made a witty and ingenious novelist. And perhaps he could be said to be the best that the middle-class, at all recently, have been able to produce in the way of an ideologist. Scientifically, however, his theories were trash.'

'Even if the revolution were to take another hundred years I feel that the only way to live now is to support the anti-capitalists struggle.'

Jules Townshend

Dave Widgery

When the party was over

THERE haven't been many novels written about socialists in Britain. Two of the better ones, In the Thirties and The Rotten Elements, came from the pen of Edward Upward and deal with the experiences of a poet and his wife in the 1930s and 1940s.

Upward, who lives in the Isle of Wight, was himself a member of the Communist Party then. He joined because he 'could see no way forward' in his writings, which were at the time strongly influenced by James Joyce, author of Ulysses, and others pre-occupied with literary technique.

The Party still had the bloom of the Russian Revolution on it then—indeed Upward thought so highly of it that he delayed joining for two years to prepare himself.

Not until after the war did he decide that the party was no longer revolutionary. Looking back, he felt the first step in the wrong direction was the Popular Front, Stalin's attempt at an alliance of 'progressives'—from Tories to Communists—against fascism.

The policy itself was correct but the Party went 'too far to the right', abandoning its principles, and 'has never recovered', said Upward.

Slogans

He and his wife left for theoretical reasons. 'We felt that the Party was ceasing to be Marxist-Leninist.' They left after being accused of 'international factionalism', 'almost as bad a word as Trotskyism', said Upward.

'Having been in the Party, I still feel in a way a closeness to it. I always want to hear what they are doing, and if anyone is taking a similar line to ours. The Party is different now in that it will allow dissident points of view to be expressed.'

'But its policy of the Parliamentary Road to Socialism is utterly unconvincing. Some of the slogans have been so ludicrously uninspiring that they have seemed almost as unreal as the inscription on the banner carried by demonstrators in Lewis Carroll's book Sylvia and Bruno: 'Less Bread More Taxes'. I particularly remember seeing on one banner the words 'Change the Policy'—what policy was to be changed was not specified.'

'The Party's present slogan 'Time to Change Course' is equally insipid. I can't understand how the Party can attract intellectuals at all. Of course the Party rank and file are in the main



EDWARD UPWARD: 'Politics should make one's writing more interesting.'

genuine and good people, and we are on good terms with them here locally.'

But the Party had changed drastically since the 1940s. 'I just don't recognise the Party members today as Party members. Their attitude is so different. You come across members who don't even read the Morning Star—in fact we have persuaded some of them to read it—and they haven't got the feeling that they ought to give themselves wholly to the Party.'

'I'm fully prepared to work with them, but I'm entirely against the attitude of 'Smash the Ultra-Lefts' which comes from some quarters in the Party, just as I am against the slogan 'Smash the Revisionists'. Both are wrong. We aren't in a revolutionary situation. Without sacrificing our principles we have got to be prepared to work with one another. The present stage seems to demand a united front of the genuine Left.'

Trouble

Upward sees his writing as part of his political life. 'I have been trying to produce imaginative work which is at the same time marxist... It is clear that Brecht has magnificently achieved this. It can be done.'

'But some writers who think of themselves as socialist don't try and have thoroughly absorbed the idea that politics mustn't come into imaginative literature. Politics should

make one's writing more interesting to read.

'The trouble for a socialist imaginative writer is that since he must regard the political struggle as more important than art he is liable to become more concerned with the political message in his work than with its artistic form—and this can be fatal to its artistic quality.'

'One reason why there was a gap of nearly 20 years in my own writing was that my artistic conscience, I suppose, wouldn't let me publish stuff which though it was politically sound enough was un-sound artistically. And my artistic problem, as I have suggested in The Rotten Elements, was made worse by the fact that I was trying in my imaginative work to put over the Party's policy—which I was gradually losing my enthusiasm for.'

Hero

He felt that Mao was right in believing that all culture is class culture and that art, if it is to be revolutionary, must support the revolutionary political struggle. 'But an article I read in Peking Review during the Cultural Revolution suggested that in a revolutionary play the actor playing the part of the hero should always be at the front of the stage, never be less prominent than the other actors.'

'This seems to me to be an example of how the interests of artistic quality can be subordinated to political requirements. But politics and art not only need not be mutually exclusive: they can and ought to support each other.'

'Art is concerned with the emotions. Art is the communication or evocation of emotion in the most skilled way possible. If art doesn't appeal to the emotions then it is a failure. The purpose of revolutionary imaginative writing should be to evoke emotions in the reader which will help to lead him towards revolutionary political action.'

But Upward believes the working class is unable to develop its culture fully before its revolution.

'Or afterwards for that matter. Perhaps to talk of the working class being able to develop its culture after the revolution would be a mistake,

Preparing for Power J.T. MURPHY

IN this book first published in 1934, Murphy considers the role and success of the revolutionary left 50 years ago and its later isolation. The author was a key figure in this first shop steward's movement.

Price: £1 plus 15p postage.

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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.

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Dear I read the... not protest at your demand for the... reformist... more... committed to... have to put... of with... revolution... they are... substitution

Judges sharpen 'plot' weapon

THE Stoke Newington Five Solidarity Committee consider the judgment made by Lord Widgery, Justice Lawton and Justice Milmo on the appeals lodged on behalf of John Barker, Hilary Creek, Anna Mendelson, Jim Greenfield and Jake Prescott to be a repressive measure.

While, of course, we welcome the reduction in Jake Prescott's sentence, the importance of the judgment lies in that it accepts as valid the vicious class 'justice' meted out by Justice Stevenson and Justice James.

In the case of John, Hilary, Anna and Jim the sentences decided upon by Justice James was simply upheld.


In the case of Jake Prescott, Lord Widgery made it clear that the only reason for reducing the sentence was retrospective parity with the sentences given to the other four. He made it quite clear that he considered the sentence given by Justice Stevenson to have been correct when it was given and that its lack of validity was purely a result of events occurring after that sentence had been given.

Apart from defending Justice Stevenson's decision, this had the more sinister implication that the Appeal Court judges consider that a sentence of 15 years could have been justly meted out to the other four.

By upholding the verdicts arrived at by the jury, the judges have made the conspiracy charge an even more convenient political weapon for the ruling class than it was previously. In the case of Jake Prescott, the jury were not given clear guidance from Justice Stevenson as how to reach a verdict on the conspiracy count and the jury acquitted Jake of all charges except that of conspiracy.

By saying that the jury was correct to convict, the Appeal Court gave a clear indication of the weakness of the evidence which can be used to secure a conviction.

In the case of John, Hilary, Anna and Jim, the jury convicted on a



POP BURIES ITS HEAD IN THE SAND
by Mike Flood Page

ABOUT a year ago a curious thing happened in pop music. An unknown American singer, Don McLean, had a big hit with a song called 'American Pie'. The unusual part was the chorus which sang of 'The day the music died'.

The idea seemed to strike a chord with many people and bands producing McLean with lyrics, fortune and the other benefits of pop stardom, it led rapidly to a spate of compositions of the same kind.

Throughout the 1960s, so the theory went, from the Beatles to Woodstock, music had undergone some exciting changes. From Bob Dylan's concern with civil rights, through the involvement of groups like The Who with the study of the Sixth of Flower power and beyond, performers and audiences were bound up in the growth of a new youth culture, in which new theories and racial politics combined.

The death knell of this culture was sounded at the Rolling Stones concert at Altamont where the people were killed. The campus revolutionaries turned away from folk and rock and towards James Patten and the

Compare that to this description of the Partridge Family, the TV series that was the epitome of success for David Cassidy, by Bob Claver, the programme's executive producer. 'The show's not meant to be realistic. It's entertainment. Viewers would like to be in that family. The characters are good-looking, they're in show business, and they seem not to have the problems that people in most people. We did it fantasy, and I can't see where it's all so realistic.'

IN DEFENCE OF POP

BEING both a socialist and a fan of David Bowie, I was upset and shocked at Mike Flood Page's review of the current pop scene (9 June). Although I find the majority of this scene boring and meaningless, I do not feel these are adequate reasons for condemning it.

It is dangerous and harmful to art when people accuse it of not adhering to a strict doctrine or dogma. This can be clearly seen in Russia in 1936 when Gorky and Stalin introduced the Doctrine of Socialist Realism.

Its definition, that literature should be a historically concrete depiction of reality and inspire the working classes in their struggle for socialism, is excellent in theory, but like so many other Soviet Russian theories it falls short in practice, encouraging so many colourless and insipid novels, for example *How The Steel Was Tempered* by Ostrovsky, the epitome of Soviet Russian literature at its worst, and at the same time it is used to criticise the works of Pasternak, Zamyatin, Solzhenitsyn and many others.

Evgeny Zamyatin, who points out the dangers of a dogmatic single state in his novel *We*, indicated the dangers of dogma interfering with literature. He felt it would become stagnant and stale.

Literature, art and music must be in a state of constant revolution, in a state of constant change, not stopping to look, but continually looking ahead. It is difficult to see tomorrow, but to live today as if it were yesterday means death for those who are aware.

Mike Flood Page commiserates with Don McLean over the demise of the Beatles and Bob Dylan, but the heyday of mods and rockers, flower-power and protest songs has passed and served its purpose, and in David Bowie, I feel we have one of today's innovators in the field of pop music, who is constantly experimenting with music, lyrics and electronics.—AL REES, Exeter, Devon.

charge of conspiracy when the prosecution claimed the existence of a conspiracy hinged around individuals who that same jury had acquitted. The representative for the Crown at the appeal repeated the line taken by the prosecution in the original trial regarding the centrality of Stuart Christie to the conspiracy. Yet the appeal court upheld the decision.

What does this imply with regard to the ease with which a conviction can be secured on the charge of conspiracy? It appears to us that the Court of Appeal has declared its approval of the practice of convicting with no evidence whatsoever other than innuendo and the political be-

liefs of the alleged conspirators.

Justice Lawton referred explicitly to the centrality of the concept of 'common cause' in the definition of conspiracy. We consider the implications of this to be very profound in the light of the fact that there is no maximum sentence for conspiracy.

Finally, Hilary Creek is extremely ill. Her illness can be shown to be a direct result of prison life, and evidence to this effect was produced in a report presented to the appeal court by Dr Russel, a consultant psychiatrist who the prison authorities asked to look into Hilary's condition. Despite this evidence, the judges did not show any leniency towards Hilary.

We do not find in the results of appeals any reason for complacency. We find in them every reason to continue our fight to secure the release of the Stoke Newington Five and to smash the conspiracy laws.—STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, London.

BUT WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

I HAVE always wondered why you do not discuss or examine the future as you feel it should be. You state in 'What we stand for' that you believe in the replacement of capitalism by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

Obviously the day to day events are important but surely it is essential to outline in more detail the society you want in positive terms and not just in terms of the opposite of capitalism. Many say that to talk hypothetically of the future is intellectual masturbation and that it is the day to day struggle that counts, but unless you make clear what you are striving to achieve you will never convince all the British working class.

The attitude of better the devil one knows (capitalism) rather than the devil one does not, must surely hamper your efforts more than any other. Unless you clearly show what you intend to achieve with a new society with a completely different set of values you are wasting your time, because the mass of workers will not trust you. Their attitude will be either, 'They don't want to let us know that they're really work-

ing towards a dictatorship with a socialist facade like Russia with their party in sole and absolute power,' or, 'They don't believe themselves that it's possible to realise this new society and they are just stirring up trouble out of bloody-mindedness.'


History is against your efforts. There has never been a major revolution that has survived uncorrupted. 'USSR Ltd' is the prime example of the best propaganda against revolution. Why die and sweat in the struggle for real freedom if within a matter of years exploitation is established by a different set of hypocritical and ruthless masters.

The purity of genuine socialism and real classless equality is utterly vulnerable to the attack of a dedicated group who wish to take power in the so-called common good to preserve the revolution etc. while the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist because power corrupts all those who wield it.

After these depressing thoughts how do you persuade people, and know you are right, that they will be better off in reality as well as theory?—ANTONY BEEVOR, Paris, France.

School socialism

CHRIS SEARLE talks of 'a socialist curriculum.' Could someone please tell us what this should contain?—N SCOTT (Mrs) London SW17.



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 post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals. to avoid confusion.

In reply to the remarks made in your article on the type of socialist needed for the people of the shambles.

EXTRA

...the type of socialist needed for the people of the shambles...

The best party resolutions can buy

AT THE national conference of the Engineering Workers Union constructional section, at which I was present, a resolution was passed calling for the downfall of the Tory Party and its replacement by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. I supported this resolution without passing comment on it, which left some of my brothers slightly dismayed.

So for the benefit of those who read Socialist Worker, I would like to put their minds at ease, just for the record.

What else do we have at the moment besides the Labour Party? We all know the futility of trying to determine the Labour Party's policy with resolutions of this nature, but we must continue to try until such time as we can get representatives who have the courage of their convictions, and are determined to tilt the balance of power to its rightful place without shuddering every time a skeleton is rattled in parliament's cupboards or bedchambers.

Until we have men of this stature then all we can do with the Labour Party is pass futile resolutions and dream of the smiling face of socialism.

Expecting the present leadership of the Labour Party to implement a socialist programme is like asking the Tories to nationalise our multinational companies or to hold a referendum on whether or not we stay in the Common Market—a decision, by the way, which they could only get support for, especially from their own middle class, by changing the name from the Common Market to the Upper Common Market.—G DOUGLAS, AUEW steward, Anchor Project, Scunthorpe.

Bond men

RODNEY HILTON is probably right to complain (Socialist Worker, 30 June) that the first and most useful section of his book, Bond Men Made Free, was not ignored, as he said—but passed over too briefly.

If this were all, a fault could be acknowledged and explained, and an end to it. But he goes much further, laying down what he thinks a marxist ought to have done: 'a close analysis of the factors involved... long-term precipitating causes, class composition of the opposing forces, class origins of leaders, class alliances, forms of organisation, ideologies...'

Which all looks profound, but which, with his lingo and his 'marxists must', 'we must insist', and 'we must also', reads like a Communist Party study syllabus in the days of Stalin. Hilton is, I suspect, playing the old game of first throwing doubts on the political orthodoxy of a critic before putting in the Party boot.

Some of the points he raises have validity—but just did not seem suitable for treatment in the space allowed, and in the pages of a designedly popular socialist weekly. But Hilton, like so many of our 'labour' historians, mistakes the methods of market survey research for marxism. Much of the material in the book on trades, social composition, and so on, is helpful, but not definitive. Counting the number of candlestick makers involved in the rebellion may be illuminating to some extent, but it tells us nothing truly enlightening about the uprising of a people, which was what the 1381 revolt was.

He writes falsely indeed when he says that his views have been misrepresented in any way. I said that he could not believe that medieval peasants and craftsmen, or those of any other period, were 'capable of

THANKS, SAY CHRYSLER PICKET

I AM writing on behalf of all the Ryton (Chrysler) pickets to convey their many thanks for the Chrysler articles in Socialist Worker last week. The Chrysler International Socialist members at both Ryton and Stoke were impressed by the speed of the articles and their content. The printshop, overworked as they are, did a terrific job getting the articles to print ready for sales to the Chrysler workers in the heat of our dispute. Our sincere thanks.—E TOMLINSON, P GRIMES, Ryton action group, J WORTH, on behalf of Chrysler IS, Coventry.

preparing a countryside rebellion aimed not merely at redressing immediate grievances but also at the making of a new society.' His reply says exactly that, only more emphatically: 'the necessary limitations... political horizons... determined by... the fact that most of them were petty commodity producers... [their] political vision... was bound to be inadequate.'

And when he links it all with problems of modern peasant revolutions, the dangers of this economic categorisation and economic determinism should be clear enough.

The argument Hilton uses was one advanced by Stalin and his political and academic lackeys to justify

the destruction and extermination of millions of Russian peasants. To pronounce the doom of the peasants and craftsmen of today, it is required that they be shown as historically and inevitably doomed in preceding periods.

Is Hilton really aware of what he is saying? Is he really arguing that, unaware of their inevitable doom, the peasants and craftsmen of 1381—and of later times—rose up in rebellion against the powerful lords, the rich merchants, the forestallers and regrators, the usurers and authoritarian churchmen, not realising that these were the historically-chosen human instruments of those vast and (ultimately beneficial?) changes which have, after some centuries, produced the modern working class?

Let this, at least be said for the Commoners of 1381 and their successors, that had they won and remade their England, there would have been no wage-earning, propertyless working class.—REG GROVES, London SW18.

Creole?

DAVID CLARK (Socialist Worker 30 June) is absolutely correct to point out the scandalous way West Indian children are consigned to 'Educationally Subnormal' schools. But his description of the 'language' spoken by West Indian parents at home as 'Creole' is surely nonsense. 'Creole'—as a language—refers to what my dictionary calls a 'colonial patois' chiefly based on French, Spanish and Portuguese.

Readers who are interested in the question of assignment of West Indian children to ESN schools should have a look at an excellent pamphlet by Bernard Coard, published by the Caribbean Education and Community Workers' Association (30p from New Beacon Books, 2 Albert Road, London N4). It's called *How the West Indian child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System.*—COLIN BARKER, Manchester.

AND HUMAN NATURE AGAIN

CHRIS HARMAN's article, 'You can change human nature', (23 June) must inevitably provoke questions in the minds of many readers. It is too easy for someone to write an article on a subject undefined by the writer in order to sway readers' opinions of the concept supposedly discussed.

From his article it seems that what Chris Harman means by 'human nature' is man's attitudes—which, of course, are conditioned by the society in which he lives—and he cannot mean the fundamental striving spirit of man which might normally be taken to be 'human nature'. As the article continued, even the writer began to adopt the concept of 'attitude' rather than 'nature' which was

supposedly the theme of the article.

As for the writer's examples concerning intelligence tests on Sioux and Hopi children and the apparent lack of warfare in the Eskimo culture, the article reveals a facile, naive understanding of humanity which surely should have been realised before publication. In fact the article hardly touches the intended theme.

Man's nature, which is the expression in his life of the individual spirit within him, can only be changed for the better if this underlying spirit is exchanged for a new spirit—it's up to the individual person to determine what this new, true and perfect spirit is.—SIMON THOMAS, Keele, Staffordshire.

How a maverick firm cashes in on 'national interest'

THE STORY of Bredero-Price is an excellent example of the grotesque rewards that capitalism can provide. Bredero-Price coats pipes for the North Sea oil and gas exploration programme and, at its site in Immingham, Lincs, has one of the highest accident rates in the country.

The company's policy of callous single-minded pursuit of profit always ensured it has minimised its commitment to Immingham and the workers there.

The company was formed in July 1966 with £100,000 capital. Half of this was provided by Harold James Price of Hillside, Route No 2, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, USA. The other half was provided by a Dutch building company Verenigde Bedrijven Bredero—there is also a German Bredero-Price.

In its first year Bredero-Price was also loaned £26,000 by the Dutch company and £131,000 by its German associate. But so successful was the business that this money was soon repaid.

In the first year the company made a small loss of £175. This is itself surprising—the costs of starting a business are generally much greater than this. But already two features of the company were apparent. First, in the 1967 report and accounts the chairman said that he expected a considerable upturn in business in 1968 due to the North Sea gas and oil boom.

Second, the 1967 balance sheet shows that the company's site in Immingham was a leasehold site. Most property is either freehold or leasehold. Simply, the freeholder of a property is the person who owns the property, while a leaseholder only rents it.



Clearly, it is much cheaper for a company to occupy leasehold property, and generally the shorter the lease, the cheaper it is. Furthermore, leasehold property is less of a restriction on the company's freedom of action—it is much less trouble to close a business if only a little money is tied up in the property the company occupies.

This maverick quality of the Bredero commitment to Immingham is reflected further in its almost exclusive use of lump labour, which frees the company from many of the normal obligations of employers.

The 1971 report and accounts do not say how many workers it employs. As the Companies Act require this information, its exclusion is either an 'oversight' or shows that in fact every single worker is on the lump—lump workers aren't counted as direct employees of a company.

Considering its deplorable safety record, it may come as a surprise to learn that the firm's 'safety expenses' in 1971 were £8830.

Most of this is probably accounted for by the salary of the safety officer, Labour councillor Matt Quinn, a keen weekday golfer.

Given the comparatively little money put up in the first place, there seems little doubt that Bredero would



have pulled out if things hadn't quickly turned into profit.

But they did. 1968 showed a small profit of £188, but by 1971 the profit was £558,000 on sales of £3,620,000. 1972 figures are not available to the public yet but given the continuing exploitation of the North Sea profits of more than £750,000 seem likely.

It is possible to put a value on the business. During 1972 British industry spent more than £2500 million on buying and selling companies and in most of these deals the price was related to the profits the company makes.

Firms that have a lot of growth potential will tend to be priced highly. Bredero is clearly such a company and it seems possible that the company could be valued on at least seven times its pre-tax profits.

That would make it worth £5¼ million. The two shareholders who each put up £50,000 would share that equally and so have turned £50,000 into more than £2½ million in seven years. If things had gone wrong, their maximum liability would have been £50,000 each.

This has, of course, been achieved on the backs of the ultimate consumers of North Sea gas and oil—the workers. It is a national scandal that grotesque financial rewards can be made in this way and at such expense to the community and workers. But there is nothing illegal about the operation.

This is the way that the 'rugged entrepreneurs' of capitalism make their money and the story of Bredero Price is likely to warm the cockles of any capitalist's heart as showing how initiative can be rewarded.

T H Rogmorton

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WOMEN FIGHT BACK



SHOCK 'STOP THESE TALKS' MOVE BY FOUR BIG UNIONS

LEADERS of more than two and a half million engineering workers met in Eastbourne last week at the annual conference of the powerful Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

The main shock of the week came after the debate on a motion moved by Reg Birch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) Engineering Section and seconded by Les Buck of the Sheet Metal Workers.

The motion totally opposed the Tories' attempts to freeze wages and rejected Phase Two. It recommended unions to give maximum assistance to any members attacked by the Industrial Relations Act.

But, most significantly of all, it also instructed the Confederation's executive 'to press the TUC not to participate in any discussions with the government on any form of wage freeze.' It declared that 'the Confederation will not be bound by any decisions arising from talks between the TUC, the CBI and the government...'

Only Danny McGarvey, president of the Boilermakers Society, opposed this from the rostrum by shouting that the TUC had asked for the talks and that this was an important tactic in helping to secure the election of a Labour government. As was to be



DAN MCGARVEY: Shouting

expected, no explanation of how this was to happen was ever given.

Moss Evans, the most widely tipped man to succeed Jack Jones as the next general secretary of the Transport Workers Union, also spoke. While he was 'not unsympathetic' his union could not support it as it was an issue that was to be decided at its coming two-yearly delegate conference in a fortnight's time.

VOTE

These remarks throw interesting light on how trade union leaders see 'democracy'. Jack Jones doesn't wait until his union's conference has given permission to go to the talks but only to see if they disagree with his decision.

Eventually the motion was put to the vote and carried by 1,347,593 for and 523,900 against—a majority in favour of 823,693.

All four sections of the AUEW voted for it and so did the Sheet



MOSS EVANS: Excuses

Metal Workers, Clive Jenkins' Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs and, most surprisingly of all, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. Against the motion were the Boilermakers, Metal Mechanics, Electricians and UCATT, the building workers' union.

The Transport Workers abstained and Hugh Scanlon, the engineers' president recently banned from the talks by the AUEW national conference, never spoke in the debate.

The shock decision of the normally right-wing General and Municipal Workers to vote for the resolution immediately caused considerable speculation whether or not David Basnett, the union's general secretary, would also be pulling out of the talks soon.

But on Thursday Basnett seemed to squash this possibility by a forcible statement announcing that he would 'continue to take part in the talks as



HUGH SCANLON: Not a word

one of the representatives... This position has not been altered by this week's events at the Confederation conference.

Some observers have claimed that his union's vote was just an indirect warning to the government to hurry up and reach an agreement with the TUC, while others have suggested that it was just a tactic by the engineering section of the GMWU to establish closer ties with the AUEW.

The second major debate of the week centred on wages and the preparing of a new claim to the employers when the current agreement expires on 25 August.

Hugh Scanlon moved the successful motion and warned that 'this was a testing time and moment of truth for the Confederation.'

REPLY

The resolution called for 'a claim for a £35 national minimum rate for a 35-hour week for skilled workers in general engineering, with pro-rata increases for other grades, with no restrictive or productivity conditions included.'

The motion also insisted on a positive reply to the claim within a month, that a publicity campaign should be launched 'in order to mobilise the membership for national industrial action if necessary', and that the final settlement should not preclude the right of unions to fight for all-round increases at local level.

The discussion on the motion was poor and although every speaker mentioned the Tory government none gave any clear lead as to how the claim was to be won.

There will be a full analysis of the engineers' pay claim in next week's Socialist Worker.



CLIVE JENKINS: Union voted for

100 walk out over equal pay demand

STIRLING:—The entire workforce at H K Porters (GB) were on strike last week over equal pay for women. The company, which employs 87 men and 13 women, refused to implement an agreement made in April 1973 which guarantees women workers a minimum wage of £18 a week.

Instead they insisted that the women, who earn a basic wage of £17-20, would make up the deficit on job evaluation and bonuses. The workforce rejected this and went on strike, demanding an £18 basic rate for women workers.

Picket lines at the factory turned back all but one scab lorry, and daily mass meetings were held at the factory gate. The district office of the strikers' union, the Transport and General, refused to work on the basis of an agreement which guaranteed the workers nothing but an application to a government department about the claim.

The strikers rejected the officials' advice and also the employer's bluff that there would be no discussions before a return to work.

After one week the company offered to increase the basic rate by 27p and to apply to the government for the rest of the increase. Reluctantly the strikers accepted the offer, but delayed their return to work for a further two days.

Without the official backing of the TGWU the strikers felt they could not go on—nevertheless the first taste of militancy at Porters for 50 years has shown the workers how effectively they can use their industrial power.

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

IS IRISH CONFERENCE
Saturday 7 July, 10.30am-5.30pm
Room B8, North London Polytechnic, Prince of Wales Road, Kentish Town, London NW5 (near Kentish Town tube)
Entrance by IS membership card
Send for documents to:
Irish sub-committee, 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

HACKNEY IS public meeting
THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PENTONVILLE FIVE AND THE STRUGGLE AHEAD
Speaker: Bob Light
(TGWU steward, London Royal docks)
Monday 9 July, 8pm
Rose and Crown, corner of Albion Rd and Stoke Newington Church Street (opposite Town Hall/bus 73)

LLANELLI IS public meeting: The Llofthouse Disaster and the Mining Industry. Friday 13 July, 7.30pm, Room 1, Mechanics Institute, Pontardulais.

DAGENHAM IS Social: Friday 13 July, 7.30pm, Fanshawe Tavern, Gale Street, Dagenham (near Becontree Station). Music by Lucifer Sam rock and pop group. Tickets 35p.

BLACKBURN IS public meeting: Ireland. Speaker Sean Doherty. Monday 9 July, 8pm, Duke of York, Darwen Street Bridge.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: Labour Party Policy—Chance for a Change? Mon 9 July, 8pm, Blue Anchor, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD IS public meeting: Fight the Tories—Build the Socialist Alternative. Speaker Roger Prottz (editor, Socialist Worker). Wed 11 July, 8pm, The Bnot pub, St Albans Hill.

NEWHAM IS public meeting
SOUTH AFRICA: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. Speaker George Price (IS organiser and victim of apartheid). Wednesday 11 July, 8pm, The Castle pub, Greengate, Barking Road, London E13.
ALL WELCOME

EALING IS public meeting
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM. Speaker Jim Higgins (IS national secretary). Wednesday 11 July, 8pm, George and Dragon, Uxbridge Road, Southall.

TEESSIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting
THE UNPLEASANT AND UNACCEPTABLE FACE OF CAPITALISM.
Speaker Tony Cliff (IS executive committee member). Friday 20 July, 8pm prompt. AUEW Hall, Borough Road, Middlesbrough.
ALL SOCIALISTS AND TRADE UNIONISTS WELCOME

WOOD GREEN IS public meeting
FIGHT RACISM—HOW TO FIGHT DISCRIMINATION AND THE RACIALIST LAWS.
Speaker George Peake. Monday 9 July, 8pm, Duke of Edinburgh, Mayes Road, London N22

TOTTENHAM IS public meeting
HOW HIGH CAN THEY GO? PRICES, RENTS, FARES...
Speaker John Palmer. Thursday 12 July, 8pm, The Greyhound, corner of Philip Lane and Lawrence Road, London N17

HOUNSLOW/FELTHAM IS public meeting
THE TORIES' UNPLEASANT FACE
Speakers: John Palmer (IS) and Paul Bream (Hounslow NALGO). Chairman Peter Rowlands (secretary, trades council). Tuesday 10 July, 8pm, Feltham Lower School, Boundaries Rd, Feltham.

MARCH AGAINST THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE STOP CAETANO'S VISIT!
Sunday 15 July. Assemble Charing Cross Embankment 2.30pm, march to Downing St and Portuguese Embassy, rally in Hyde Park with speaker from PAIGC (Guinea). Further info from End the Alliance Campaign, 12-13 Little Newport Street, London WC2. Phone: 734 9541

OTHER MEETINGS

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Assemble Brockwell Park (Herne Hill end), 2pm, then march on Dulwich College. Called by London NUSS.

ARGENTINA: 'HOUR OF THE FURNACES'
The LATIN AMERICAN FRONT invites you to see and discuss this film at the ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION, 36 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON WC1. Parts 1 and 2, Thursday 9 July, 6pm.

NOTICES

NOW AVAILABLE: Selected Sex-Pol Essays 1934-37, by Wilhelm Reich and Karl Teschitz, 136 pages—40p (plus 6½p postage) from Socialist Reproduction, 57d Jamestown Road, London NW1.

FULL-TIME SECRETARY/TYPIST wanted for IS national office, IS members only. Apply to Jim Higgins, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

GAY SOCIALIST GROUP
All IS members welcome.
Contact Sue Bruley, 18 Dickenson Rd, London N8.

IS BOOKS can now undertake to obtain any paperback under the following imprints within two weeks: Aldine, Armada, Arrow, Bantam, Carusel, Corgi, Coronet, Everyman, Faber, Fontana, How and Why, Knight, Lions, Mayflower, New English Library, Paladin, Pan, Pan Piper, Panther, Papermac (fiction only), Peacock, Pelican, Penguin, Piccolo, Puffin, Signet/Mentor, Sphere, Tandem (not soft cover library), World Distributors.

URGENTLY NEEDED for completing micro-film records: INDUSTRIAL WORKER nos 3, 4, 8, 9 and 10; LABOUR WORKER nos 11, 12, 30-32, 35-44, 49-52, 54-55, 58-64, 81, 83-86, SOCIALIST REVEIL vol 1, vol 2(6), vol 3(1, 6, and 9), vol 5(1-9), and vols. 6-11(all). Copies will be returned in good order. Please contact Bill Kaye at 739 6273, or J Hennessy, The Harvester Press, 50 Grand Parade, Brighton, Sussex.

RACE TODAY
July issue on sale now: Unmarried black mothers/ESN and Goldsmiths College/The government's new immigration plans. Sample copy 10p, annual sub £1.60 from Towards Racial Justice, 184 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

CAST need people to build theatre group, previous experience not essential, but long-term commitment is. Phone 01-402 6087 or write 11c Cabell Street, London NW1.

GIRL COMRADE seeks own room in mixed flat, preferably South West London. Phone Marion, 622 2652.

BRIGHTON IS comrade and two kids wish to exchange flat with similar elsewhere 1-2 weeks in August. Write details to J Clements, 9 Bedford Square, Brighton, Sussex, BN1 2PN.

Councillor leaves Labour for IS

A DERBYSHIRE councillor has written to her local paper explaining why she's joined the International Socialists and refusing to stand as a Labour councillor for the new High Peak authority in October.

Mrs Kathleen Broadbent of Glossop, who faces expulsion from the Labour Party, writes that the Labour Party has no relevance to working people's lives either nationally or locally and warns that change will not come by working through capitalist parties.

She writes: 'I have joined the International Socialists who, unlike the Labour Party, are really active in the cause of socialism. The International Socialists work with the workers wherever they are struggling to combat the evils of capitalism. We work to build a socialist society, capitalism must go and we, the workers, will stand up together and rid ourselves of it. This is the way forward.'

Mrs Broadbent said she joined the Labour Party to get rid of class exploitation and capitalism. But she says the Labour Party 'sadly is part of the establishment and therefore always backs away from any proposals that would really change

society. That's why it can't keep its promises.

'People know that the council and the government aren't democratic, know that they have no say in the stream of decisions that affect their daily lives (eg bread, onions, rent, rates etc up—wages held at £1 plus 4 per cent if you're lucky). People know that it's a mockery and an insult to any adult to pretend to him that putting a cross on a piece of paper every three years is anything to do with really taking part in government.'

Hopeful

Similarly, Mrs Broadbent says local needs—bus shelters, houses, and a 24-hour ambulance service—aren't met because power is controlled by a few people.

She makes this rallying call: 'I was a socialist the day I joined Glossop council. I am a socialist today but I now know that things will not be changed for the better through councils and the establishment. The people must stop being forever hopeful that others will lead the way justly. They must believe in themselves and get up and do.'

Don't leave it to chance: take out a postal subscription to SW



A woman delegate speaking at the conference. PICTURES: Christopher Davies (Report)

Fightback against police raids starts

HITCHIN, Herts:—After police harassment in the search for 'illegal immigrants' several immigrant organisations are forming an action committee to fight back.

Darshan Singh, former secretary of the Indian Workers' Association, told Socialist Worker of a dozen incidents, including raids on houses when the men are on night work, the women—many of them unable to understand what the police were saying—made to stand outside during the search and their homes left in a mess.

Police burst in on Mr Singh himself when he was teaching at Hitchin College. 'Four policemen came into my class, without knocking or asking permission from the college authorities, and accused me of being another man entirely.'

Mr Singh, with the National Council of Civil Liberties, tried to get compensation for unlawful imprisonment for another Hitchin man who was reprieved by the House of Lords after being held for several weeks in Pentonville Prison. He has no faith in the Immigrant Appeals Tribunal.

'Mr Carr has stated that people who are detained should be given an opportunity to appear before this tribunal, which is supposed to be an independent body.'

'But how can we expect impartiality from its three members who are paid by the Exchequer? Its chairman is Sir Derek Hilton, the man who issued a report in 1969 saying there must be entry certificates for Commonwealth dependents and immigrants—which was then enforced by the Labour government—thus encouraging international racketeering in immigrants.'

Because of past National Front activity in the Hitchin area the black community is particularly concerned about the police behaviour. They see this as direct encouragement to the fascists to start whipping up hatred. There are already rumours about informers in the town.

The local branches of the International Socialists and the Communist Party are both involved with the action committee to organise the fight back.

Union rights strike

SOUTHAMPTON:—170 manual workers in Debben's factory have now been on strike for three weeks in support of the office workers, whose union, TASS, has been refused negotiating rights by the company. The strikers have started picketing other company plants, but with limited success.

'Picket court'—trades council

LONDON:—Brent Trades Council has called on local workers to picket Willesden Magistrates Court on 16 July after the arrest and rough treatment last week of five trade unionists collecting signatures for a petition against rising prices. The five face charges of wilful obstruction.

The trades council also asked its executive to collect information and report on all cases of police harassment in the area, both of trade unionists and black people. A special edition of their Bulletin is to be circulated to union branches, explaining the issues and asking for support.

International Marxist Group & Socialist Labour League
JOINT MEETING
DEFEND WORKERS RIGHTS
SUPPORT SHREWSBURY 24
Speakers: DAVE JACKSON (chairman)
Shrewsbury Defence Committee)
BOB PENNINGTON (IMG)
GERRY HEALY (SLL)
FRIDAY 6 JULY 8pm
Acton Town Hall, High Street, Acton
Collection will be made for
Shrewsbury 24
Coaches to the meeting
King's Cross—York Way, N1
St George's Circus (nr Elephant & Castle)—William Hill Building
Both leave at 19.00

HUNDREDS OUT ON MASS PICKET FOR EQUAL PAY STRIKE

ECCLES, Lancs:—Hundreds of engineering and clerical workers' union members staged a mass picket at Salford Electrical Instruments on Monday, where APEX members have been on strike for five weeks for an equal pay claim.

Trouble first started on the picket when a scab tried to drive his van through the picket and when stopped, retaliated by lashing out with an iron bar.

Some of the women strikers climbed on to the bonnet and he was quickly disarmed. One picket grabbed the van keys and put them down the nearest drain.

Some shop floor workers were turned back by the picket, which completely blocked the wide factory gates by standing four deep. Some of those who refused to go home shouted abuse at the pickets. They were backed by the biggest scab in the factory: Harry Tonge, the AUEW con-



Joe Hunte, of the West Indian standing conference, speaking on Saturday. On his right are Mary Dines, secretary of the joint council for the welfare of immigrants, Preetram Singh and Fenner Brockway.

by Sara Carver and Penny Morris

venor who has consistently refused to back calls for solidarity action, including a directive from the local AUEW District Committee to black work being done by scabs.

He is also doing nothing to support his members who have joined the picket line. Evelyn Coburn, an AUEW shop steward

PLEGGED

who has come out in support, said: 'If it wasn't for Harry Tonge this strike would have been won weeks ago.'

Police reinforcements were called in to escort Brian White, the company's managing director, through the picket, but with cries of 'Come and join us' and 'Scabs out' the picket closed the factory for two hours. A meeting afterwards pledged its determination to increase the size of the next mass picket, being called

by Ken Montague

Tom Durkin, a member of the building workers union, UCATT, and a local activist for 36 years, and four others were collecting signatures in Harlesden High Street for a petition to go to the Prices Board. They were bundled into police squad cars. Tom's shirt was torn, and a three-year-old child was taken into custody with them.

'Evidence'

'At no time was I warned or asked to move on,' said John Chadwick, a member of the actors' union, Equity, and director of Brecht's The Mother, now running at the Roundhouse. 'I was denied access to a solicitor for 2½ hours on the grounds that "no such facilities were available," and when a solicitor was contacted I was not allowed to speak to him.'

The group's loud speaker equipment was confiscated as 'evidence' until the following Friday, and they were told that if they used it before the trial or collected any more names, they would be re-arrested.

At a special meeting of the trades council last Sunday, Tom Durkin described his treatment at Harlesden police station. 'It was like South Africa,' he

said. 'Police rattled cell doors, jeered and swore at us, and told us to go to Russia.'

Harlesden police have been notorious for their treatment of trade unionists since the arrest of Laricol strikers two years ago and of miners' pickets last autumn. Local immigrants have also demonstrated outside the police station about the arbitrary arrest and beating up of local black youths. Tom himself has been subject to petty intimidation ever since he reported the wrongful arrest of a West Indian to the Community Relations Council.

The trades council is taking a stand against this threat by calling for shop stewards committees and union branches to give financial and physical support to their picket.

Solidarity is vital on this issue. Brent workers and union delegates should join the picket at St Mary's Road, Harlesden, at 9.30am on 16 July.

As Tom Durkin says: 'It is not for the five people involved but for the movement in a wider way. I am afraid that hard-won rights will be taken away, that if any of us go out onto the streets to demonstrate or to picket we shall be arrested.'

Contributions and messages of support should go to N Clarke (secretary, Brent Trades Council), 15 Denton Road, London NW10.

Call for anti-racist boycott defeated

SOCIALISTS were angry and frustrated after the meeting of the joint council for the welfare of immigrants in London last weekend, called to discuss the growing police oppression of blacks and the law lords' recent savage ruling on illegal immigrants.

While militants demanded local action groups to organise protests within the black and Asian communities, many of the delegates were the sober-suited gentlemen—possibly overwhelmed by the heat and

splendour of the Royal Festival Hall—who seemed content to leave it to a committee to organise a national day of mourning and support a demonstration on 22 July.

This tokenism was deplored by some delegates who were also frustrated when the call for a boycott of state-registered race relations bodies was narrowly defeated. The vote was 53-50.

One of the few speakers to stir the meeting was Darshana Tomkinson who attacked their apathy and emphasis on bureaucratic machinery at the expense of the grass-roots approach. Darshana, a member of Ealing International Socialists, called for local committees all over the country, suggested canvassing all immigrants, seeking white trade union support for an autumn general strike over the Tory race laws and organising meetings at local level.

She warned that leaving protests to a remote committee would leave immigrants as helpless as ever.

Most delegates were decidedly middle-class and it took Joe Hunte, of the West Indian standing conference, to break the monotony with an emotional call for unity in action. With it nothing can hold us back, he was saying. But the rest of the muted speeches left socialists frustrated.

Sweatshops

Darshana, in her fighting speech at the end of the day, said protests against increasing racist legislation would be diluted if they were only at national level. 'We don't want to mourn, we must fight,' she declared to applause.

Southall—where Asian women earn £10 for a working week in the local sweatshops—already plans to test the conference 'unity in action' pledge by forming a local action group. 'Until we see West Indians fighting for Pakistanis and Indians working for Pakistanis this unity business is just talk,' she told Socialist Worker. She also demanded at the conference that local defence committees be set up to represent black people and Asian people in the courts.

IS organiser George Peake spoke at the conference of the poison of racism internationally. He suggested that police attacks on blacks and the introduction of second-class citizenship was the first step towards a racist society.

The defeat of the call for a boycott of state bodies disappointed many. These liberal groupings are devastated after the law lords' ruling and will find it hard to continue.

Angry blast by cokemen

DONCASTER:—Workers at the Room Heat solid fuel plant are organising a campaign to stop the closure of the plant. Closure plans were announced in April by the new holding company, National Smokeless Fuels, which took control of the coal products section of the Coal Board early this year. Two plants in Cardiff, Room Heat and Multi Heat, are being closed because the company claims it cannot run them profitably.

These once-nationalised enterprises have been milked by private contractors, pushing up costs. The price of the final product has been pushed up still further by private distribution firms.

The union is officially 'appealing' against the closure, but Jack Dodds, area lodge secretary at Room Heat, said: 'There is no doubt about the outcome—we are appealing to the same bunch that sentenced us in the first place. But once the appeal is out of the way, we can get on with organising a real fight, linking all the coking plants together.'

Messages of support to Jack Dodds, 9 Alder Grove, Balby, Doncaster.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

Trade Union _____

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

'NO' TO

PERKINS DEAL

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

PETERBOROUGH: With the breakdown of negotiations on Monday, the lock-out of workers at the Perkins Engines plant is now in its fourth week, and the workers are as determined as ever.

There were fears last week that the union leaders were preparing to sell out their members. At a national joint council meeting in Eastbourne on the Wednesday the officials proposed that the workers' claim should be changed to one of 'comparability' throughout the Massey Ferguson combine, which owns Perkins.

But shop stewards are refusing to accept this watered-down alternative to parity between the

Peterborough and Coventry factories, where wages are £13 a week higher.

The dispute is affecting other Massey Ferguson plants. 750 men have been laid off at Coventry and more lay-offs are expected. The company has been trying to provoke a dispute there by forcing storemen to work Saturday overtime, but backed down when the men stood up to them.

The lay-offs at Coventry have highlighted the central point in the whole dispute—lay-off pay in Coventry is higher than a full week's wages in Peterborough.

Picketing is increasing in importance as the dispute goes on. The number of pickets is falling and the company has lorries full of engines parked

in the factory car park waiting for the gates to be free.

Pressure is being put on the union to make payments for picket duty, which would not only strengthen the pickets, but would also help those workers denied social security benefit.

More than 100 people attended a meeting organised by Peterborough International Socialists last week and heard Wilf Gibson, senior shop steward, say that press reports that Coventry workers were determined to maintain their wages higher than Peterborough were unfounded lies. Delegates from Peterborough to Massey Ferguson, Chrysler and other plants in Coventry were greeted with enthusiasm and offers of solidarity, he said.

We demand pounds, not pennies say miners

by Bill Message, Inverness

MINERS' delegates called unanimously this week for a minimum wage structure of £35 a week for service workers, £40 for workers underground and £45 for face workers.

The resolution, at the National Union of Mineworkers conference in Inverness, linked these demands with a call for a return to a November-to-November agreement.

Michael McGahey, president of the Scottish NUM, said: 'For more than a decade the miners of this country were sold the idea of "substantial wage increases". We were getting pennies when we should have been getting pounds.' He demanded that the claim be submitted immediately, and that the miners should do everything necessary, regardless of the freeze laws, to win it.

But the final sentence of the resolution weakens the original Scottish formula by leaving the union executive room for a 'negotiated settlement.'

Arthur Scargill, of Yorkshire, supporting the call, said miners were dealing with a most immoral and most corrupt Tory government which was absolutely dedicated to its class. In a clear reference to the defeatist attitude expressed by NUM President Joe Gormley before the ballot over strike action earlier this year, he said: 'I reject the theory that one union cannot take on the government.' He said support from the official union leaders and the TUC during the 1973 strike had been far from satisfactory, but the rank and file of the movement responded magnificently.

Appeal

Pete Heathfield, of North Derbyshire, attacked the passivity of many trade union leaders and Labour Party politicians who allowed the hospital and gas workers to be isolated and defeated.

Michael McGahey said it was up to delegates to go back and rouse the rank and file in support of the claim.

Despite the demands from delegates it is clear the executive will not push ahead with the claim immediately. This month's executive meeting is likely to set up a sub-committee to draw up the details of a claim, and there is no further executive meeting scheduled until September.

The idea of a fight against the Tory freeze laws will not appeal to the right wing on the executive. So branches will have to press for the executive to give the maximum publicity to the claim among the members.

When the conference opened on Monday morning, David Bolton, from the Scottish area, tried to get the delegates to withdraw an invitation that the executive had given to Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra to address the conference on Wednesday morning.

David Bolton called Ezra a 'tool of the Tory government,' but Joe Gormley defended the invitation on the grounds that the NUM and the NCB were now co-operating in putting forward a joint fuel policy.

When the vote was taken, Ezra's invitation was upheld by a narrow majority.

Strike shuts £9m site

LONDON: Taylor Woodrow's £9 million Vauxhall telecommunications centre site is shut down by a strike of 110 workers demanding the re-instatement of their sacked site convenor, John Bell.

Four weeks ago the stewards on the site called an overtime ban until the bonus system and payments were improved. Last week, after the men decided unanimously to maintain the ban, Taylor Woodrow's industrial relations manager, a turncoat ex-union official called Brimley, sacked John Bell for 'industrial misconduct'. Brimley had tried to provoke a fight with John Bell but failed.

The strike is solid, strengthened by management's ludicrous allegations that stewards have been intimidating the men and threatening violence.

The strike on John Laing's £20 million Barbican arts centre site is now into its third week as the men seek to improve on the miserable bonus payments the firm insists on paying through its 'model agreement'.

At the new Royal National Hotel site, also in central London, scaffolders are now in their third week of a strike which began when their deputy steward went into the site office asking why safety helmets which had been delivered had not been issued and was warned for leaving his place of work without permission.

Lucas stewards 'No'

BIRMINGHAM: Senior stewards at the group of Joseph Lucas factories have been negotiating the details of this year's annual wage review. The company, which was recently voted the most dynamic in Europe, is expected to increase pre-tax profits by a quarter this year to £63 million.

But it has made a paltry offer of £2.60 to skilled workers, £2.40 to semi-skilled and £2 to production workers. Women workers have been offered £1.80 plus 20p extra as a move towards equal pay. The company undoubtedly believes that women cannot add and will believe that an increase of £2 is somehow bringing their pay closer to men's who are also getting a minimum rise of £2. Even under the terms of the Tory pay code, the women would be allowed an increase of £3.33.

The stewards have formally rejected the offer, but are not prepared to lead a fight against the pay freeze. Yet Lucas workers have tremendous potential strength as key component suppliers to the car industry.

Bloody nose for news boss

NOTTINGHAM: Management at T Bailey Foreman, which produces the city's two newspapers, has taken on the unions in open battle—and received a bloody nose.

Bully-in-chief on the newspapers' board is managing director Christopher Pole-Carew. 'He has a pathological hatred of trade unions and agreements,' said Robin Anderson, one of the paper's journalists.

On Monday 18 June, workers on the morning paper, the Guardian Journal, were told they would be switching to a new printing process, Letterflex, that night. Members of the print union SLADE protested that the process was not running anywhere in Britain, and could not be worked by the unions until a meeting the following week with the National Graphical Association.

Management refused to budge, and sacked the SLADE members. The follow-

ing day, members from all five unions involved—the NUJ, NATSOPA, SOGAT, SLADE and the NGA—walked out in sympathy.

The Nottingham Evening Post, greatly reduced in size, was brought out by a handful of blacklegs.

The Letterflex dispute was, as promised, quickly sorted out by the unions. But management continued to behave like wreckers. First they sacked all 300 workers. Then they refused to take them back to work without a pledge that blacklegs would be left completely alone. Finally, they announced the closure of the Guardian Journal.

The unions remained solid.

As we go to press, it looks as though management will be forced to concede the unions' formula. They have been shaken above all by the unity and solidarity of the different unions.



BELOW: John Locke, one of the squatters, and a neighbour look out of the barricaded house through a slit in the wall. ABOVE: The view through the slit as a line of pickets prevented the bailiff (beyond car) from reaching the house. PICTURES: Peter Harrap (Report)

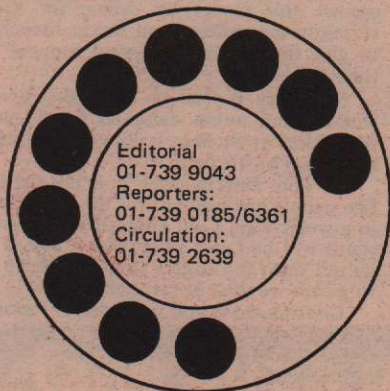


SQUATTERS COURT VICTORY

SQUATTERS claimed a significant victory against landlords who keep property lying empty while people go homeless when they won a seven-day stay of execution on Tuesday against being evicted from two homes in Deerdale Road, Herne Hill, South London, by Grandiose property company.

The squatters are confident they will win their appeal and that Lambeth's Labour-controlled council will fulfil its pledge to take over more than 200 Grandiose homes under compulsory purchase orders. John Boyle, of Grandiose residents' association, said after the court decision: 'It's fantastic. This is the first onslaught in the battle against this firm. Housing is too important to be left to private landlords. Like medicine, it should be supported by the state.'

Grandiose is a small chain in the Gerson Berger empire. In the past two years Berger has bought up £48 million worth of private accommodation—a lot of which he's kept empty for speculation.



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