

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

As wages are battered by soaring prices, workers must tell TUC:

STOP TALKING— AND FIGHT!

LEADERS of 10 million trade unionists will slink back to Downing Street next week for further talks with the Tories and the employers. As their members' wages and living standards take a ferocious battering from ever-rocketing prices, the TUC chiefs will appeal to the 'better nature' of Heath and his big business buddies to make Phase Three of the incomes swindle a little fairer for working people.

The union leaders will fool no one but themselves. Talking will not stop the Tories from continuing their assault on workers and their organisations.

The TUC has talked for years. It has had talks at Downing Street, at Chequers, secret talks and 'off the record' talks. And the only result of these long jawing sessions has been to strengthen the Tories.

Just to rub home the pointlessness of the TUC's trip to Downing Street, massive new price increases were announced this week. The Price Commission, which has as much concern for working-class families' living standards as the French government has for the results of nuclear fall-out, has allowed:

- 4.8 per cent increases on mincemeat, Christmas puddings and table jellies produced by Cadbury-Schweppes.
- 1.8 per cent increases on Heinz baby foods, salad dressings and canned salads.
- 8.1 per cent increases for a range of meat products by the Mattesons Meat group.
- 5.39 per cent increases on Smedley-HP bottled sauces and 6.59 per cent on bottled pickles.

Also going up are: car batteries, tableware, parcels and freight charges, hotel and restaurant prices and feeding stuffs.

They all add up to a further slashing cut at living standards while wages have been either totally frozen or held down to '£1 plus 4 per cent'. As we reported last week, workers' living standards have FALLEN by 4 per cent in the first quarter of this year.

And still the TUC leaders want to go on talking with the cynical band of profiteers and speculators responsible for this robbery of the working class. Talk while the vicious Industrial Relations Act is still in operation. While further rent increases are on the way for council tenants. While workers like the Shrewsbury 26 face conspiracy trials for the 'crime' of defending trade unionism.

TALKS ARE A FRAUD

At his union conference, Transport Workers' leader Jack Jones, pleading for permission to go on touching his forelock to Heath and company, said the union had to 'put its point of view' to the government.

The bosses have no such illusions. They know the talks are a fraud, a smokescreen for their real intentions. Sir Michael Clapham, chief of the Confederation of British Industry, said in a speech last week that Phase Three of the incomes policy this autumn would be 'very tough'.

It is time to ring down the curtain on the long-running farce starring Ted Heath, Sir Michael Clapham, Vic Feather and Jack Jones. Like all such productions, it is entirely predictable: it's always the workers who lose their trousers.

The strength of the working class doesn't lie at the conference table. It is in the factories, the mines, the shipyards and every workplace. It is there that the preparations must be laid for a mighty fight back against Phase Three this autumn.

The miners proved in 1972 that a powerful movement from rank and file level could force their union leaders from the praying position to the fighting position. The miners proved, simply, that the workers can win.

That lesson must be rammed home anew. From every section of the labour movement, the call must go out to the TUC and its member unions:

- Stop talking to the Tories and the bosses.
 - State publicly that strike action will be organised whenever any section of workers is threatened with legal action.
 - Prepare now for industrial action to win the engineers' crucial pay claim of £35, a 35-hour week and equal pay for women.
 - Prepare now for the equally vital miners' pay claim of up to 42 per cent more.
- The powerful battalions of the trade unions can organise to smash Phase Three. They can blast a hole through which every other section can march.

It is a defeat which this Tory government of riches for the few and misery for the masses could not survive.



Fascist thug chased by big demos

Everywhere that Portugal's fascist murderer Caetano went this week he was challenged by angry demonstrations by supporters of the freedom fighters in the Portuguese territories in Africa. Picture shows a section of the 5000-strong crowd in Hyde Park before Sunday's march to Downing Street and the Portuguese embassy.

Picture: Christopher Davies (Report). More pictures: back page.

Sunday: march against racism

THIS SUNDAY, by coach and by train, thousands of black people, trade unionists and socialists will converge on London.

Their aim is to march, demonstrate and agitate against the Law Lords' decision that 'illegal' immigrants who entered the country since 1968 can be deported.

It is one of the most sinister legal decisions taken for years. It follows in the footsteps of the Industrial Relations Act. It is another Tory turn of the screw on the working class.

As Gurnham Singh, president of the Bradford branch of the Indian Workers' Association, said to Socialist Worker this week:

This Act is an example of how racialism has emerged from the capitalist class to enable them to keep their profits and divide the working class. This demonstration can make people conscious that in attempting to divide the working class this Act is against the whole working class, not just the black.

It is also an instrument to express ourselves and is one source of preparing the people to defeat these capitalist manoeuvres. We must not see the demonstration as an end in itself. This is just one of the means. We want consistent and continued struggle until we achieve our object—to defeat these Acts.

All must unite to defeat these moves and endeavour to build up a movement at grass roots level and also at trade union level.

The International Socialists are giving the Sunday march total support. Thousands of members will flock to London to oppose the new piece of anti-worker legislation by the Tories.

And this issue of Socialist Worker contains important articles on the issue:

The Tory time bomb—and how to fight it: centre pages.
Editorial comment: page 3.

ALL IS BRANCHES TO SUPPORT

Fight the Tory pass laws

Sunday 22 July
Assemble 2.30 Hyde Park Corner
March to 10 Downing Street
(Free coaches from Dominion Cinema, Southall)



AMERICAN SCENE

by Steve Jefferys

COLORADO is one of the most beautiful states of the United States. Tourism—its third biggest industry accounted for 635 million dollars last year, and driving through the state, you can see why.

Yet all is not well. Three years ago the US Army promised to remove its chemical warfare stocks from the Rocky Mountain arsenal near Denver by 1973. It is now midway through 1973 and the Army is keeping quiet on its plans for removing the dump.

The army is, however, denying responsibility, along with the Shell Chemical Company, which leases part of the arsenal ground from the army, for Mr Larry Land's problem.

His problem is that he farms 80 acres a mile north of the arsenal and since last summer 250 cows have died and another 200 have been born dwarfs.

Shell has refused to allow Mr Land access to the ponds where it dumps its waste pesticides—it manufactures nine different kinds on the arsenal property—so there is no proof that it is chemical-contaminated ground water from the arsenal that is doing the damage. Mr Land is therefore mounting a picket line of family and friends outside the arsenal's main entrance.

Mr Land has also written to the governor of Colorado, John Love, who is directly concerned with the petrol shortage that is threatening tourism.

Already receipts are between ten and 15 per cent down on last year because tourists are frightened of being stranded with an empty tank. Petrol supplies in Colorado are the second worst in the country, beaten only by Oregon.

Only 20 per cent of all petrol stations in Colorado are operating normally. The rest are either rationing petrol or closing down afternoons, evenings and weekends.

Governor Love until recently held large stocks in the Continental Oil Company and still holds shares in three other firms dealing in the energy business—American Metals Climax, the General Electric Company and the Mesa Petroleum Company.

Mr Love's wife, Ann, holds stock in all the companies and in the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, and his daughter, Becky, has extended her interests to include the Cardinal Petroleum Company. So governor Love is obviously an expert where it comes to national energy policy.

It is probably for this reason that when last week Nixon decided to establish a new White House job as Director of the Energy Policy Office, he appointed his Republican friend, Governor Love.

One of Love's first jobs is to explain away a Federal Trade Commission staff study secretly released that confirmed what socialists have been saying here for months—that the petrol shortage is caused by the big oil companies.

The oil companies, the report says, 'have behaved in a similar fashion as would a classical monopolist—they have attempted to increase profits by restricting output.'

About 1200 independent stations closed in the first five months of this year. 'What has happened here,' the report continues, 'is that the majors have used the shortage as an occasion to debilitate, if not eradicate, the independent marketing sector.'

NIX TO TAX FIDDLE

NIXON'S FREEZE continues to work in the interests of big business, as does his administration.

America's 1600 largest corporations have just been saved millions of dollars in back taxes through a top level decision at the tax HQ in Washington. The Internal Revenue Service instructed local agents last October that they had only eight months to finish examining all the tax returns of the giant corporations filed before 1970.

This 'efficiency' measure was accompanied by another decision, not to employ any more tax agents to cope with extra work. So the time spent auditing the returns of companies with assets over a quarter of a billion dollars fell by nearly ten per cent.

One tax officer in New York admitted that the directive forced him to ignore all the dubious tax items under 10,000 dollars he was examining. Another pointed out: 'It's ironic but the one class of taxpayers who are most productive (in tax revenue) are getting a fast shuffle.'

One section of Americans who aren't getting a fast shuffle are the car workers. Negotiations on new contracts covering the 450,000 hourly-paid workers for General Motors and the 250,000 workers at Ford and Chrysler start this week. The

Kennedy Klan



'I'M ALABAMA BOUND' goes the song. Senator Edward Kennedy, youngest and only surviving Kennedy brother, was singing it loud and clear on 4 July, Independence Day.

Kennedy took a trip down to Alabama to share a platform at a 'Spirit of America' rally with Alabama Governor, George Wallace.

Wallace is the racist who was shot and paralysed below the waist in the 1972 Democratic presidential campaign. His Alabama is well known for its inhuman treatment of black people. Only last week two black girls, aged 11 and 13, were sterilised at a birth control clinic in Montgomery. They didn't give permission for the operation and neither did their parents.

When a lawsuit was filed on their behalf the state withdrew its financial support for the clinic. In the aftermath of publicity another 11 black girls aged under 14 were said to have been involuntarily sterilised at the clinic.

A policy of involuntary sterilisation of young black girls had been operating for some time. Reports suggest this treatment is fairly common if you are black, female and live in Alabama.

Kennedy was not too concerned with this, however, when he visited Wallace. He was there to speak and applaud as Wallace received the 1973 'Audie Murphy' award for patriotism. The reason? The 1976 Democratic nomination for president and the possibility of an election ticket involving Kennedy for President and Wallace for vice-president.

1970 three year contracts expire in September. The 'big three' negotiate with the United Auto Workers separately but the terms agreed with each company are usually identical with the others.

General Motors has already begun its propaganda campaign. It has posted to each of its workers' homes a ten-page booklet called, A Quarter Century of Progress. This suggests that it is in the worker's interest not to go for a big wage increase, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, a ban on compulsory overtime and other demands. 'General wage and benefit increases that exceed the rise in the nation's output per man-hour help feed inflation,' says GM.

GM prefers to use the criterion of national productivity because with developments like the opening of its Lordstown, Ohio, assembly plant that has a track speed of 100 cars an hour and almost continuous compulsory overtime over the last two years, its productivity has soared.

It also ignores the fact that inflation is now at unprecedented speed six months before car workers are due for their next rise.

Inflation is eating their wage packets rather than their wage packets 'feeding inflation.'

Orangemen

by Mike Miller

BELFAST:-Two Loyalist extremist groups, the Ulster Defence Association and the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force, have announced that they are calling off their operations in the East Antrim area. This area includes some of the largest Protestant working-class housing estates on the outskirts of Belfast.

The UDA stated that they were withdrawing their street patrols in Newtownabbey and Carrickfergus because they no longer felt that the people of these districts supported them. The patrols have been a common feature of UDA activity since its first public appearance 18 months ago.

The apparent isolation of the UDA in this area has coincided with growing evidence of widespread protection rackets, aimed largely against businessmen and shopkeepers, but also netting in ordinary householders. It has come too at the same time as a number of leading officers in the UDA have been rounded up by security forces and held in connection with sectarian murders.

The 2nd Battalion of the UVF, which claims to have five companies in the same area around Newtonabbey and Carrickfergus, has said that its men will cease active service and concentrate instead on community projects.

Failure

This they say is in response to the recent election results and also because they 'have been greatly concerned for some time now about the increasing number of senseless sectarian killings and civilian bombings by persons claiming to be Loyalists. We can no longer allow ourselves to be identified with those misguided Loyalists who are incapable of distinguishing between acts of aggression and acts of resistance.'

The failure of any of the three candidates most openly associated with the UDA, Tommy Heron, Billy Hull and Tommy Lyttle, to get elected to the new Assembly is a further indication of the decline in the support of their organisation. Hull and Lyttle not only failed to get elected, but came close to bottom of the

feel squeeze



Tommy Heron: low vote

poll.

The reason for this decline in Loyalist support for para-military forces is twofold. On the one hand the apparent success of the Whitelaw regime to get the anti-Unionists back into 'normal' parliamentary activity has convinced many Loyalists that the days of the Provisionals are numbered, and they can see little use for UDA-type organisations in these conditions.

Secondly, there is no widespread

Protestant support for the activities of the Ulster Freedom Fighters, which has been shown, with near certainty, to be an offshoot of the UDA.

And although it is true that there has been greater military and police activity against extreme Loyalists than ever in the past it has not taken the same form as repression against Republicans.

Decline

There has been no massive harassment, no invasion of whole Protestant ghettos, no mass raids, swoops and searches, and therefore no possibility of Loyalist workers identifying in a mass way with the men who have been arrested and imprisoned.

But the decline in Loyalist militancy on a mass level does not mean that Protestant workers have given up their reactionary ideas and support for British rule. The task of ensuring that they do remains to be fulfilled.

Now, as in the past, that will only be done when socialists can begin to offer an alternative to these workers which will show them that their links with Unionism and Britain are incompatible with their interests as workers.

PROPERTY PROFITEERS ARE HAMMERED

SW Reporter

IN SOUTH LONDON a residents' group and squatters have been challenging a price-fixing ring of millionaire speculators who buy up property and leave it empty in the holy name of profit.

Gerson Berger, owner of the flats in Herne Hill, has in the past two years bought flats worth £48 million in London. Berger, said to be the capital's biggest private landlord, leaves many of his flats in Herne Hill and Clapham empty in the hope that he will make a killing if and when the area becomes ripe for motorway development. In some cases he has kept flats unoccupied for up to four years.

Now the Herne Hill residents are fighting back against the sordid morality of a system that tolerates 100,000 empty homes in London while 50,000 people are without a home of their own. They have supported the squat of a number of empty Grandiose homes and last week won a famous victory in the appeal court over a technicality.

Grandiose, for all Berger's millions, made the simple legal error of failing to take 'all reasonable steps' to identify the squatters occupying their property. The morality of buying flats and leaving them empty was not on trial. The squatters used the law to legalise their existence, and triumphed—but they could so easily have lost.

Fortunately, Grandiose's legal brains had been dozing. The victory has given the squatters vital breathing space while the local Labour council

seeks government permission to buy up 200 Grandiose homes for a cool £2 million.

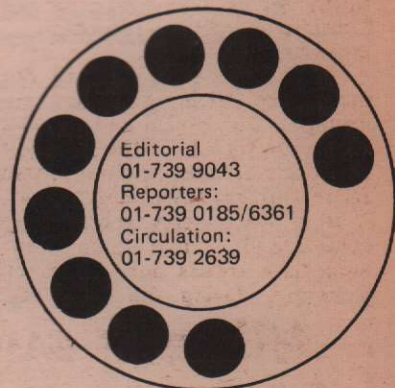
The tenants saw through Grandiose's 'unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism' a long time ago when the company tried harassment, neglected property and even used flattery to force them out for better-off tenants or leave the flats empty as one way of easing Berger's capital gains 'burden'.

Long before the squat case came up the residents compiled an index system on the Berger empire and reported the great man for not disclosing the accounts of two of his companies since 1969.

NEGLECT

Once Grandiose told a woman they were seeking an order to get her out of her home when she owed £128 back rent, although her husband had just died and she had other domestic and health worries. Only after the residents clubbed together and found the money did they climb down.

In another case a woman whose parents had died was told she was no longer the tenant when in fact she was.



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

Builders' key victory

ALL EIGHT North Wales building workers on trial at Mold Crown Court in Flintshire last week were cleared of the two most serious charges against them. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty on the charges of intimidating workers to abstain from work and causing an affray.

The two charges were brought by the Director of Public Prosecutions following consistent pressure for a legal attack on effective picketing from the big construction firms assisted by their friends in the House of Commons.

As soon as the verdicts were returned last Thursday three men charged on these two counts alone, Colin Kelly, William Pearce and Edward Williams, left the dock. The five others remained and were fined on damage to property charges.

John Seaburg and Gwynfor Williams were each fined £50 for damaging a drilling rig, Ken O'Shea £50 on this same charge and £15 for damaging a dumper truck and Derrick Hughes and Gwyn Roberts £15 each, for damaging a dumper.

After the trial Ken O'Shea said: 'This verdict is a great victory for the building workers and the trade union movement. It has perhaps created a precedent for other trials of a similar nature that the law has resorted to in an attempt to stop workers picketing when on strike.'

Five of last week's defendants at Mold will also face trial on similar counts in October as part of the massive Shrewsbury 26 prosecution. This is an even more serious assault on effective picketing since it involves the use of conspiracy charges against some of the men.

LUMP FIGHTERS NEED BIG SUPPORT

The employers and the government picked on the building workers of North Wales as the courtroom targets for their legal assault on effective picketing during strikes.

Five months after the end of the 1972 builders' strike more than two dozen workers were visited at night and taken down to police stations for questioning. The massive Shrewsbury 26 prosecution for causing an affray, causing damage, intimidation and conspiracy had begun.

Dave Jackson, a member of the Transport and General Workers Union and of the regional strike action committee during the strike, is now the chairman of the North Wales building workers' defence committee, set up to mobilise support for them in the working-class movement.

Dave Jackson was at the biennial conference of his union. As a delegate, he spoke on the Shrewsbury case and other related issues. He spoke to Socialist Worker, explaining the prosecution and outlining the importance of campaigning for support before the trial kicks off in October.

It is vitally important that everyone understands why these prosecutions are being brought. The building strike last year got us the biggest wage rise ever obtained in the building trade.

Our strike hurt the employers and they knew we were planning a campaign to follow up our victory, to clear out the lump and win the industry for trade unionism.

They had to find a way to strike back at us. But above all they were concerned at the effectiveness of picketing in the great industrial struggles of 1972. Just as it was with the miners, so it was with us. Without effective picketing our struggle would have ended in failure.

The big companies in the construction industry and elsewhere had to find an answer. The Industrial Relations Act could not be used to do the job—thanks to the struggle over the five dockers.

ANSWER

In construction at least they did not have to look very far. Construction firms have 20 MPs on their books. They started to make statements in the House of Commons demanding tougher enforcement of the existing laws against pickets. They were of course only doing this at the instigation of the big firms.

It took them a full five months after the settlement of the strike to come up with the answer. They dug up a campaign against our lads in North Wales based on this 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act.

There's no shadow of a doubt that these trials are being stage-managed. The police and the courts are a handy tool for the employers and their friends, the government. There's just no other explanation.

If it's not being stage-managed, then why is it that there were no immediate arrests during the actual picketing, during the strike itself?

Miners support appeal

HOUGHTON MAIN branch of the National Union of Mineworkers near Barnsley, Yorkshire, has voted to endorse the trade union appeal against the Immigration Act published in Socialist Worker last week. See also this week's letters on page 13.

Tom Henderson, district president, No 4 district, Sheet Metal Workers Union, a signatory to last week's statement, signed in his personal capacity, a point omitted from the statement. And Fafnir Bearings of Wolverhampton was misprinted as Sasnir Bearings.



Dave Jackson (on the right, with glasses) speaking at a recent meeting on a London building site.

And in any case, if it is just a question of petty damage, a few bricks thrown, then why use this Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act?

And let no one forget that there was plenty of provocation on the employers' side. They talk about the threat of violence, upholding civilised behaviour. That just makes me laugh.

You have to understand the moral violence used by the employers. This far exceeds anything workers could ever do. What I mean by this is the day-to-day injustice, inhumanity and violence involved in the lack of basic facilities on the sites, lack of toilets, canteens, and the continual flouting of the safety laws in pursuit of profit.

The lump itself is an act of violence. You cannot be an old man on the lump. You cannot take it.

Everywhere I've worked the employers have wanted the lump. They want this because it creates a mobile labour force which cannot become properly involved in fighting for conditions and safety.

They pay you to neglect your own safety, to forget about conditions, insurance and the like. Yes it really is ironic, the press and the employers talking about law and order, civilised behaviour.

I've always remembered something I saw in the Daily Mirror just before the strike. It was about Sir Edwin McAlpine (of the building firm of the same name) hiring one of the decks of the QE2 for a world cruise for himself and his wife. He paid £36,000 for that little outing.

And yet he insisted that £30 a week for a craftsman in the construction industry, (never mind a labourer) was 'too much', 'inflationary'. Just imagine it, £36,000. You never forget about this kind of injustice and inequality.

The trade union movement at top level has, to say the least, been slow in coming to the defence of our lads, who are being done simply for picketing, for taking the action necessary to win the struggle.

I'm a TGWU member and I don't want anyone to think that I'm criticising UCATT from a sectional point of view. But in the first letter that UCATT general secretary George Smith sent out to the branches on the Shrewsbury cases, he actually said that British justice being what it is, if the lads were innocent, they would be found innocent. The TGWU has at least agreed on legal support.

DESERVE

What we want the unions to do is give the lads full, public backing. The law is being used because picketing won a better rise out of the strike than ever was offered across the negotiating table. The rank and file did the work to get this. They deserve and need the backing.

And everyone should get it firmly in their minds—this is not just an attack on building workers. Look at the numbers of trades unionists who have been lifted for picketing since the Shrewsbury prosecution was launched—hospital workers, electricians, and many others.

Without effective picketing, it is nearly impossible to win any struggle. This is what the employers and the Tory government is out to destroy.

This attack is every bit as serious as the Industrial Relations Act. What we're after is a response of the same kind and size as when the dockers were put into Pentonville if any of our lads are put in jail.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

'I'M NOT HAVING any bloody immigrant telling me what to do.' The speaker was an elderly Scotswoman who manages a south London laundrette, replying to a complaint from a West Indian about a machine. The poor deluded woman, harassed, overworked and probably underpaid, was working off her frustrations on someone she could regard as being lower down in the heap.

That is the basis of a good deal of working-class racialism. It is a poison that is most effective when people feel powerless. It is a poison that weakens the working class and so increases the very feelings that give rise to it in the first place. It is a poison that strengthens those dedicated enemies of the movement, Enoch Powell, the National Front and all the fascist psychopaths.

Anyone who has swallowed a large dose of this poison is usually beyond reason. That does not mean that militants should not argue about the subject. Exactly the opposite. It has to be taken up in every workplace. It has to be taken up to isolate the racialists, to neutralise them and to win over the waverers. Because, make no mistake about it, our rulers need, and will exploit to the full, any and every means of setting working people against one another.

Racialism is one of the most effective means because, though it is quite irrational, it feeds on very real problems, on the miseries and frustrations of everyday life, on high rents and house prices, on the soaring cost of living, on the evident bankruptcy of the official leadership of the workers' movement.

The German socialist leader August Bebel said, at the end of the last century: 'Anti-semitism is the socialism of idiots.' He was speaking of Jew-baiting by ordinary workers. There were no blacks in Germany at the time. So the Jews were used as a scapegoat instead. The same thing was tried by Mosley's thugs in the 1930s. In each and every case the object was the same, to break-up the unity and fighting spirit of the working class in the interests of the bosses.

One major reason for a maximum fight by the whole labour movement against the 'retrospective' ruling on the Immigration Act is precisely because it is an attempt to drive a wedge between black and white workers.

Of course immigrants, coloured or otherwise (and very large numbers are white), are not the cause of rocketing prices, of the housing shortage, of cuts in social services. Capitalism causes these things. More important, racialism, far from being a cure, is itself a symptom of the disease. Every advance of racialism, whether gains for fascist hoodlums or the more 'respectable' anti-immigration decisions of parliament and the House of Lords, is a blow to the working-class movement.

It remains as true today as when Karl Marx first wrote it, that the only way forward for working people is socialism and the only basis of genuine socialism is 'Workers of the world unite' whether they be black, brown, white or yellow.

CYNICAL CONVERSION

IT IS SAID that there is more joy in heaven over one repentant sinner than over all the righteous. If this is true there must be a celebration going on behind the pearly gates.

Harold Wilson, the man who consistently covered up for the US government's murderous war against the people of Vietnam and who flatly refused even to condemn the indiscriminate bombing of towns and villages has been moved to protest against the official visit of the man who directs Portugal's smaller scale but equally savage war against the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guine.

Cynics may think that Wilson's 'conversion' owes more to a calculation about the need to give himself a more leftish image than to any genuine change of heart. All the same the Labour Party's stand on this issue must be welcomed and exploited to the full to gain support in the labour movement for the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa.

And not that alone. The fascist clique that rules Portugal carries on its colonial wars with NATO arms, with the help of a military alliance of which Britain is part and which Wilson still fully supports. Opposition to NATO and all the other cold-war pacts into which Tory and Labour governments alike have dragged us is not a bad test of the sincerity of those who are now in opposition, claiming to be opposed to imperialism.



Textile women warn bosses

A REVOLT of young women textile workers at a factory owned by a Gulf Oil subsidiary in Singapore has threatened the industrial peace that makes Singapore an attractive source of cheap labour for foreign capitalists.

Singapore has strict labour laws and a government-controlled trade union movement. Many workers are immigrants from Malaysia whose work permits can be revoked if they make trouble or get

the sack. Nearly half the workers in the new industries are young women, lacking industrial and political experience. Many, being under 21, are ineligible for trade union branch committees.

The textile workers' strike, though it ended in defeat, with mass sackings and the return to work of a third of the strikers, has challenged the government's and bosses' assumption that they can keep the workers subservient indefinitely.

The women who worked at Gulf challenged the official trade union, which had negotiated a small pay rise, by refusing to operate two machines each as the employers wanted, and demanding improved conditions in the factory and in the crowded dormitories.

The union expressed its 'regrets that attempts are being made to convert a simple straightforward dispute into industrial unrest'.

BOMB TEST PROTEST CIRCLES THE WORLD

by Nigel Fountain

THE protest over France's nuclear tests at Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific has brought impressive international solidarity—and a typical exercise in humbug by world 'statesmen'.

The nuclear bomb is the most expensive visiting card world diplomacy offers and Pompidou's regime in France is as anxious as any other to ensure the best credentials. The H-bomb forms the core of the strike force which Gaullist leaders trust will ensure that some section of Russia—or elsewhere—will be incinerated by Frenchmen as well as Americans.

Previous French tests have aroused a storm of controversy. The Australian Academy's Atomic Weapons Research Committee claim

that 50 to 100 Australians will die each year as a result of fall-out from this year's tests. If the wind is blowing towards Australia then the figure could rise to 1000.

Grass roots moves against the tests have been substantial. 5000 people marched in Papeete, Tahiti, against the tests while in Australia and New Zealand there has been widespread blacking of French goods.

This hasn't always been well received—but not just by the French. New Zealand's Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk has tried to put pressure on the Federation of Labour to drop its ban on exports and imports of French goods.

New Zealand's hesitancy is matched in Australia, where Premier

Gough Whitlam's 'new style' Labour government may wish to appear militant in its opposition to the tests but is also anxious to preserve good relations with France as an insurance policy over Common Market tariff barriers.

The militant trade union opposition to the tests could also all too easily swing to challenge Whitlam's administration. In fact it already has. Traditional 'arbitration' as the method of settling labour disputes is breaking down in favour of determined grass-roots opposition to class collaboration, as the New South Wales electrical strike demonstrated.

As the movement opposing the tests spread, taking in workers from Wales to Polynesia, at Lop Nor in the

Sinkiang province of North China an H-Bomb of between one and three megatons was detonated, showering the whole of central Asia with fall-out. In Wajima, Japan, the radioactivity count rose 70 times.

A fortnight ago the Russians made a further contribution—an underground test in Siberia, neatly coinciding with a denunciation of Andrei Sakharov, the 'Father of the Russian H-Bomb', after he had attacked Brezhnev's repressive regime.

The threat of atomic weapons to the survival of humanity has not been a major issue in the West for 10 years. In those years the threat has grown a hundred-fold. The weapons are predominantly in the hands of the USA and the USSR, buried in missile silos in Kansas and Siberia, under the oceans of the world in nuclear submarines.

Dossier of death before Wiriyaamu

THE SLAUGHTER of Wiriyaamu is only the latest in a long line of massacres by Portuguese troops in Mozambique to be reported by missionaries.

A catalogue of mass killings, torture and concentration camps was smuggled out of the country by Father Luis Alfonso da Costa. It deals with a small part of the province of Tete and tells of security police torturing and killing a 68-year-old man in the village of Chimandabue, where soldiers murdered a married couple, later burning their bodies, and a woman was forced to eat the flesh of her slain child.

Da Costa also told of Rhodesian troops aiding the Portuguese in Mucumbura by killing 18 people and burning their bodies. Suspected Frelimo sympathisers were subjected to prolonged torture, including castration and mutilation.

There are concentration camps known as 'aldeamentos' containing 250 Africans, and there have been Nazi-style reprisal raids, with villagers being tortured or killed to avenge Frelimo activity.

Clubbed

Da Costa reported that 92 people were murdered by the Portuguese between May 1971 and March 1972. The first massacre was on 7 May 1971. Fourteen men were killed—believed to have been clubbed to death—in the villages of Kapinga and Katacha.

An informer who took part in the killings said later: 'We killed many men. I myself hit them and disembowelled them with the machete.'

The second massacre involved Rhodesian troops. Among the dead were three boys, who lived in the Mucumbura area.

The third massacre, early in October 1971, ended with 19 Dak villagers dead. One man was beaten to death while his pregnant wife and children were forced to look on.

The fourth massacre was in the Mucumbura district in 1971. Commandos killed 23 villagers, including a child. The charred skeletons of some were found.

Left fights the myth as Peron returns

by Mike Gonzalez

DURING the short-lived government of Hector Campora in Argentina, the atmosphere of crisis and struggle never wavered. Factories and public buildings were occupied, prisons opened and former prisoners appointed governors.

At Ezeiza airport, the right wing of the Peronist movement staged a gun battle designed to crush the revolutionary left which showed its strength in the march to the airport where Juan Peron was to arrive. Campora's resignation after six weeks in office seems to be based on the belief that only Peron himself by winning a new presidential election, can regain control of the situation.

There are deep contradictions within the Peronist movement itself. Under one name live many opposing forces, united only by worship of the old dictator. As the struggle against the military governments of 1966-73 developed, Peronism itself split.

The old trade union bureaucrats, for example, tried many times to make deals with the government to try to halt working-class resistance. The FAR and the Montoneros, on the other hand, with sections of the Peronist Youth Organisation, joined in armed struggle against the regime and advocated a far more radical programme. The Peronist Left built a new and less compromised trade union congress on the basis of a genuine workers' movement.

Recognise

The problem faced by both the Peronist left and the revolutionary left is that the Argentine working class is still largely Peronist. In the past few years the industrial workers of Cordoba and Mendoza have maintained a continuing aggressive struggle against foreign and domestic oppressors. In 1969, 1970 and 1971 they took control of the factories and the streets, and were only suppressed temporarily, after massive military displays of force.

Yet their slogan throughout was the return of Peron. The revolutionary left—whose strongest element was the People's Revolutionary Army—played a leading role in these movements, and began to build a strong base among the workers, but they had to recognise that Peron still symbolised working class aspirations.

Peronism is a populist movement, building an alliance of classes in the name



The scene at Moron Air Force base, near Buenos Aires, when Peron (centre, in light coat) returned to Argentina. Campora is on the left.

of 'the nation' opposed to foreign domination. Yet the balance of forces within populist movements varies.

The working-class movement gained most during Peron's regime (1946-55). Peron had protected trade unions, built a strong working-class movement and acted selectively against the old ruling class and their foreign masters.

He mobilised the workers in his support, but he never argued for a revolutionary, working-class movement. He gave the unions strength to benefit from the system he created, but not to overthrow that system.

In the years after his fall, Peron came to be a symbol for strong working-class organisation, and for the kind of nationalism, typical of that movement.

Some saw Peronism as anti-capitalist. But all the governments after Peron attacked the workers' movement in the name of 'economic stability'. Their aim was to suppress the movement that still carried Peron's name.

The military managed to contain it but never suppressed it. The workers, students and even government officials continued to struggle against oppressive governments on every level. The battles in Cordoba proved that repression could not

work in Argentina as it had in Brazil, that some sort of compromise, of 'alliance' of forces that could hold down the worker and destroy the armed left, was imperative.

For both the ruling class and the workers Peronism represented a solution. The ruling class saw it as a way of containing popular resistance, the workers as a genuine vehicle for their demands and interests.

Struggle

Clearly the victory of Peronism at the polls simply transferred the struggle into the Peronist movement, whose right-wing leadership would have to have as a first priority the destruction of the Peronist left and the revolutionary left—which had clearly revealed the difference between mobilising the working class in the interests of peace, order and coalition, and arming the class in terms of its own revolutionary struggle.

The problem, historically, is that Peronism did stand for a mass movement, and the left could not simply attack Peronism without isolating itself from its own base. Yet to support Peron would mean acquiescing in destroying the revolutionary alternative.

The left has no alternative but to continue the struggle. The leading sectors of the workers, who proved their strength in Cordoba and elsewhere, gained the initiative in the struggle against the military.

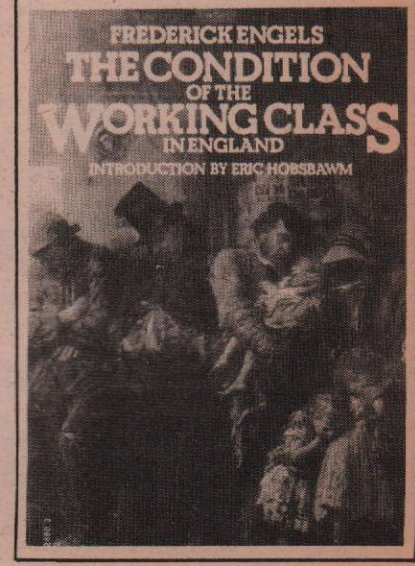
They must now fight to preserve that initiative. For Peron can only destroy the left if the left isolates itself from the working class. He cannot attack the workers without destroying his own basis in power. Clearly the task for the left is to expose the contradictions within Peronism itself and to encourage the development of the enormous strength and political capacity that the workers and students have already demonstrated in their battle against military dictatorship.

Peron must try to absorb or weaken that strength, and part of his strategy will be to call for peace, for co-operation from the workers in a programme that may well look like an anti-capitalist strategy for development.

The left must and will expose the lie behind it. But the task now must be a double one. First, to prepare for struggle among the most militant sectors of the working class, second, to expose and surpass the Peronist consciousness and the Peronist experience.

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FOOT PRINTS

SORRY,
NO COPS
UNDER
THE BED



IN THE issue of Socialist Worker for 26 May we printed a picture of two men taking film and recordings of the demonstration on 12 May which had been called to protest against the imprisonment of the Stoke Newington 5. I wrote then: 'I am interested in any information which can lead to the identity and life-style of the two gentlemen...' Hint, hint, in other words, that they were slimy creatures from the Special Branch.

Gordon Carr, a producer from BBC TV News, has written me an excellent letter. 'I can reveal,' he declares, 'that the Good Gentlemen of Demona shown in your snapped, or was it snatched, picture by Peter Harrap of Report, are, in fact, Peter Matthews and Bill Norman—film cameraman and sound recordists who've worked for BBC TV News for the past 10 years to my certain knowledge.'

The letter went on to point out that BBC TV News were making a film about the Angry Brigade which will be shown this week. 'By the way,' it ended, 'neither Matthews, Norman nor myself ever concealed the fact that we were from TV News. What we wouldn't do was to give some unidentifiable member of the public proof of our profession.'

Which all goes to show what fools we can make of ourselves when we hunt cops under the bed with all the hysteria of the cops themselves.

Wages of Syntex

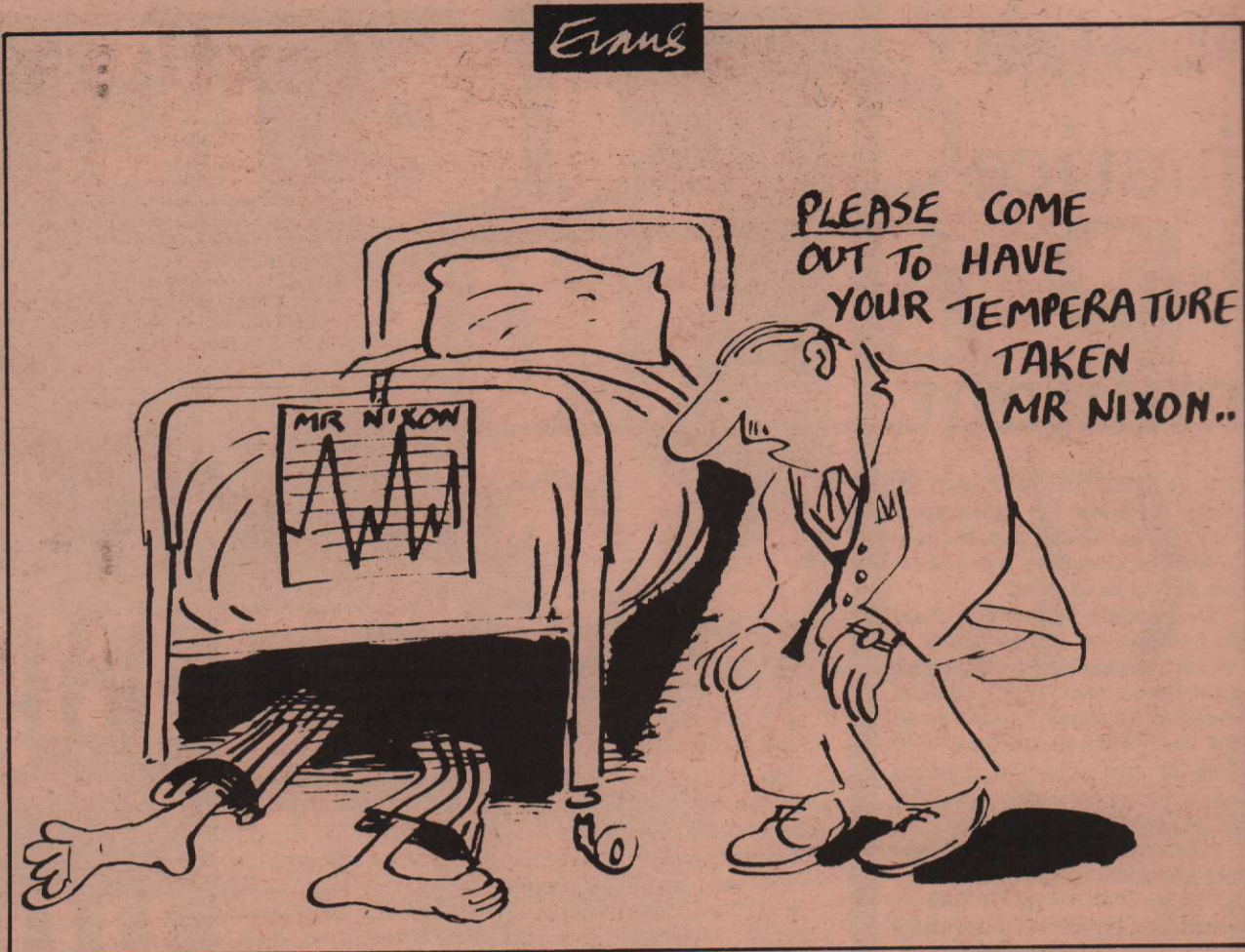
THE Grant of the Year award has been won already by the Syntex Corporation of California, which has just negotiated a huge investment grant and tax concessions from the Irish government. Syntex will be setting up plant on the Shannon Industrial Estate for the manufacture of contraceptive pills.

The pills are banned in Ireland, where it is a criminal offence even to possess contraceptives.

A special dispensation—to coin a phrase—may be necessary for workers who have to handle the finished product.



TONY GREENWOOD
Boardroom sacrifice



Under the spreading Greenwood spree

THERE were tears in the eyes of Tony Greenwood as he finished his last speech for the national executive of the Labour Party at the party Conference in 1970.

He had been on the executive for 16 years, during most of which time he had been associated with the left-wing of the party. In 1961, in fact, after Harold Wilson had dropped out of the race, he stood as the left-wing candidate against Hugh Gaitskell.

In his last words to the Labour Party before going on to the House of Lords as Baron Greenwood of Rossendale, he asked:

'I beg the party to spend the next four years telling the people of this country what socialism means and working out the socialist policy that the next Labour government will have to apply.'

Gospel

So saying, he left the platform forever, and devoted himself to spreading the socialist gospel in boardrooms. In the three years since he left office as Minister of Housing and Local Government, Lord Greenwood has collected a remarkable assortment of directorships in almost every field of business.

The recent campaign to increase the interest rates on building society loans, for instance, was spearheaded by the Leek and Westbourne Building Society, of which Lord Greenwood became chairman last month, and the Building Societies Association, of which Lord Greenwood is vice-chairman. The campaign in the Labour Party for more socialism has resulted in the demand, now official party

policy, for the nationalisation of the building societies.

The party is also pledged to fight property speculation, which will damage many property companies throughout the country, including the Lancashire contractors, Pochins.

When Lord Greenwood joined the board of Pochins, and three subsidiaries, in June 1971, the chairman, Mr C W T Pochin, wrote in his annual report: 'I would like to take this opportunity to formally welcome him. I am sure his experience will be a benefit to your company.'

So it must have been, for Pochins profits rose from £24,891 in 1970 to £71,531 in 1971 to £137,665 in 1972. Much of this profit comes from a subsidiary—Pochins Contractors which paid £34,015 last year to its directors, including Lord Greenwood.

Lord Greenwood's directorship in Pochins is not his only interest in Lancashire. He is a board member of the Central Lancashire New Town Development Corporation, which hopes to create around Preston a new town of some 400,000 people—an irresistible honeypot for Lancashire contractors.

Another industry which the Labour Party Conference wants nationalising is insurance—bad news for directors of the Municipal and Mutual Insurance Company, whose titled board Lord Greenwood joined last year.

Forced

Lord Greenwood will have his work cut out spreading socialism around the boardroom table in this fat insurance company, whose directors include Sir Francis Hill, former Tory leader of Lincoln Corporation, Lord Brecon, former Tory Party chairman in Wales, and Sir Frank Marshall, member of the general purposes committee of the Tory Party executive.

A socialist Labour government might also be forced to nationalise private crematoria, like those at Woking and Golders Green, which provide substantial profits (£49,655 last year—that's £8 profit for every cremation) for the London Cremation Company, whose board Lord Greenwood joined in December 1971.

Public relations firms will presumably be safe, so Lord Greenwood can go on preaching socialism to his partners in Bell, Capper and Associates, a relatively new public relations company which specialises in 'quasi-political' campaigns—which means circulating all MPs. Lord

Greenwood is chairman of Bell, Capper and argues in the current issue of Campaign, the advertising industry's newspaper, that he took the job because of a 'lifelong interest in communications.'

Among the clients of Bell, Capper are the Hotel Industry Association of Tangiers, the Bank of New South Wales, Pricewise, the Sheppey Group and Transtrek Expeditions, a 'safari' company. Bell, Capper also act for a branch of Vickers, which manufactures Polaris submarines.

During the 'Ban the bomb' argument in the 1960s, Tony Greenwood was the most consistent opponent of the Polaris base in Scotland, and the manufacture of an 'independent' British deterrent.

Available

But possibly the most original of Lord Greenwood's expeditions into the business world is his chairmanship of a company called Weeks Natural Resources (UK), 3,999 of whose 4000 shares are owned by Lewis G Weeks Associates of Bluewater Hill, Westport, Connecticut, USA. Mr Weeks is a former chief geologist to that well-known socialist enterprise, Standard Oil of New Jersey, but has since branched out into 'oil consultancy' on his own.

Weeks' British company was formed on 2 April 1971, and has apparently not traded since, but there is little doubt in the oil industry that he plans to make his services available to the North Sea oil boom.

Lord Greenwood is also a director of Mineral Resources Ltd, and World Petroleum Ltd, information on which is difficult to come by—the Institute for Petroleum had not heard of either company. They are probably connected with Lord Greenwood's lifelong interest in oil. It is doubtful whether consultancies of the Weeks variety will be affected by Labour's policies for extending public ownership into the North Sea oil field.

Lord Greenwood has scrupulously refused to accept large shareholdings in any of these companies. If you allow a stingy £2000 for each directorship, plus £1000 for his work on the Commonwealth Development Corporation, he ends up with a hard-earned £20,000 a year (£400 a week), which is not taken into account when the House of Lords pay out £10 a day 'attendance expenses' to members.

All of which emphasises the extent of personal sacrifice involved when Lord Greenwood raises the red flag in the boardrooms.

Sir Alfred and the Cakes

I HAVE been asked to state that there is absolutely no connection whatever between the following facts.

ONE: Alderman George Richards is chairman of Denbighshire County Council's Roads and Bridges Committee.

TWO: Alderman George Richards is a member of the council's road tendering sub-committee.

THREE: Alderman George Richards is chairman of the council's road haulage and road materials sub-committee.

FOUR: Sir Alfred McAlpine and Son is a huge civil engineering and building concern which is engaged in a number of large contracts in Denbighshire.

FIVE: Last April Alderman George Richards won the Llangollen seat on the new Clwyd Council by five votes.

SIX: Alderman Richard's election address stated that it was 'printed by George Richards'.

SEVEN: In fact the address was printed by Sir Alfred McAlpine and Son Ltd, Hooton, Cheshire.

EIGHT: When this last fact became clear, the matter was investigated by the West Mercia police.

NINE: After an exhaustive investigation, the police decided to take no action.

TEN: Alderman George Richards is a chief inspector in the special constabulary of the Gwynedd police force.

Rough justice for militant

THE COURT OF APPEAL recently dismissed an application from Michael Hicks that his conviction for assaulting two policemen should be quashed.

The police in London have good reason to dislike Hicks, a London printworker and member of the Communist Party's national executive. In April he was fined £36 and ordered to pay £40 costs at the City of London Court for supposedly assaulting two plainclothes policemen.

Last summer printers and dockers picketed the premises of the Robert Horne print firm in Southwark as part of a campaign to support printers 'working in' at nearby Briant Colour.

The pickets became the first group of trade unionists to receive the attentions of the newly-formed Special Patrol Group who viciously broke up the pickets, injuring several workers.

One of Hicks' fellow members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades was arrested and tried for assaulting a policeman. Michael Hicks was his chief defence witness.

He challenged a police inspector's evidence of arrest and helped to get the case dismissed.

But that is not where the story ended. On 7 March this year Michael Hicks was set upon by two plainclothes policemen



Hicks: unpopular with police

and brutally beaten up while he was going about his usual rest-break activities of selling the Morning Star to fellow printworkers.

He too was arrested and charged with assaulting policemen, tried and found guilty.

Judge Argyle—whose vicious misdirection of the jury in the OZ obscenity case was too much even for Lord Chief Justice 'Bloody Sunday' Widgery—dismissed Michael Hicks' appeal against his conviction.

Despite a bevy of witnesses who constructed a near-watertight case for the conviction to be quashed, Argyle found that it should stand.

The judge said there was no explanation for the injuries that the two policemen, Pridmore and Alder, suffered other than that Hicks had assaulted them.

He offered no explanation for the injuries Hicks suffered nor for the fact that a witness for Hicks said he saw one of the policemen dancing in a public house the day after he supposedly received his serious injuries.

In short, Michael Hicks was framed and is to stay framed. Judge Argyle as usual preferred to accept the evidence of those reliable and incorruptible law enforcement officers, the police.

All in all, the machinery of injustice handled the case with its usual precision and impartiality.

Laurie Flynn



Before the crash: Cunningham swigging beer with fellow Labour executive member Harold Wilson

THE ARREST of Andrew Cunningham, regional secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union, was accepted without a murmur of protest from any of the union's 100,000 members in the North East.

The charges he has to face concern his association with the network of corruption surrounding architect John Poulson. But there are other charges that should be brought against Cunningham and they are charges that no law court would be interested in.

For they concern Cunningham's record as a trade unionist, and they explain why his downfall will pass unlamented by the majority of trade union activists in the GMWU.

Andrew Cunningham was elected regional secretary in 1964. The votes cast by the Committee were: A Cunningham, five votes, W Rickelton, four votes, R Harris, nil, and P Goodman, nil.

The GMWU rulebook states that district secretaries and officials shall be nominated and elected by branches and members in the district and that a district committee shall consist of not more than seven members. The irregularities of his coming to power were never explained.

But 'Big Andy' was always a stickler for the rules when it came to others.

Take the case of Bill Swainson. Mr Swainson, who had been a GMWU member since 1957, died in April 1971 after a four-month illness.

During those four months he was unable to get out of the house to pay his union subscriptions. Because he had fallen into arrears the GMWU refused to pay his widow £30 death benefit.

Mr Cunningham commented: 'The union rules are not made by the officials. They are drawn up by lay delegates at our annual conference.'

'If I, as a paid official, took it on my head to break our rules and pay out this benefit, I could either lose my job or be sued and taken to court by any one of 109,000 members in the North East... If you don't pay your car insurance premium and you have an accident, you won't get the insurance company helping you out.'

Control

Contrast this with the treatment meted out to the employers. Every year the district contingency fund (£400) pays for a slap-up dinner for the union regional committee and their guests at the Gosforth Park Hotel.

Most of their guests are local employers. Mr Jones, manager of Rowntrees, expressed his appreciation at one of these banquets: 'Our experience is that the union is most level-headed and fair in its approach to industrial problems.'

And this harmony between the GMWU and local industrialists extended right down to the shop-floor. The employer conceded the closed shop to the union, and the union officials kept the militants under control.

As the GMWU stated in its evidence to the Donovan Commission on trade unions: 'There is no need, in the interests of maintaining membership, for shop stewards to demonstrate hostility towards management as a method of convincing members of the value of trade unionism...'

It was on this basis that Cunningham built the membership of the union in the northern district. The employer even collected the union subscription for him through the check-off system.

So popular was the GMWU with industry that some companies, such as Dunlops in Washington, signed closed-shop agreements with Cunningham before their new factories were even started.

But Andrew Cunningham was not only a believer in harmonising the interests of capital and labour. He put it into practice.

He was a keen collector of chairmanships. In the last few years, in addition to his union post, he has been:

Chairman of the Northern Labour Party, chairman of the Labour Party national executive, chairman of Durham County Council, chairman of the Durham Police Authority, chairman of the Tyneside Passenger Transport Authority, chairman of the Northumbrian River Authority, chairman of the Labour Party finance committee, chairman of the Labour Party committee on South Africa, chairman of the Newcastle Airport Authority, and many more.

Some of these positions carried a salary. For chairing four meetings a year of the Tyneside Passenger Transport Authority he received £1500, and in others he was in the curious position of negotiating with his own union members.

Last year there was a demonstration of airport workers outside GWMU headquarters in Newcastle. One of the protesters, Ronnie Bennett, said: 'There are two reasons why we want to leave the GMWU. One is that liaison between the leadership and the members is very bad at both local and national level.'

Militants

'The other is that we feel it is ridiculous that Ald. Cunningham should both represent us as a union official and be chairman of the airport committee.'

The airport workers have not been the only group of workers in the North East who have found themselves demonstrating outside Thorne House in recent years, or tearing up their union cards.

For the other side of Cunningham's policy of harmony and light towards the employers was his war against the militants inside the union.

Perhaps the most blatant case of victimisation occurred at the Wallsend factory of George Angus in April 1970, when 1700 members of the

Big Andy the union top who loved the bosses

To Russia with love

A week before his arrest, Andrew Cunningham visited the Newcastle branch of the Co-Op Bank to arrange travellers' cheques for his holiday. Where was he going? 'Russia,' boomed Andy. 'The socialist countries are much better for holidays.' Sadly, the Russians will miss a close-up of a top union bureaucrat from Britain this year.

IS replied: 'What a nerve! It is precisely the actions of union leaders like Cunningham, who only use their power against their own membership, which brings trade unionism into disrepute. No wonder the employers at Geo Angus insisted upon membership of the GMWU as one of the conditions of re-employment—they knew who their friends were. They'll be issuing the GMWU officials with warders' uniforms next.'

It is a pity that Andrew Cunningham has been brought down by the police. He should have been dealt with by his own members.

GMWU were locked out in a pay dispute.

The company's terms for a return to work were the acceptance of a new bonus scheme, an undertaking on behalf of all workers that they would remain members of the GMWU, and the sacking of the convenor and GMWU branch secretary.

The sackings were successfully resisted but factory manager Mr Corbett revealed that the company's proposals had been fully supported by Ald Cunningham. During the dispute Cunningham was given a full-page spread in the local evening paper to attack the shop stewards, and Tyne Tees Television (in which the GMWU had a £90,000 investment) gave him equally generous publicity.

The only publicity on the side of the strikers came from the International Socialists. An IS leaflet issued at the time took up Cunningham's accusation that the strike at Angus's would 'lead to a loss of faith by millions of people in this country in trade unionism.'

Luxury

But there is no way that the rank and file members of the GMWU can remove an official from office. All power is concentrated at the top, and men like Andrew Cunningham thrive on it. He did well out of the union and the Labour Party, as his big new Jaguar and luxury bungalow testify.

And for the members whose subscriptions made it all possible he had nothing but contempt. The GMWU regional council minutes for 1 May 1972 record Cunningham as saying:

'I am becoming more disappointed as the years go by because what I am about to say is generally accepted by people who should know better, and that is that the leadership of the trade unions is out of touch with the rank and file. Now I want to reverse this, and I am going to say that it is the rank and file who are out of touch. It is the grassroots which want irrigating, it is certainly not this regional office.'

THE MILLION POUND STRIKE

THE strike in defence of trade union rights at Roberts-Arundel, Stockport, in 1967-8 was a victory for working-class solidarity. Millions threatened to strike in solidarity, thousands blacked the factory's products, and management was forced to climb down. The firm made such losses in the confrontation that it later went out of business.

Trade unionists won the first round at Roberts-Arundel, and lost the second at Fine Tubes. Be ready for the third.

THE MILLION POUND STRIKE, by Jim Arnison, introduction by Hugh Scanlon 45p (postage included) from

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

REPORT BY DAVE PEERS

MONEY: IT'S NO LONGER AS GOOD AS GOLD

NOT SO MANY years ago it was commonplace to hear that economic crises were a thing of the past. They belonged apparently to the ice age of capitalism and were no more to be expected today than glaciers and mammoths.

That point of view is not often voiced nowadays. Instead, with monotonous regularity, there are reports of international currency crises, of dramatic changes in the value of the pound, of tourists having to cut short their holidays because they suddenly find they cannot afford the fare home. And bankers and governments admit they can do little to prevent the recurrence of such crises.

Yet for most people it all seems rather remote. References in the press and on the television to 'exchange rates', 'Smithsonian parties', 'Bretton Woods', 'snakes in tunnels', leave them bewildered. It seems to have little to do with real life, with clocking on in the factory and somehow keeping up with rising prices.

What is really happening? Are we about to be faced with a return of the 1930s, or are things basically the same as in the 1950s and 1960s?

To understand the problems which face capitalism internationally today, it is necessary to begin by looking briefly at the reasons why it could seem so successful 20 years ago.

In the years after the Second World War, capitalism grew as never before in its history. The periodic slumps that had been typical pre-war no longer took place. Basically that was because of the massive sums which the major western powers—above all the USA—spent on arms. An automatic market was provided for the output of much of industry. And it was a market that was more or less free from periodic fluctuations.

The war had completely devastated the Japanese and German economies and considerably dislocated the other European countries while leaving the US economy in a position of unparalleled strength.

Europe and Japan were awed by the immense power and prosperity of the US. For their businessmen and governments, one of the main aims of economic policy was to get hold of as many US dollars as possible.

For many years, it was taken for granted that dollars were as good as gold. With them businessmen could buy whatever they wanted and trade throughout the world was carried on in dollars—except in the area of the old British empire, where the pound was regarded as an adequate, although not perfect, substitute.

So the massive strength of the US economy, based on arms spending, provided a framework in which the rest of western capitalism could prosper.

But about 10 years ago things began to change. Other countries, particularly Japan, were able to grow more quickly and sell their goods more cheaply than the Americans. In part this was because they spend much less on arms than the US. The US spent about 10 per cent of its national income on arms, Britain about 6 per cent, the French about 5 per cent, the Japanese less than 1 per cent. The US, and to a lesser extent Britain, paid for the arms that provided a ready market for big business internationally, and the other states took advantage of the market.

As a result, Japan and Germany were



able to invest a much greater proportion of their national income in new industry than did the US or Britain. The Japanese economy grew three times as fast as the American in the 1950s and twice as fast in the 1960s. The German economy grew twice as fast as the American in the 1950s and about 50 per cent faster in the late 1960s.

Goods produced in Japan and Europe began to eat into the American market, which the US firms had previously kept as their private preserve.

Yet the Americans continued to behave as if nothing had changed. They continued to spend massive sums of money abroad buying up foreign firms and maintaining troops throughout the world. Indeed, with the Vietnam War, their foreign spending shot upwards.

A point was reached where the US spent much more abroad than it earned there. The difference has been approaching a massive 10,000 million dollars recently.

Some European politicians and financiers began to accuse the US of taking over European industry and paying by merely printing dollar bills. They suggested that the behaviour of the US was hardly different to that of a man who signs cheques to buy things when he has no money in the bank. They de-

manded that the situation be remedied by forcing down the value of the dollar, until it corresponded to the real value of the wealth in the American economy.

But the US government hardly wants that. If the value of the dollar falls, then the cost of American big business investing abroad will increase. Some other governments feel compelled to back the US. They already own so many dollars that any fall of the dollar automatically cuts their own wealth.

So every international meeting to discuss the problem is more like a poker game than a rational debate. Each of the participants knows that the outcome can gain or lose his country hundreds of millions of pounds, and fights desperately for its interests to prevail.

But without some lasting agreement, the framework of international trade becomes more and more unstable. At any time the number of marks, francs, or yens that a dollar will buy can shoot up or down.

The instability is magnified by the fact that bankers and industrialists try to make a massive profit for themselves by predicting in advance how the currency rates will change. If they think, for instance, that the mark will rise, they will buy thousands of millions of marks, aiming to sell them at the higher value.

But in their scramble to get hold of

marks, they themselves increase the demand for the mark and push up its price.

Many of the giant multi-national corporations are now larger than individual countries—there are only 10 states in the world larger than the biggest, multi-national company, General Motors. When such firms sell one currency and buy another, it has a massive impact. And when a firm is moving money and components from one part of its empire to another every day, it is virtually impossible for any national government to keep a check on what it is doing.

So thousands of millions of dollars can flow from one country to another in a few hours and it is possible for the value of the dollar or the pound to rise or fall 3 or 4 per cent in a single day.

Under such conditions, the pretensions of national governments to 'plan' their economies are laughable.

The Tory government, for instance, has been saying that if only workers do not press for wage increases and accept its policies—which have cut living standards by about 4 per cent this year—then price increases will stop. But if in one day the value of the pound internationally falls by 4 per cent, then that means the cost of food and raw materials bought abroad will shoot up. One day on the international money markets has as much effect on prices as eight months of falling living standards.

In fact when the government urges wage restraint as the means of solving British capitalism's problems, all it is doing is raising the stakes in the international poker game at the expense of the workers. It has no guarantee at all that it will win the game.

Despite the money crises, many other national economies have continued to prosper, if somewhat chaotically. This year has been a year of economic boom throughout the Western world. But as the monetary instability gets worse, it is likely to spread instability within each national economy.

The measures with which the American government has been trying to keep up the value of the dollar are bound to make the overall economic situation worse. Firstly, it has been gradually cutting the proportion of the national income that goes to arms, so weakening the one factor that has underpinned the steady economic growth of the whole western world since the war.

Secondly, the US has threatened various physical measures to prevent the Japanese and the Europeans selling their goods in US markets. If such measures are taken, it would disrupt the flow of world trade and increase the instability in the Japanese and European economies.

The repeated monetary crises show that the big business system internationally is beginning to meet serious problems. It will inevitably try to pass the burden of solving these on to the backs of workers.

It is a burden that should be rejected. The crisis arises because capitalism is by its very nature a chaotic system. It operates internationally, but is based on competing national groups of capitalists, each attached to a different national state and a different national currency.

The struggle of these rival capitalist groups is a struggle to see who can make the biggest profits at the expense of workers. And the anarchy it creates continually puts in danger the jobs and livelihoods of workers throughout the world. The danger will not be averted for once and all until those whose labour creates the wealth get together internationally to fight for the overthrow of the system.

**WHY
BLACKS
ARE ON
THE
MARCH**

Tories' time bomb

THE TORY GOVERNMENT has tossed a time bomb into the black communities. Heath and his men have passed a law saying that any immigrant who entered the country 'illegally' after the year 1968 can now be deported.

Previously, any such person who managed to evade detection for more than six months then became immune from either prosecution or deportation.

The effect of this on ordinary black people can scarcely be overestimated. It now gives a free hand to police, civil servants and employers to demand a black person's passport for any reason under the sun.

In Southall in Middlesex the Department of Health and Social Security is still demanding passports from black people who register for national insurance cards. This is in spite of the fact that the main civil service union has said that it will not operate this rule.

Racialist

The Gas Board has been demanding passports from black students applying for summer work and Ealing Education Committee has only just temporarily relaxed its ruling that black parents must produce their own and their child's passport before signing up for school.

Southall is part of the London Borough of Ealing. Close on a million people live there.

Of the adult population, 35,000 are Indians, 20,000 of whom live in Southall.

This single fact is the most important thing to grasp about Southall because successive racist propagandists have succeeded in creating the impression, even in the minds of supposedly 'liberal' people, that racial tension is at fever pitch because Southall is too crowded or 'over-run' with Asians.

Such propaganda inevitably

has its effects on local authorities with the result that Ealing education authorities now bus out of the area several thousand Asian pupils of junior-school age.

So even before the House of Lords' ruling on the 'retrospective' nature of the Immigration Act, Asians in Southall were aware of the hostility of the surrounding community.

This hostility is expressed most overtly by the agents of 'law and order', the police. The Southall police are hated by young Indians with a virulence unparalleled in Britain.

Significantly, this hatred spans all class and caste divisions. Virtually every young male in Southall is able to give you examples of police harassment, intimidation and provocation.

Denied

One of the worst examples in recent months concerned the case of Satnam Kane.

Kane was employed by the

largest garage in Southall, the Iron Bridge. He was accused of stealing £50 from the till and was taken to the police station.

There he continually denied the offence. But 'pressure' was exerted and he eventually confessed to the crime.

So frightened was the youth that when asked what he had done with the money he first said he had lost it gambling. When the police refused to believe this he was forced to take them home and give them £11.50 out of his own savings.

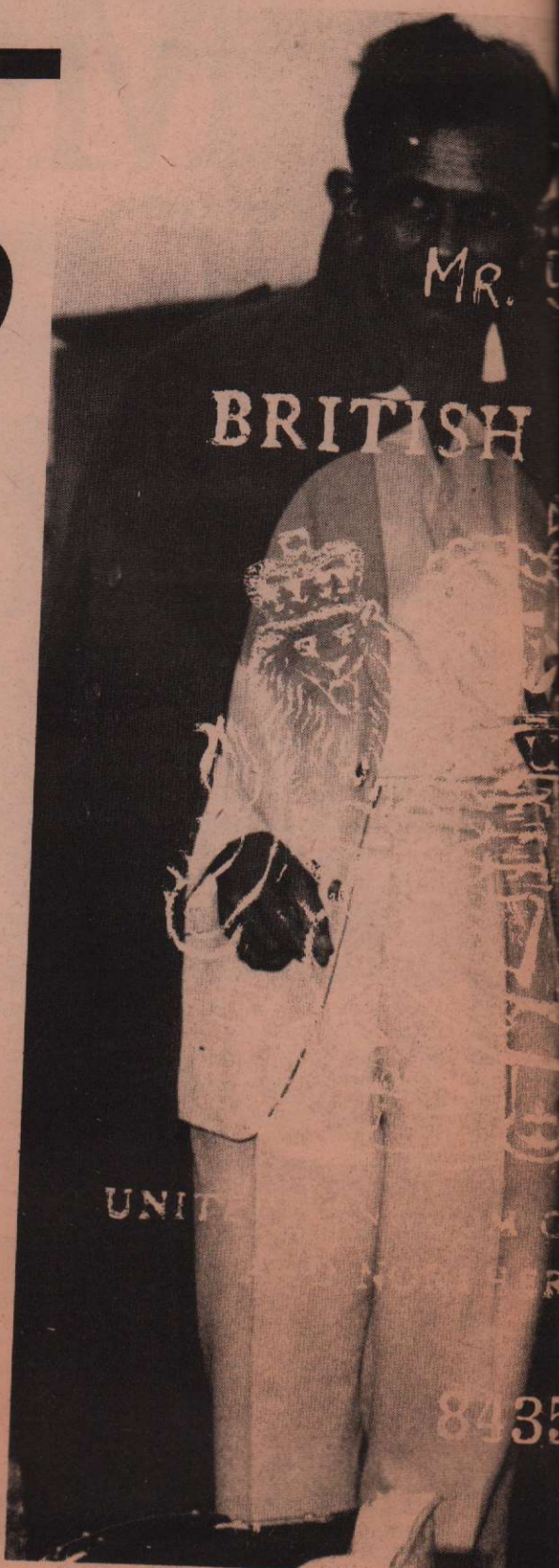
He appeared in court the next day with no legal adviser but fortunately he had the courage to tell the magistrate that his 'confession' had been extracted from him by force.

The case was adjourned for two weeks and Kane was able to get a lawyer.

Vicious

By this time the money had been discovered. It had never been stolen at all. The police failed to give an explanation of how it was that Kane had confessed to a crime that never took place, and the papers in the case were sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Such a case may sound exaggerated, one isolated incident. But it is not. No confidence in the police exists amongst the



Asian community in Southall.

But a new and vicious turn to this type of harassment has been given by the new legislation. Last week in Goodmayes, Essex, a 17-year old East African Asian was arrested when she asked the way home and was only released when she produced her passport.

This gives a sinister twist to the old adage, 'If you want to know the way, ask a policeman.' There are, even at the government's estimate, a mere 10,000 'illegal' immigrants today, yet the Tories are spending tens of thousands of pounds in trying to catch these few unfortunate human beings.

The reaction to this legislation in Southall has been swift and predictable. The Indian Workers' Association has withdrawn its representatives and allies from the Ealing Community Relations Council and has urged other organisations to follow throughout the country.

Coachloads of Indians will be coming from Southall for Sunday's demonstration and all the local factories have been leafleted to explain the dangers of this petty but vicious legislation. Police/Indian relations have



Police go on

deteriorated still. Already, the young motor riders on trivial and then demands. Determined to break this particular example no arrested for no crash helmet or motor bike or though many pe break this partic whole Asian com aware of the dang

Bully-boys i demand pas

International Socialism 60

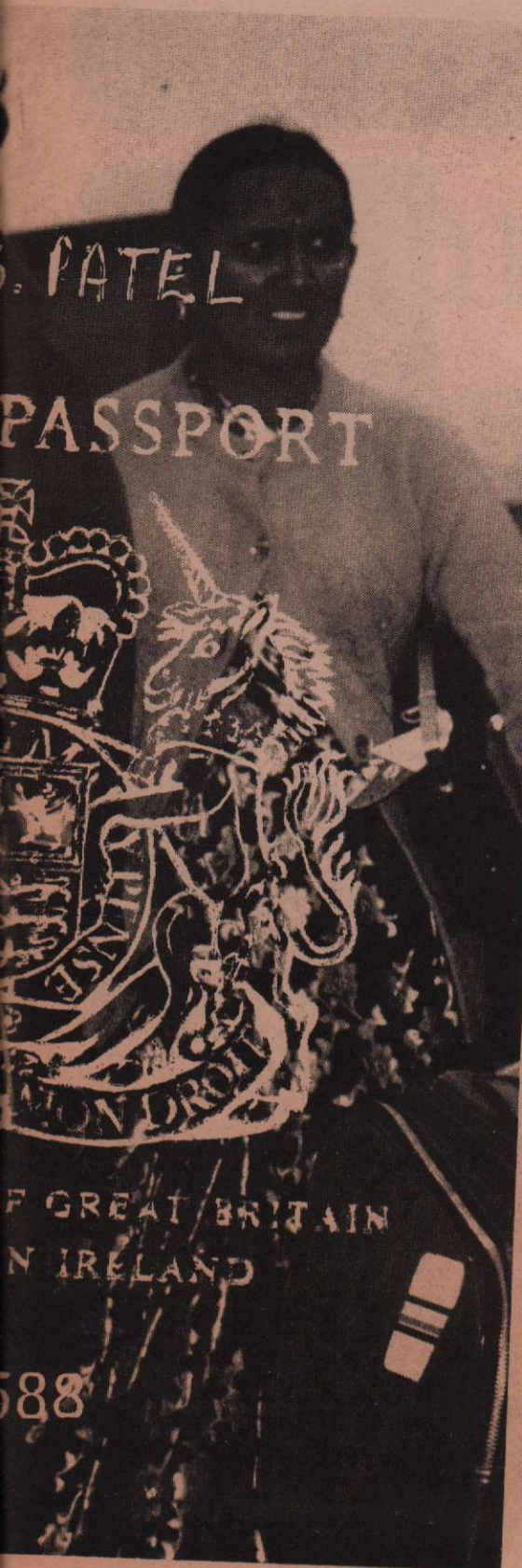
International Money Councils of Action China July 1973 15p

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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Tough action — the only answer...

FOR ALL black workers in Britain, the House of Lords ruling on 'illegal' immigrants and the 22 July demonstration of protest are of major importance. But this is an issue vital also for white workers.

For years, the government has steadily increased the law and the police to divide, control and frighten workers and their families. That was part of the meaning of the Industrial Relations Act, of legal contracts on the shop floor and of police attacks on picketing.

The Lords decision means that any black shop steward or militant is now faced not just with the threat of the sack, but also of police harassment and possible exile.

White workers are not in the firing line over the decision. They do not know the spreading cancer of fear in the black areas, nor the confidence of the police who feel they have won a major victory. They will not feel it unless black workers force them to.

The whole trade union leadership heart bleeds for the 'low paid worker'. The Transport and General Workers Union dutifully pass resolutions demanding a minimum wage and Jack Jones makes speeches about it. But the union leadership will not use the TGWU strength to do anything about the issue.

The same applies to racialism. There will only be resolutions, empty conferences ('Trade Unionists Against Racialism'), self-righteous pieties and hypocrisy, until black workers force the white workers to act.

Racialism is not some abstraction for conferences. The white militants might deplore it, but they will only rarely do anything about it unless the blacks fight.

Look at Heathrow Airport, that glass and concrete symbol of modern capitalism's jet set. Some of the Asian women cleaners get £16 for a 56 hour week. Trade unions and shop stewards have so far done nothing about it. And this will go on until the women workers themselves show they are prepared to fight for better conditions.



Darshana Tomkinson of Ealing International Socialists: she put the successful call for action committees and strikes to Southall Indian Workers Association Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

This is not the way to build the opposition. It is the fury and power of those in the real firing line, the ordinary black worker, that have to be fused into a fighting organisation, not the platitudes of the race relations industry.

In IS we want black militants to join our organisation and begin to build in the black communities. Already there has been an important shift in the work of IS as a result. With our new Urdu and Punjabi language newspapers, Chingari, we can use the resources of IS to build a really serious opposition.

The means to build the fight back in the black community is, as the Southall IWA resolution argues, through creating local action committees. This is not an excuse for yet another 'anti-racist' talking-shop where Labour Party spokesmen can spread the illusion that it was not their government who provided the racist basis for the 1971 Immigration Act in their 1968 Act.

The Labour leadership has refused to commit itself to a repeal of the 1971 Act, it speaks only of an amnesty. That means keep the racist statute, but dilute its immediate effects.

The action committee has a much more serious task: To begin to defend blacks in each locality against police action by publicising the cases in the local press, providing quick legal advice and defence, picketing police stations and courts.

To begin to advance the real fight on racialism in the factories and workplaces, in housing and clubs, in the schools and employment exchanges. And above all, to build the base for industrial action against the Lords decision.

Then there would be real influence over white militants. We can begin to organise around the appeal of trade unionists (see, Union Appeal on Race

Act, Socialist Worker, 14 July) through rank and file papers, shop steward committees, trade union branches and conferences, but it will not be effective unless at every stage black workers are forcing the pace.

Ultimately only strike action will test the seriousness of the fight. The Tory Government can take a number of 'days of mourning', fasts, resolutions without wincing. In pressure group politics, the pressure of the police will always outweigh that of any black group.

Where it hurts the Tories is in their pocket—in the national economy. They live off the profits of the economy, but black workers could paralyse public transport in the big cities, much of the car industry, the health service and other factories.

But that requires anger and dedication to the fight. Not the cloying cowardice of 'race relations'. It needs also a mass rank and file movement. We have the power in our own hands to build that.

One healthy result of the present situation has been to unite the various immigrant groups in opposition to the legislation.

Immigrant and black groups have been given a clear warning as to what might lie ahead unless united and militant action is taken. Local committees are being formed to fight the Act and it is to be hoped that such committees will be able to initiate further action on issues of concern to the black community.

Anger

But whatever happens, neither the government, the press nor the left should be under any illusions as to the anger of Asians in Southall.

So maddened are some Indians that one youth said to me last week: 'You know what my favourite dream is? Two cop cars with four policemen in each crashing into each other at 80mph and me standing and laughing.'

This anger needs to be channelled towards meaningful action that will drive this reactionary legislation off the law books.

n blue
sports

BY ABDUL RAHMAN

Womens Voice



'If it wasn't for the way rents and prices are shooting up, I wouldn't have to work in a dump like this!'

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YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

'USING our traditional institutions and rights we can transform parliament into the effective instrument of the people's will, through which the legislative measures of the change to socialism will be carried.'

This is from the Communist Party pamphlet *The British Road to Socialism*, but such ideas have been the most common on the left in Britain.

They rest on three assumptions: that the working-class movement can take control of parliament through an election, that parliament controls the state machine, and that the state machine can be used to change the rest of society completely.

Most people take all three for granted. But all three are wrong. Let's examine each in turn.

CAN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT TAKE CONTROL OF PARLIAMENT?

Socialists who rely on the parliamentary system start with an in-built disadvantage. A majority of workers may want a complete transformation of society and would be able to bring this about if they relied on their industrial strength, but in parliamentary elections, with the middle class and ruling class voting against them, they would lose.

Some people will insist that this is only fair and 'democratic'.

In some Arabian states there are still slaves, although slaves are not a majority of the population. Would anyone argue that it would be wrong for the slaves to rise in rebellion before the majority—including the slave owners—voted to free them?

In the same way, there is no reason why the men and women whose labour creates the wealth should leave it in the hands of a small privileged minority because of the say so of a parliamentary majority, elected by, among others, landlords, property speculators, company directors and shareholders.

Even if a majority of voters decided they wanted to change the system, it does not follow that they can automatically elect in a new government. They have to wait until the old government decides the time for an election—and in the meantime the employers can victimise militants, run press and TV witch-hunts, divide one set of workers against another, until the working class is demoralised and disillusioned.

Finally, what guarantee is there that socialist MPs will keep their election promises? If they ignore the wishes of those who voted for them, they still have five years in parliament and can hope that by then most people will have forgotten their promises anyway.

CAN A SOCIALIST PARLIAMENT CONTROL THE STATE MACHINE?

The army, the police and the

The No Through Road to socialism

civil service all work on the same principle. Orders are given by a small, carefully-selected group of people at the top and have to be obeyed by those below. If a rank and file civil servant disobeys orders it means the sack. If a rank and file soldier disobeys, it means a court martial and harsh penalties.

Those who give the orders—the army officers, the heads of the civil service, the chief constables, the high court judges—come from the same privileged class as the financiers and businessmen, go to the same public schools, and move in the same social circles.

Such people are no more able to put into action genuinely socialist measures than a wolf can turn into a sheep. They are part of an exploiting ruling group and act automatically in its interests.

History has many examples of the forces of the state doing away with parliament rather than carry through policies opposed to the ruling class. The most recent was in Greece in 1967.

It has happened in Britain too. In 1912 the Liberal government put forward a moderate Bill promising a strictly limited degree of independence for Ireland. It was supported by some sections of big business and was passed by parliament.

But other sections of big business opposed it bitterly. The leader of the Tory Party, Bonar Law, denounced the law as 'unconstitutional' and the government as a 'revolutionary committee which seized by fraud upon despotic power.'

Those who ran the army 'got the

message.' Fifty-eight senior officers announced that they would refuse to obey any orders to enforce this law in the North of Ireland. Their action helped ensure that, despite a parliamentary vote, Ireland remains divided even today.

It is not difficult to imagine a genuinely socialist government being denounced as 'unconstitutional' by the Tories and army officers deciding that their duty was to ignore its orders.

CAN THE STATE CHANGE THE REST OF SOCIETY?

In Britain today, the state is not all-powerful. The major decisions which affect most people's lives are not made by the state but by the owners of industry. The giant international companies move enormous sums of money and materials from country to country every day. If one country begins to follow policies which they do not like, it is easy for them to apply massive pressures to make it change its policies.

A moderate Labour government was elected in 1964. Its meagre promises to the workers were too much for big business which moved hundreds of millions of pounds overseas. Even Harold Wilson admitted: 'We had now a situation where a newly-elected government was being told by international speculators that the policies on which we had fought the election could not be implemented.'

There is no doubt that the election of a genuinely socialist government would bring a much more vicious response from big business.

If that government relied on its parliamentary strength alone, it would be able to do nothing. Its civil service and police chiefs could not be expected to take 'unconstitutional' action against their relatives and friends in the world of finance and industry. The economy would be in chaos, millions of workers would suffer, and the government would become unpopular long before any laws could be passed to change anything.

A socialist movement trying to change society using parliamentary methods is fighting with one hand tied behind its back. Parliament, the state and the constitution are all part and parcel of capitalism.

BOOKS

REVIEW

Apples stolen by the censor

STOLEN APPLES, by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Panther 60p.

'A POET in Russia is more than a poet,' said Yevtushenko, meaning that in Russia political control shapes the content and style of all writers and artists.

For Yevtushenko, who for several years published poetry that received scathing and violent attacks from the official guardians of culture, the problem seems to be different now. *Stolen Apples* is his own selection of poems, with an introduction explaining where he stands now.

Altogether it makes very sad reading. It includes little of his early poetry and none which hit the hardest against the abuses and defects of Russian society—poems like 'Zima Station', 'Lies' and 'Babiy Yar'. It was for such poems that he was violently attacked.

'Lies', for example, jabs against the complacent dishonesty of most writing which refused to face up to or deal with the realities and problems in Russia:

'Telling lies to the young is wrong, Proving to them that lies are true is wrong . . . Say obstacles exist they must encounter, Sorrow happens, hardship happens.'

The omission of such poems weakens the selection. He explains in the introduction why he rejected them. 'When you're young it's easy to streak appeals across the sky like rockets. But as you get older . . . you grow wary of making reckless appeals, and a sense of responsibility must be tempered above all with analysis and reflection.'

Talking presumably of poems like 'Babiy Yar' he says: 'The lines seem so naive and precocious and congested with slogans.'

The themes of *Stolen Apples* are uncontroversial—travel, the dilemmas of being famous, 'the commonplaces of good and evil, justice and injustice'—so the volume challenges nothing, doesn't present a point of view and washes over the reader. The introduction shows a retreat from his early work and an apologetic and vague statement about his poetic tasks. When the literary hacks began to praise his work for being 'more serious' it was the embrace of mediocrity welcoming a compromised figure.

I'm not saying that Yevtushenko is a great poet gone to ruin under bureaucratic pressures—his work has always been jagged and fragmentary—but to understand how and why he has changed one has only to look at the organisation of the arts in Russia.

Each section of the arts has its union, and its members will receive work and advancement only if their works are in tune with the official art policy, 'socialist realism'. The



YEVTUSHENKO

Writers' Union determines which works are acceptable and which authors are attacked for 'non-conformist' or 'anti-Soviet' attitudes.

Whether the attacks are savage or soft depends on wider political pressures, but without the support of the unions writers and artists find it difficult to survive because they are robbed of the chance to publish. So most make a series of compromises with the official regime and retreat. This is what has happened to Yevtushenko.

His early work dismissed many standards and orthodoxies laid down by the official guardians of culture and broke through the sterility that passed for poetry.

In his pathetic justifications about getting older and acquiring a sense of responsibility are hidden all of the pressures and compromises that have finally made him a tame and trite poet. Compare with the selection in *Stolen Apples* his early work in the Penguin selection. Yevtushenko has become what he used to attack, one of the fakers who write safe, demoralised and finally cynical poetry.

GRANVILLE WILLIAMS

You've forgotten Uncle Joe

FOR THE SOCIALIST CAUSE, by Ernie Pountney, Lawrence and Wishart, 50p.

THIS is a remarkable book. The author, almost 93 years old, tells his life story. With amazing detail, he recounts his schooldays in Birmingham, his first job as a clerk, then as a teacher and shop-worker before he became interested in politics. The account he gives will be valuable to historians, and I hope it will spur on other pieces of walking history to write their autobiographies too.

Where Ernie Pountney's narrative becomes less satisfactory is when he comes to describe his associations with the Communist Party. This may be because elderly people can recall events from their childhood while forgetting more recent happenings—or perhaps his amnesia is merely a convenient subterfuge: one can understand perfectly why an old Party member may wish to forget many of the disreputable things he did for Uncle Joe Stalin.

The book ends with a fond wish: 'I would dearly like to see a decisive turn to Socialism by the Left's success in Parliament.' Alas, it is necessary to tell the author that even if he lives to be as old as Rip Van Winkle—and I sincerely hope Ernie does—he will never live to see that happen.

RAYMOND CHALLINOR

A STUDY IN DEPRAVITY

RIOT AND REVOLUTION IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYA 1945-63, by Richard Clutterbuck, Faber, £3.95.

AGAIN we have an offering from left-basher Major-General Clutterbuck. Basically it is about how imperialism kept control in South East Asia and the stamping-out of the Malayan guerrilla war—apart, from some turgid, ill-digested meanderings on the Nature of Revolution, Leninism and so forth.

The second part, on the guerrillas, is a study in moral depravity. Clutterbuck may be kind to children and dogs but the blackmail, bribery and treachery that were used against the communists are all very distasteful. He forgets to mention the standard use of torture to gain information from selected captives.

Clutterbuck is a real PR man. He does not actually lie, he just suppresses the truth and selects his evidence. All of which rather dulls the image of the serious scholar, soldier he works so hard to paint.

The story of Singapore and Malaya has lessons—not least the treachery, cowardice and class collaborationist policies of the Malayan Communist Party, which resulted in the slaughter of thousands of fine militants and the demoralisation of thousands more.

In 1945 they disarmed themselves

and handed the country back to the British. All on the orders of Stalin, of course. The fact that the party general secretary, Lai Tek, had been a Special Branch agent since 1934 was also a handicap. He skipped with the Party funds in February 1947.

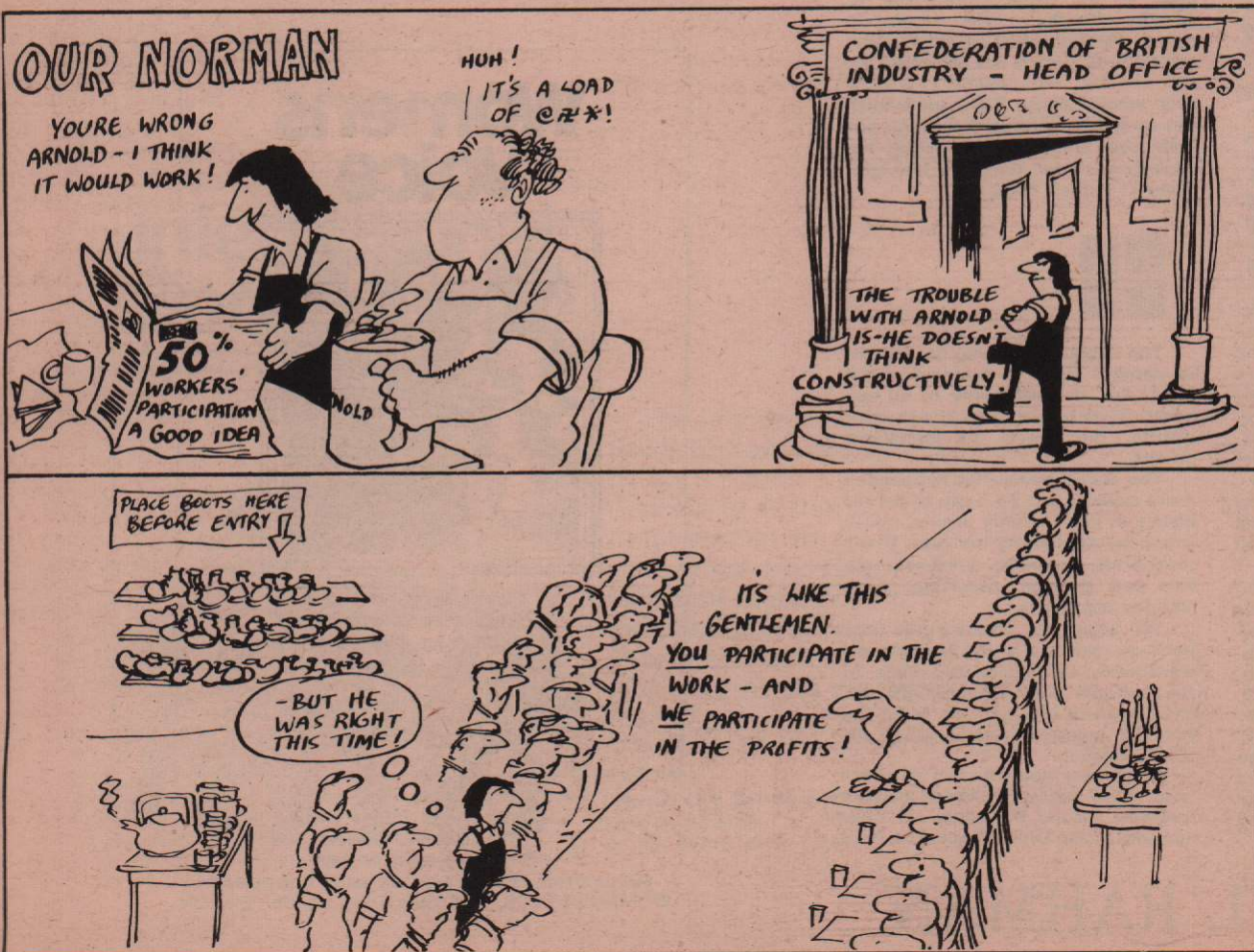
He had also been a Japanese agent during the war, but the British did not trouble him. Part of the imperialists' trade union solidarity, you see.

The main core of this section of the book concerns the riots and constitutional shenanigans by the British in 1954-56, when they finally managed to get in a 'safe' man called Lee Kuan Yew.

With quite unconscious irony Clutterbuck attacks the Communist tactics in Czechoslovakia to create a dictatorship in 1948—though it all sounds rather similar. The clash in 1956 was provoked by the government and the Socialist Party was smashed, leaving Lee in control. Many of these Socialists are still in Malaysian jails.

Meanwhile Lee Kuan Yew, with a huge secret police—Special Branch trained—has smashed the trade unions, kept down wages, widened the gap between rich and poor, militarised his one-party state, got in plenty of foreign investment and created the nearest thing to a fascist state this side of Mussolini's Italy. His party is still in the Second International.

TED CRAWFORD



From man to machine

THE mills and factories built during the Industrial Revolution are a powerful physical reminder of the exploitation of the men and women of the past.

Grim though they were, they have a confidence and style which have quite vanished from modern urban sprawl.

The machines themselves, now polished in museums, gave bloody birth to the modern working class. They are the very things that Marx said 'mutilate the worker into a fragment of a human being, degrade him to become an appurtenance of the machine, make his work such a torment its essential meaning is destroyed and cast him off from the intellectual potentialities of the labour process.'

Against these machines and factories the 19th century working class fought an unremitting and often violent battle.

Inside these factories early manufacturers imposed discipline by sackings, threats, fines, humiliation and direct physical force. Beatings were common, especially of women and children.

Samuel Coulson told the Report of the Committee on Factory Children's Labour in 1831 that his eldest daughter came home with her shoulder in ribbons. The overlooker 'had taken the strap and beat her between the shoulders... her back was beaten nearly to a jelly.' But his daughter told him: 'Don't go to the overlooker or we shall lose our work.'

Prison

Josiah Wedgwood started his famous potteries (below) in the 18th century, one of the earliest manufacturers to try to impose strict labour discipline on his workers, to turn his workforce into a regular disciplined instrument of production. They were to become literally 'hands' or 'operators'.

Workers fiercely resisted the factory system which seemed to them like a prison. Wedgwood thought that he could rely on a foreman to supervise when he left the works to go on his honeymoon. But when he got home he found his supervisor drunk with everybody else and production at a standstill.

The visible signs of this transformation, the buildings, canals, bridges, railways, are illustrated in **THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**, edited by Brian Bracegirdle, (Heinemann £6.50) an impressive selection of photographs, drawings, diagrams and essays. It is a book of great beauty, demonstrating the invention, cunning



Kilns in the Potteries — monuments to thousands of lives laid derelict

in design and skill in execution of industrial workers.

The destruction of the old work customs by machinery was a complicated process. An old Methodist potter, recalling the 1840s, when the old bottle kilns suitable for batch production had not been superseded by a continuous mechanised process, regretted that the pottery workers had not been disciplined like the northern cotton workers.

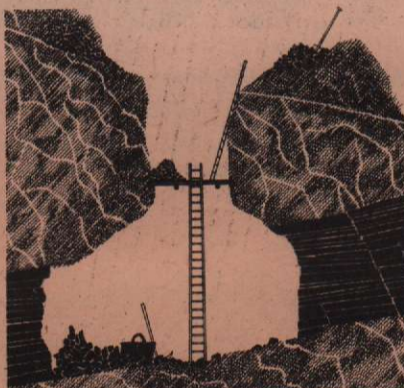
'If a steam engine had started every Monday morning at six o'clock the workers would have been disciplined to the habit of regular and continuous industry.'

'I have noticed too that machinery seems to lead to habits of calculation. The pottery workers were woefully deficient in this matter, they lived like children, without any calculating forecast. In some of the more northern towns this habit of calculation has made them keenly shrewd in many conspicuous ways. Their great co-operative societies would never have arisen to such immense and fruitful development but for the calculating induced by the use of machinery.'

Power

Steam power was the key to the transformation's first stage. As long as the sources of power were wind-mills or waterfalls or horses, the units of production were small and labour had an intermittent rhythm.

Steam was pioneered in the Cornish mines since water pumps were needed if the shallow bell-mine was to be deepened by shafts. The first engines were enormously inefficient because of heat loss but soon they were being used to power other machines, and the whole rhythm of work was changed.



A 'bell-pit': coal was excavated by undermining until the danger of collapse made it unworkable.

Marx quoted Ure, author of *The Philosophy of Manufactures* and an apologist for the employers, on the problems 'in training human beings to renounce their desultory habits of work and identify themselves with the unvarying regularity of a complex automaton...'

As Marx argues: 'It is not the workman that employs the instruments of labour but the instruments of labour which employ the workman. But only in the factory system this inversion for the first time acquires technical and palpable reality. By means of its conversion into an automaton, the instrument of labour confronts the labourer, during the labour process, in the shape of capital, of dead labour, that dominates and pumps dry living labour-power.'

The factory, steam power and the new labour discipline affected every aspect of life. Popular song reflects the changes. A L Lloyd wrote:

'The earliest weavers' songs are from the time when handloom workers went from village to village,

setting up farmhouse and cottage kitchens to weave the yarn and chat to the womenfolk while the men of the house were away at work. The invention of the power-loom and the establishment of textile factories brought a great change to the handloom weavers' lives. Much of their bold swagger left them when they were obliged to reconcile themselves to drudgery in the mills.

'Our song, lyrical and wry, curiously illuminates this moment of history when the cockcrow of the weavers was losing its confident tone, when the handworkers were finding themselves obliged to follow the girls into the factories to weave by steam, and when country song was changing to town song.'

I am a hand-weaver to my trade,
I fell in love with a factory maid,
And if I could but her favour win
I'd stand beside her and weave by steam.

My father to me scornful said:
How could you fancy a factory
maid
When you could have girls fine and
gay

And dressed like the Queen of May?
As for your fine girls, I don't care,
And could I but enjoy my dear
I'd stand in the factory all the day
And she and I'd keep our shuttle in
play.

I went to my love's bedroom door
Where oftentimes I had been before,
But I could not speak nor yet get in
To the pleasant bed my love laid in.

Where are the girls? I'll tell you
plain,
The girls have gone to weave by
steam,
And if you'd find 'em you must rise
by dawn
And trudge to the mill in the early
morn.

The back-to-back housing of the North are perhaps the most familiar relics of those years. Jennifer Tann describes how some manufacturers built model townships to attract workers:

'Absenteeism was a constant problem and many factory operatives tended to be migratory, staying in one job for a few weeks then moving on to work in another factory. Once a good house was provided the threat of dismissal became a successful deterrent... It was generally acknowledged that once a wife had been given a good home she would not let her husband move on.'

'There were other less measurable benefits for the manufacturer who provided good housing. The labour force was thought of as a sort of living machinery... Good living quarters were a necessary factor in keeping the human machine in a suitable condition for work.'

In other words philanthropy brought a better return on capital.

Devoured

Robert Owen's factory at New Lanark was an early example of this. Arkwright's township at Cromford another. Later, when labour was more available, the employers left it to the jerry builders.

With the railways in the 1840s came the company town where there were different kinds of houses for different grades of workers. Sir Titus Salt's Saltaire was the most ambitious. It was built between 1853 and 1863 and 'epitomises the mid-19th century desire to raise the moral tone of the working classes.'

The railways themselves devoured much human labour and life. The accident rate was high and the Irish navvies who came over and built them lived in camps under very rough conditions.

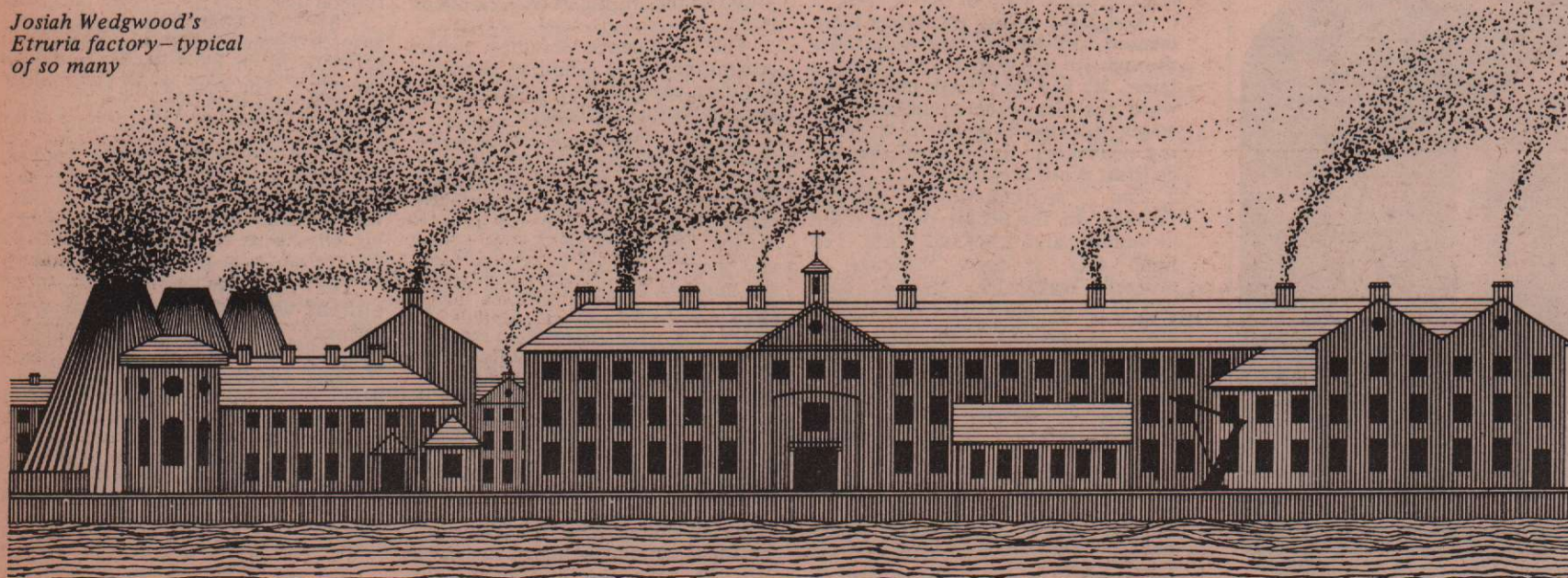
They created their own personal rituals. A marriage in a camp meant you carried your woman over the hearth, 'jumped the broomstick' for luck, and that was it. Everyone watched while you bedded down.

The navvies' camps were regarded with horror by Victorian moralists who, true to form, deplored their sexual customs rather than the suffering and violence which went into the railways.

The workers whose labour made the growth of capital possible die unknown. Their monuments, grim, stark and proud remain with us. Ironically their only memorials are the instruments and property of their masters.

Dave Widgery
and Sheila
Rowbotham

Josiah Wedgwood's
Etruria factory—typical
of so many



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.

THE UNIONS

ICI: chequebook v. unions

by Tony Richardson

GMWU shop steward,
ICI Hexagon Works

THE huge multi-national ICI has sought a confrontation with the unions, and has shown it's not above paying for results in hard cash.

ICI's system of staff committees was developed in an attempt to prevent the unionisation of monthly-paid staff. They kept going for several years with considerable success, but ASTMS was beginning to make big inroads. Its Manchester ICI branch, for example, has 650-700 members.

ICI began to see the writing was on the wall for the staff committees unless something drastic was done—and something drastic was done. The company commissioned a staff survey on the subject of trade unions, with large doses of publicity about how fair it was being in trying to find out just who the staff wanted to represent them.

The survey was done by the Tavistock Institute, with an official of the International Labour Organisation, Professor Walker, drafted in to oversee it. He vetted all the questions in the survey and amended them to suit ICI.

It has since been discovered that—completely against his terms of contract

with the ILO, which prohibits officials from receiving any consultancy fees from any company—Professor Walker was getting £80 a day from ICI.

Under such conditions the result of the survey was predictable. Only a quarter of the staff were in favour of unionisation.

A few weeks later the company announced massive staff redundancies—1000 in Organics Division alone. Naturally the company denied the decision had been delayed until after the survey and even tried to argue that the staff would not have been influenced had the redundancies been declared earlier.

Since then the trade unions have become more determined, and the company has devoted more time and resources to opposing them.

Only a few weeks ago The Guardian and The Times reported a secret anti-trade union circular issued in ICI's Mond Division instructing senior managers on

how to persuade the staff to reject trade unionism

The more the unions in ICI make advances the more the company stumbles from one blunder to another in its attempt to thwart them, but at last the staff in ICI are beginning to wake up and take action themselves. Last October there was a one-hour stoppage—worth a month at Fords—in Organics Division over redundancies. In March there were company-wide stoppages of up to 24 hours and the ICI London headquarters was picketed, demanding the right of supervisors to be represented by ASTMS.

This month there has already been a token occupation by trade union members to try to speed up a ballot on staff representation.

The lesson is there for all ICI workers. If the company is so anti-trade union then there must be some benefit for staff in joining a union.

There is also a lesson for all workers for multinationals: They do not always use a public sledgehammer to achieve their ends but also see underhand methods as legitimate business techniques.

TOUGHER LEFT CRUCIAL IN TGWU

MILITANT members of the Transport Workers Union under the autocratic reign of Ernest Bevin were said to worship the ground that was coming to him. The same cannot be said of many militants and Jack Jones. They hold him high.

Jones' performance on his home ground, at the TGWU delegate conference in Brighton last week, is impressive. There is nothing autocratic in his manner or his style. The response he evokes touches peoples' aspirations and helps him win the votes without in any way winning the arguments.

In his speech on Tuesday last week when he was fighting for a mandate to continue talking with the Tories, he said you might as well tear up the agenda and discount the resolutions passed if he was not allowed to go to put the union's view to Heath and the Confederation of British Industry bosses.

He won the day in spite of many fine speeches against him, not least because he was not properly challenged on the underlying assumptions of his argument. The left militants failed, and in some senses did not try, to get across the fact that this was not a situation of talking to the Tories as equals but of one subordinate party pleading where others can command. Nor was any alternative strategy put across.

But for those who listened carefully—very carefully—Jones paraded the fatal flaws in his position. In the same speech as he argued why he must go to the talks, he recorded his outright opposition to incomes policy and then said that in 'the present circumstances' of galloping inflation there could be no deal on an incomes policy.

CONTRAST

What are the other circumstances? More important, why have the present circumstances come about? There was not one single word of explanation.

And, said Jones, the prices commission had let so many price rises through its net that it was 'almost a farce'. He had told Heath that! Not a word that its sister commission on wages was equally predictable, freezing everything. Not a word that the contrast is not accidental.

The contradictions showed through in the debate on the lump in building and other industries. The lump was 'a major challenge to ordered, reasonable, civilised conditions in industry,' said Jones. 'The gleam of gold is being used irresponsibly,' he added. 'It leads to safety being endangered, and laws being flouted.' As if these were not the very reasons that the employers resort to this cancer and ensure its spread.

But in the debate on participation and industrial democracy the politics of the TGWU bureaucracy shone through. Not only is it useful rhetoric but it reaffirms the creeping road to



EMPEROR JONES
Still on the throne

socialism. With the Labour Party in such extravagant decay and the 'parliamentary road' being widely questioned, the TGWU bureaucrats have picked up the banner of civilising capitalism and being the people's advocates.

The only problem is that to get out of trouble capitalism has no choice but to tame the people and shackle their organisations.

The TGWU doesn't only preach participation. As this year's chairman of conference, Bert Forden, was so proud to report, the TGWU practises it.

The conference standing orders committee is a shining example. Motions, particularly the crucial ones, are composed ruthlessly.

On Monday, in preparation for the talks, the chairman of the committee, TGWU legal officer Albert Blighton, deputy general secretary Harry Urwin, and top car industry section official Moss Evans carved and sliced. They set the tough, critical motions up for knocking down. Here again the left is desperately weak, with little preparation by delegates or branches in advance, withdrawing motions in favour of those that echo their views and trying to out-composite the compositers.

Again on Wednesday, when motions on the union's pensions campaign were up for carving before the Thursday debate, Urwin insisted that the union was in favour of industrial action for higher pensions. 'It's the only way they'll get the

rises,' he said.

But tactically, he insisted, the demand should be put only in the form of a motion which calls on the TUC to take the initiative. The purpose of all this was to avoid any definite commitment on the TGWU's part. But on this occasion someone did hold out.

How union officialdom deals with those who insist on participating to the full over a highly controversial issue was well illustrated by the action taken to kill any debate on the crisis in Ireland.

PROTEST

A carefully worded 'neutral' statement was read out by the union's Irish section. Jack Jones rose to speak, talked of the 'difficult' situation there and moved that conference adopt the statement. The resolutions on the agenda calling for the withdrawal of British troops and a bill of rights were to be passed over.

Delegates protested. The chairman said next business. They protested again and then there was a compromise. The resolutions would not be debated, they would be remitted to the executive, the well-known funeral undertakers.

The whole conference is geared to enforce the platform's sway. Full-time officials do all the speaking for the executive. The rest of the executive are as decorative as the cloths on the tables.

But in the agenda, in the resolutions that end up in Jones' in-tray, in the fond hope that he will find the time to raise them at some session of his talks with the Tories, there is a fund of talent, of skill and knowledge.

The International Socialists are pitifully weak in the TGWU, which is sad and will have to be remedied. Because the fight to connect the struggle for militant policies and genuine policies in the TGWU with the struggle for socialism will be a tremendously productive one in Britain's biggest union. A properly organised, principled left will give Emperor Jones a good run for his money.

Laurie Flynn

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND

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

NORTH EAST

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

NORTH

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

EAST

Basildon
Beccles
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Colchester
Harlow
Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

NORTH WEST

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

WALES and SOUTH WEST

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

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

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

MIDLANDS

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

SOUTH

Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Eastbourne
Guildford
Portsmouth
Southampton

So much for the 'terrible twins'

THE ban on Engineering Union president Hugh Scanlon from further talks with the Tory government and last week's sigh of relief by the press when the Transport Union Conference allowed Jack Jones to carry on going to the talks, raise several questions of interest to trade unionists.

A couple of years ago we were treated to photographs of Jones and Scanlon in earnest conversation at various conferences. They were headlined as the left-wing 'terrible twins' of the TUC, ready to bring the whole nation to an industrial halt at the first call from any mindless militant who wanted action.

How different to the press beatings of the past few weeks that the AUEW president is being led about by the nose by a small bunch of unrepresentative trouble-makers. Though it is true that any national delegate body of a trade union is unlikely to be properly representative of their members, because of lack of involvement by many union members, these bodies are certainly a lot more representative, since they are voted into the job, than either the TUC or most appointed union leaders.

Further, Hugh Scanlon's continual warnings to the Tories that they are laying up trouble for themselves if they don't find some way of making it look as if prices are being held down, make you wonder just how our trade union leaders see their jobs. Surely, in the face of massive increases in the cost of living, our leaders should be finding ways of organising their members for the battle soon to come—and not warning the Tories that they are scared to take them on?

What makes Brother Scanlon's role even worse is that he is a member of the Institute for Workers Control and claims to be a marxist. Does the Institute believe we can reach workers' control by trying to get concessions such as threshold agreements from a Tory government?

And Scanlon's claim to be a marxist? Surely he must realise he is in one of the most historically important positions it is possible to hold so far as the working class is concerned?

Please, Brother Scanlon, give us the leadership we need or you'll reach the dustbin of history before you retire.—ALAN WATTS (AUEW), London N8.

What socialist alternative?

OUR NORMAN in Socialist Worker (7 July) seems to be in the vanguard of IS consciousness. 'It's sunny outside,' he grits, as he sweats over his lathe, not-so-cheerfully just-about-accepting his lot.

Couple this with the letter in the same issue from Anthony Bevor,

MAO'S ROAD TO NOWHERE

DUNCAN HALLAS' review of The Chinese Road to Socialism fails completely to provide an analysis of the present regime in China. It points correctly to the tightening up of discipline since the Cultural Revolution. But the only explanation seems to be that China's economy is too backward for the building of socialism.

The Chinese leaders are not guilty of 'pure utopianism' because their aims have nothing to do with the building of socialism. Since the 1949 revolution, their main aim has been to pull China's economy up by its bootstraps, at the expense above all of the working class.

They have had to abandon the aim of rapid industrialisation, because their economy has to keep running just to stand still, but their aim is still to increase production and to draw off as much surplus as possible from the Chinese working class. The surplus is used to compete with other world powers in the arms race, in the diplomatic game of 'aid' to underdeveloped countries, and to some extent in trade.

Nor do all or most Maoists have their 'hearts in the right places'—though some may, and it is our job to convince them that in China-worship they are barking up the wrong

LETTERS



Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper—and what you don't like. Your thoughts and comments on problems facing working people. Your experiences at work.

But please be brief. We receive so many letters now that we cannot publish them all. We could publish many more if writers restricted themselves to 250 words at the most.

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

asking why IS doesn't discuss possible structures in a truly socialist society.

Norman's dilemma is very close to the heart of the problem. The lunacy of sweating over a lathe—or assembly-line, or plain-old desk—on a rare sunny day is one pre-requisite for the perpetuation of either kind of capitalist state.

What kinds of 'wheels of industry' will a socialist society need? How will they be 'kept turning', and by whom? The recent discovery that global reserves of power and material resources are limited seems to rule out 19th-century marxist ideas of 'abundance' and 99 per cent automation.

Militancy in the working and middle classes of developed countries stems as much—probably more—from inherently degrading working conditions as from economic factors. This militancy will channel itself into pressure for social change only if people are aware of alternative

tree. A socialist revolution can come about only by the working class taking power, which they have never done in China, and transforming society in their own interests.

But Chinese workers are constantly told that they must adopt an attitude of self-sacrifice in the interests of a state which they in no way control, and a world revolution which their leaders are actually obstructing rather than carrying out.

Hallas' review also fails to provide even briefly any analysis of what the Cultural Revolution was really about. Serious disagreements within the ruling elite about the possible rate of economic advance, and the necessity for the Maoist faction to prune the sprawling, unmanageable bureaucracy at all levels, led to the conjuring up of the Red Guards as a new force in Mao's favour.

And surely the cultural campaign itself, the call to apply the 'Thought of Mao Tse-tung' and scientific principles, should be linked to the necessity for a more educated labour force—more literate and more informed of basic empirical science—but a labour force that at the same time should be convinced of the rightness of their rulers' aims.—NORAH CARLIN, London N9.

social structures which exclude authoritarian relationships from the work-place—and everywhere else, of course. Needless to say, there is no discernible difference between 'USSR Ltd' and HeathCo' in this respect.

Like your letters page blurb says: 'Let's hear from you.'—DAVE BRADNEY, Muswell Hill, London N10.

Energy crisis

REGARDING Steve Jefferys' article on the American situation (Socialist Worker, 14 July), I can't help but think his attitude towards the energy crisis at best superficial and at worst a rather feeble distortion.

Whether or not American capitalists push their pipes through Alaska won't stop the crisis. There is no understanding in the article that in a short time there will be no oil left, in Alaska or anywhere else. Instead it minimises this very real problem to the level of a capitalist manoeuvre and so throws the baby out with the bath water.

While the energy crisis may be used by capitalists, they certainly have not invented it, and it is one more sign that unless we get rid of them, and the technology of alienation on which they depend, there will not just be no future for socialism, but no future at all.

On this analysis I feel that socialist movements should take environmental issues a bit more seriously. Not to do so is an irresponsible retreat into a political ivory tower divorced from the implications of the productive process.—PAUL ATKIN, Grays, Essex.

Against the Race Acts

WE FULLY endorse the article published in Socialist Worker of 14 July headed 'Union Call on Race Act' and give full support to all measures necessary to reverse the Law Lords decision on immigration.—BRIAN SMITH (vice-chairman, ACTSS branch committee), IAN CRAWFORD (branch secretary, AUEW (TASS) Coventry No. 7), DAVE GARSIDE (secretary, Jaguar joint office committee, AUEW (TASS)), PETER BOWES (Jaguar TASS), CLIFF CANNING (Jaguar TASS), PAM SMITH (convenor, ACTSS Jaguar), Coventry.

Going to court is not enough

SOCIALIST WORKER is without doubt the best paper on the left and I am proud to be able to sell it.

On last week's front page I did however find the article on Clay Cross insufficient. It is no good simply stating that the councillors are fighting in the courts.

We must make it clear that the only real way to fight in the courts is to keep out of them, extend the rent strike to nearby estates and use the 200-strong industrial picket not for the rather useless exercise of standing in front of the court buildings but to agitate in the local shopping centre, for instance.

It is particularly important to make our position clear in the period between now and the coming October rent increases.—DAVID PAENSON, Ilford, Essex.

Profits are theirs —but the risk is the workers'

THE whole of British capitalism has been built on the limited liability company, a device that has enabled men to turn hundreds of pounds into millions. It is a device that means the capitalist rarely takes any real risks, which kills the argument put forward by capitalism's supporters that profit is merely the reward for risk taking.

There are many grotesque examples of how 'limited liability' made people rich. Office Cleaning Services, a company built on the backs of the lowly-paid night cleaners, has turned £200 into more than £7 million for the family that owns it, in this way.

Limited liability in simple terms is this: the liability of the owner of a business for the debts of that business is limited to the money that he originally put up to start it. The capitalist's right to receive a portion of a company's profits is determined by the number of shares he owns in the company, and these represent the money that was originally put up to start the business. If the business goes bankrupt, the shareholder stands only to lose that money: he cannot be asked to find any more to meet the debts of the company.

Although obviously it is possible to start a company with £200, this won't provide much plant and machinery, property or any of the other things necessary to run a business. What the rugged entrepreneur, risking all his money, will then probably do is go along to a bank and borrow money. Although the bank will receive a fixed return on the money it lends, it has no right to receive any share of the profits after it has been paid its fixed rate.

Failure

So it is possible, for example, to start a company with £200, buy thousands of pounds worth of machinery, and if the whole venture is a failure, the bank may lose money—depending on whether they can sell the machinery or not—but if it succeeds the man who put up £200 makes most money. The capitalist gambles in this way with other people's jobs—the workers—and other people's money. If the gamble comes off, though, it is he—the capitalist—who benefits.

This very operation, which is the way nearly all companies are formed, has been successfully carried out by a family known as the Goodcliffes. In 1930, one started a company now known as Office Cleaning Services with £200. Since then not one extra penny has been put into the business by the Goodcliffe family, who still own all the shares and hold a majority on the board that runs the company.

The company's business is office and general cleaning and laundering. It owns, among others, Smarts Laundries and London Carpet Cleaners.



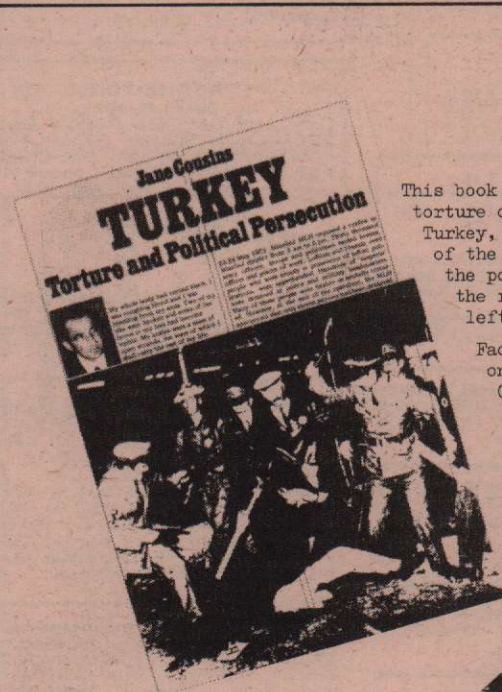
The story of its success is short and simple: exploiting the demand for office cleaners, the company has gone from strength to strength so that in 1971 it made profits of £1.7 million before tax. In the same year it paid each of its 18,000 employees, on average, a weekly wage of £8.61 and each of its ten directors £170 per week.

Owning this company makes the Goodcliffe family rich. The balance sheet shows that original £200 is now worth nearly £7 million. That's hard cash, buildings and other assets bought with the accumulated profits of the company—the wealth created by the workers.

But companies are valued by the stock market and potential purchasers on their profit-earning capacity. Office Cleaning Services is a private company, but the Goodcliffe family might—for tax reasons—want to sell some of their shares to the public, becoming a public company. In this event, the company will have to be valued. Given the great growth expected from contract cleaning and the company's long history, it could easily be valued at between £9 and £10 million.

Be clear about this: the Goodcliffe family has done nothing whatsoever to deserve this money. The device that enabled them to make it without risk—the limited company—is the device employed by nearly every major business in the land. The only people taking risks here are the workers who—unlike the bank—have no claim against the company if they lose their jobs.

T H Rogmorton



This book documents in detail the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, and the staggering brutality of the methods used. It documents the political trials with which the regime hoped to destroy the left.

Faced with a virtual blockade on real news from Turkey, Jane Cousins went there to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners. She was given access to papers and documents which are here published for the first time.

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Accused phone men fight for jobs

LONDON: Telephone operators threatened with the sack in what the press has been calling the 'great £1 million phones swindle' are getting union branch backing in their fight for their jobs.

There may have been an organised ring using the telephone system for private profit, but most of the 25 so far suspended seem to have only been putting calls through to their own families. The operators themselves consider this one of the perks of the job.

Post Office investigation department officials have questioned about 40 operators at the Wren House international exchange. 25 have been suspended from duty without pay and all but three or four of them are coloured. Some have been told they will face criminal charges and the rest will be recommended for dismissal.

Not all are to be charged with selling calls for personal gain and from enquiries by the London Overseas Telephones branch of the Union of Post Office Workers it appears most were only putting through calls to their families for themselves. The Post Office and union headquarters consider this to be stealing.

Central

'We do not in any way condone the selling of calls by operators for private gain,' said Sylvester McGovern, branch chairman, 'but we do object to men being threatened with the loss of their jobs for taking what the rest of us regard as the perks of the job. This view has been represented to union headquarters.'

The Post Office investigation department includes police officers seconded from Scotland Yard.

All telephone exchange switchboards can be listened into from a central point, though the Post Office says this is only to measure the efficiency and quality of service and the person observing cannot listen to an actual telephone conversation.

In letter and parcel sorting offices there are frequently 'viewing galleries' with one way glass where an investigation department sits and spies on the men sorting the letters and parcels. No union representatives are allowed to be present.

In both sorting offices and telephone exchanges there is a long tradition of belief that the investigation department and the Special Branch plant men to spy on Post Office workers.

Membership in Yorkshire doubles in two months

IN THE past two months IS membership in Yorkshire has almost doubled, Bill Message told 150 members meeting in Doncaster last week. Four workplace branches had been launched and several more were in the pipeline, he said.

Tony Cliff told the meeting that with the establishment of factory branches, workers were no longer joining one at a time but in groups of three, four or more. The success of these branches inspired other workers and had an impact in the unions at branch, district and trades council level.

But the formation of factory branches did present problems as to the role of the local geographical branch. Those who could not build in their workplaces were in no way second-class members, but they could not play the same role as those who were

organised at the point of production.

There was no hard and fast rule which could be applied. The only way to find the best form of organisation in a particular area was to experiment but not to be afraid to admit errors or to change any form of organisation that became obsolete.

Where factory branches existed side by side with geographical estate branches it was necessary to elect a strong district committee which would deal with most of the administration, said Cliff. Monthly public meetings which involved the whole district were also necessary but most of the business should be dealt with by the committee, which would be answerable to the members. Above all Cliff stressed the need for flexibility and experiment.

In the discussion which followed, Audrey Kincaid,

of Leeds IS, explained how it had doubled its membership in the past two months, forming one factory branch and one on a housing estate. The Leeds geographical branch was now being reorganised into work sections, she said.

Ron Kennedy, from York Buses IS, explained how their branch had worked over the past two months and found that a Socialist Worker discussion group was more hindrance than help towards the main job, which was building IS. Members of the IS branch at Doncasters Monkbridge, Leeds, stressed that their new branch, only a week old, was already growing.

Brian Griffiths (SOGAT) said that because there were few large printshops in Leeds and a lot of scattered and small works, a printworkers' branch was probably the best form of organisation.

IS forms 27 new factory branches

TWENTY-SEVEN factory branches of the International Socialists have been set up since the IS annual conference in March, membership secretary Tony Cliff told the group's national committee last weekend.

Cliff reminded the committee that the conference had set IS a target of 10 industrial branches by the 1974 conference. It was clear that the organisation had underestimated the potential.

More than 950 new members have joined IS since the conference. Cliff said that for the first time in its history, IS was now recruiting industrial workers much faster than white-collar workers. Of the new recruits, 112 were members of the Transport Workers Union and 115 of the Engineering Union.

The committee agreed to recognise 13 new branches.

Cliff and other speakers said that the rate of recruitment would pose serious problems for IS: how to integrate new members, the need for improved schools and educational meetings, the effects of factory branches on the existing town branches.

The development of local leadership was an important task for the organisation in the next few months. The committee agreed to set up a special commission that would start work immediately on the problems of both national and local organisation and make recommendations for all-round improvements.

Nigel Harris, reporting for the immigrants sub-committee, said the Law Lords decision on the 'retrospective' nature of the Immigration Act was as sinister a move as the Industrial Relations Act.

It was essential that IS branches make a real drive to recruit black workers, he

stressed. We could not leave it to the existing black pressure groups, which were concerned to love up to the Race Relations Board, to organise any fight.

65,000 leaflets on the law lords' ruling and the need for a massive turn-out on the demonstration against it on Sunday 22 July have been produced and should get wide distribution. Signatures for the appeal by trade unionists against the lords' decision, published in Socialist Worker, were needed urgently.

Socialist Worker editor Roger Protz said the rapid growth of IS posed particular problems for the paper. Many of the younger recruits were outside the political traditions of older workers, such as the Labour Party, and were asking fundamental questions—such as the meaning of socialism and workers' control—that IS tended to take for granted.

Socialist Worker needed to give space to answer these questions. The keen response to Chris Harman's series You Can Say That Again! showed the need for such articles. The paper was planning a series of articles on basic socialist ideas that would be reprinted in cheap pamphlet form.

Stronger

Protz agreed that the lack of regular articles on working-class history was a serious weakness in the paper and criticised the IS History Group for its lack of interest in the paper. Steps were being taken to improve this aspect of the paper's coverage.

He added that the paper also had to give a stronger political lead to our industrial members. This meant that IS executive committee would have to devote more time to discussing the paper and commissioning important articles.

Circulation manager Margaret Renn reported that sales had been rising steadily until the end of the university term. But the fall in orders had been much smaller this summer compared to previous years, a sign of the growth of industrial sales. She was confident that the weekly print order would climb rapidly beyond 30,000 this autumn.

She appealed to all members to make a special drive for extra postal subscriptions, using the new folder produced by the paper. Postal subscriptions were an important way of bringing in much-needed revenue for the paper.

Unstable

Introducing a discussion on political perspectives, Chris Harman said that despite the present boom, British capitalism was still unstable.

The government had held off some workers, such as gasmen and health workers, but the trade union movement as a whole had suffered no serious defeats. The retreats and waverings by the union leaders were driving small but key sections of militants to the left of Jones, Scanlon and the Communist Party—a trend shown at several recent union conferences.

Rising prices could not be stopped by the Tories. Living standards would continue to decline. A growing number of militants wanted a confrontation with the government and the autumn and winter were likely to see an explosive situation developing.

Wage drift—the ability of well-organised workers to push up wages above nationally-agreed levels—would increase because of the shortage of labour in many areas. Other groups of workers, such as the Perkins workers in Peterborough, will join the fight because of the frustrations felt by being outside the wage drift areas. Battles for parity would develop.

Because of the urgent need to discuss the coming industrial struggles against government and employers and to identify IS work at rank and file level, the national committee agreed to prepare for a major non-delegate industrial conference this autumn for IS members and supporters.

NEXT MOVE FOR THE ENGINEERS

THE industrial committee of the International Socialists discussed the claim to be lodged by the Engineering Unions in the autumn when it met at the weekend.

Roger Rosewell reported that although the Confederation of Engineering Unions had approved the claim, there was no real enthusiasm among the leaders for fighting for it. There had been no real analysis of the claim at the confederation conference, nor any proper discussion on the experience of the struggle in the Manchester area last year.

Union leaders, Scanlon, Moss Evans and Crispin had all indicated that the claim would not be as costly to the employers as it seemed, because many engineering workers were already on the minimum rates it demanded. Power in the engineering industry lies with the big, well organised combines, where wages are already relatively high and the wages aspect of the claim would have little effect.

This will cause militants difficulty. Clearly, with today's massive price rises, there is need for a fight on wages. But the claim presented by the unions will make it difficult to rouse enthusiasm for such a fight among the strongest sectors of engineering workers.

The total won by the engineering unions for their members in national negotiations in the past 13 years was £2.32. Some union leaders conclude from this that there should be no national struggle over wages, only local struggles and local negotiations. But the reason the sum was so small was there had never been a national fight, said Rosewell. This was needed now more than ever.

The formulation of the present claim makes this difficult. The sort of struggle that could really lead such a slogan would be 'Plus five, minus five'—£5 all round on pay, five hours all round off the working week.

The committee also discussed the need to step up the campaign inside the labour movement over the question of the Shrewsbury conspiracy trial. In Coventry and Edinburgh union branches and trades councils had been pushed into taking action, but in many other areas the campaign had hardly got off the ground. It was up to militants to ensure that it did in the weeks leading up to the beginning of the main trial in the autumn.

Strikers battle with union-basher

TAMWORTH:—Workers at Polymathic Engineering are on strike in defence of their newly-built trade union organisation.

There had been no union at all in the factory until April last year, when workers were put on short time while staff did their work. About four-fifths of the workers joined the Engineering Union.

The company refused to recognise the union. Director Charles Smith, told the workers: 'We have had a letter from outsiders, representing a certain union, which, by the way, is not registered... We do not want our problems dealt with by outsiders... Those few troublemakers within our walls if not satisfied can go and make trouble elsewhere.'

But at the end of last year, the company suddenly agreed to recognise the union and allow shop stewards for a trial of six months.

But hostility towards the union remained. Charles Smith said in March: 'Under no circumstances will union officials be invited on to these premises, nor will internal matters be discussed between the board and any union.' He had recognised the union as a ploy to gain time and was determined to crack down again when the chance presented itself.

The Engineering Union officially supported the May Day strike and called the members out at Polymathic. A notice from Smith appeared on the works notice

board on 30 April warning: 'Anyone absenting himself tomorrow without a medical certificate must be prepared to accept the consequences of his decision.'

Twenty-six of the 40 workers ignored the threat and obeyed the union's call. When they returned to work on the Wednesday, they were met by Charles Smith and the sales director, Ron Pickering, and asked: 'Were you on strike or were you ill?' Those who answered: 'On strike' were given notice to quit. The members were left with no alternative but to strike.

The company tried to use the Industrial Relations Court against the union, but it ruled that: Management was inexperienced in negotiating with a union, and that its actions were 'provocative'.

The strikers are asking for support from trade unionists in Birmingham and Coventry. Two, Keith Smith and Ken Barnes, spoke to a meeting of stewards from GKN Forgings and Presswork last week. The stewards voted them £10 from the stewards' fund and collected £116 from shop-floor workers.

Similar action is needed from other factories in the area. Unless firms like Polymathic are brought to heel, other maverick employers will try attacking union organisation.

The strike is official and collection sheets, as well as details of the firm's products, are available from AUEW Offices, Anson Street, Rugeley, Staffs.

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

TEESIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting: THE UNPLEASANT AND UNACCEPTABLE FACE OF CAPITALISM. Speaker: Tony Cliff. 8pm. 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 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Family of six given one day to leave tied cottage

TWO days after herdsman Brian Beard handed his employer a sick note he was sacked—and given one day to leave the tied cottage that went with the job.

Brian, his wife Barbara, and their four children held out for a week, then had to spend three nights sleeping crammed together in their car. Now Warwickshire County Council is paying £61 a week for them to stay in a boarding house—and the man who evicted them is chairman of the new Warwickshire County Council.

Brian, who is 35, has been a farm-worker since he left school. He had been working for a little over a month at Manor Farm, Barton-on-the-Heath, when he went to see his doctor complaining of

chest pains. The doctor told him the infection was connected with his work with cows and gave him a note to stay off work for two weeks.

He gave this to the farm manager, Mr Meadows, who returned two days later with Brian's cards. 'He told us we must leave the cottage by the following day,' said Mrs Beard. 'He said it was needed for another worker.'

The family left the cottage after a week, not knowing that under the Rent Acts they have the right as tenants to a minimum 28 days notice. Mr Beard's employer, Dr I A B Cathie, does not have the excuse of ignorance. Not only is he chairman of the county council, but he is also on Shipston Rural Council Housing Committee.

Mr Beard went to speak to Dr Cathie

at his home, Barton House, Barton, a few days after he and his family left the cottage. Dr Cathie refused to let the family have the cottage back, even for the statutory 28 days. 'You will have to sue me,' he told Mr Beard.

Meanwhile the county council must look after the family its chairman has evicted. This may mean separate hostels for Mr and Mrs Beard, while their two girls aged 13 and 11 and two boys aged nine and seven go into children's homes.

There is just a slim chance that the family may be offered a house by the rural council. Mr Beard has not lived in the council's area the required six months to qualify for a house, but this rule can be waived by the housing committee—of which Dr Cathie is a member.

Women fight hostile convenor

COVENTRY:—Girls at the GEC Spon Street works have been battling against the company and their own AUEW convenor in attempts to get their new piecework jobs retimed.

Young women working on a basic £13 a week have watched their bonus earnings drop to a pittance since changed materials were introduced. The stewards demanded a retiming of the job but met with a blank refusal. 'No retiming,' said the company, 'there's a wage freeze on.'

After 10 days with work blacked and seven girls sent home, the whole floor of 200 women walked out.

They mounted a picket to stop lorries entering the works and managed to collar convenor Albert Beardmore, but he gave them no help.

Meanwhile he was engaging in his own kind of so-called union activities. First he declared: 'I'm not having my men laid off for a bunch of silly girls.' Then he told drivers to please themselves whether they crossed the picket—with the result that one picket was knocked over.

When the personnel manager, Mr Lambert, arrived outside the shop steward's meeting, Beardmore invited him to the meeting, saying to the women: 'You'd better listen to what this man says.' Lambert then announced that he had called the police to sort out the unruly pickets.

Beardmore didn't waste his chance to attack his AUEW deputy convenor, Elsie Noles, who with the TGWU deputy convenor is supporting the strikers. Perhaps to a bad convenor a well-liked militant deputy and a bunch of organised, self-confident women workers is the biggest threat of all.

Refused

The worthy Beardmore has shaken his fist at the pickets, threatened to resign unless his stewards come to him, not his deputy, and warned of union discipline and isolation. The only thing he hasn't threatened is the management.

Last Thursday the joint union co-ordinating committee, with Beardmore absent, decided to back the strike. One section came out the same day. When the 200 strikers came to a mass meeting they refused to let Beardmore speak until Elsie Noles was fetched.

She told them of the committee decision and said they were putting up a fine fight. It was the first time anyone could remember a floor walking out and forming pickets. Beardmore, shouting down questions and jeers, told the women their strike was 'illegal' since he alone was able to give management notice of strikes.

Again and again he tossed out that word 'illegal' until the meeting became disrupted. Then the vote was taken whether to go back after the holiday and give seven days' notice of strike or whether to stay out. By 92 to 66 the women voted to go back.

Doubtless Albert Beardmore is enjoying these two weeks on holiday, having shown the company he could command the strikers back with no gains—as he has done with other workers recently.

But AUEW and TGWU members in Coventry are beginning to ask what can you do with a convenor who gives drivers the go-ahead to smash through joint union pickets. And there are 66 young women at GEC Spon Street who are using their two-week holiday to think up some good answers.

ROCHDALE IS public meeting

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. Speaker Tony Cliff, Thursday 26 July, 8pm, The Old Clockface, Toad Lane, Rochdale.

WOMAN PICKET HURT BY BLACKLEG DRIVER

ECCLES, Lancashire:—A driver trying to break through the picket line at Salford Electrical Instrument knocked down a woman striker, dragging her 100 yards and injuring both her legs last Friday.

It is the second time in the seven-week strike over equal pay that someone has been injured on the picket line.

The police refused to take action against the driver, claiming that the incident took place on private property. Yet only hours earlier they had arrested a girl during the third mass picket called in an attempt to close the factory.

But it was the smallest mass picket so far. The first brought out hundreds of clerical and engineering union members from all over Manchester—and car-loads of police. After two hours AUEW district secretary Bernard Panter called off the picket, promising to do all in his power to 'quadruple the size of the next picket.'

HELP

He did not even attend the next mass picket himself. Fellow members of the Communist Party explained that he was ill, although he 'recovered' sufficiently to attend a funeral later in the day. Letters informing convenors of the picket never arrived.

The third picket, on Friday, received even less support. As one of the engineering workers from the nearby Gardners factory said: 'I came to close the factory and really help these strikers, not just to be an hour late for work.'

Harry Tonge, the factory's AUEW convenor who is still working, still has his credentials, despite attempts by many AUEW members to get them taken away from him. The behaviour of APEX chief staff representative Joe Sharkey, a member of the Communist Party, has also



Police stand guard as strike-breakers cross the official picket line

been rather dubious. He has been having private negotiations with management and trying to get his members back to work.

Many of the 28 strikers still holding out are dissatisfied with the way the strike has been run. 'There's been little co-ordination and few meetings during the strike. If you wanted to know anything you had to ask,' said Norma Stevens.

'When I first came out I didn't even know what a picket line was. We needed looking after. But now we

know that when a driver approaches, you stop him, ask to see his union card, argue with him and if that doesn't work, stop him going through. We've learnt that much, but when we didn't agree with the way the strike was going we tended just to grumble amongst ourselves and that's when people started going in. Now we want to know everything that's going on.'

SUPPORT

The urgent need now is to spread the blacking throughout the GEC combine. During the past week a delegation has been to GEC factories all over the country. 'The response has been fantastic,' Gerry Roberts, one of the APEX stewards, told Socialist Worker. 'Everywhere we went we found support.'

'At GEC Telecommunications, Coventry, when the bosses tried to keep us out, the APEX members threatened a walk-out if we weren't allowed in. What we need now is to build a strong combine organisation throughout GEC. The GEC Rank and File paper should be going into every GEC factory in the country.'

100 SPARKS SACKED

STIRLING:—The 100 electricians on the new chipboard plant being built for Scottish Timber Products at Cowie are picketing the site entrances this week after being sacked.

On Thursday last week the men were given two hours notice that their employers, Woodall Duckham, had been relieved of the contract because the firm was not getting the work done fast enough. Their services too were no longer required, they were told.

But a new electrical services contractor has been appointed—Balfour Kilpatrick, unlike Woodall Duckham, a member of the

Joint Industry Board scheme for electrical contracting.

This reactionary scheme forbids site level wage bargaining and restricts the rights of shop stewards in many other ways. It is to enforce this agreement on the site that Scottish Timber has brought in Balfour Kilpatrick.

The new firm has also announced it will employ a much reduced labour force—at lower wages. The pickets are demanding continuity of employment for all the sacked men and are insisting the new contractors must meet the wages which Woodall Duckham were paying.

was chairing a meeting on, ironically, 'Marketing Merseyside's Advantages'.

Chataway promised to have a word with the Bolivian Ambassador.

John Carron, spokesman for the Action Committee, told Socialist Worker: 'We're not prepared to be victims of a financial swindle by big business. We're concerned with keeping the factory open and maintaining the present level of jobs.'

The pressure and co-operation of all trade unionists is needed if the men from Williams Harvey are not to be added to Kirkby's unemployment rate of 17 per cent. The factory is the largest tin smelter in Britain, and processes half of Bolivia's total ore output.

Tin smelter 500: We'll fight

KIRKBY, Lancashire:—About 500 workers at Williams Harvey tin smelters face redundancy when the run-down of the factory starts in two weeks time.

Williams Harvey is a subsidiary of Consolidated Tin Smelters, who are selling the factory. The low-grade Bolivian ore which the factory smelted will now go to a plant in Capper Pass, near Hull, owned by Rio-Tinto Zinc.

But a liaison committee has been formed to stop ore in Liverpool docks and in transit being diverted to Capper Pass. Members of the Williams Harvey Action Committee demonstrated outside the St George's Hotel in Liverpool on Friday when Christopher Chataway, Minister for Industrial Development,

Wives march over prices

SALFORD:—More than 150 people, mainly housewives, marched through the privately-owned city shopping precinct last Saturday. For many this was their first demonstration, but the message came through clear and simple: Prices down! Profits down! Wages up!

There are more than 4000 families living on the precinct estate in 40 blocks and high-rise flats. As one speaker said: 'It's no good being angry in our little boxes and taking it out on the rest of the family. Today is the first time we have got together. It is a magnificent first step.'

The demonstration was organised at short notice by the Ellor Street group of the Salford International Socialists.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

Trade Union _____

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

2-1 TO END DISPUTE

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Perkins bosses withdraw 'no parity' statement

PETERBOROUGH: Workers at Perkins Engines voted two to one to return to normal working on Tuesday, ending 15 weeks of dispute.

The men accepted management's retraction of their industrial relations director's statement that the company had definitely not conceded parity.

The company has been shaken by the solidarity and strength on the shop floor and has clearly instructed supervisors to stop provoking the men. Whether the same attitude continues after the

coming two-week holiday remains to be seen.

Shaken the company may be, but it has given little away, whatever AUEW executive member Bob Wright may claim. One senior steward said of the agreement: 'All we've achieved is a vague commitment. Whether it is honoured is another thing. We are going to have to fight and next time we must be clear on what we want. The claim needs to be much better formulated.'

Of the present settlement, he said: 'This only says that different wage awards at different factories may be agreed. In other words they may not.'

Nowhere in the agreement is the word 'parity' mentioned nor, more important, is there a timetable for closing the gap between Perkins' rates and Massey Ferguson's at Coventry. Whether the men can close the gap depends not upon the agreement but on the fight next time.

The recently-formed Perkins branch of the International Socialists decided at its latest meeting to keep the issues of parity before the workers and to do everything to strengthen shop-floor organisation. Next time the willingness to fight must not be squandered by the manoeuvrings of full-time officials.

Heath fools print unions

LONDON: Few things expose the real motives behind the government's 'anti-inflation policy' more than the Fleet Street wages dispute.

Under a deal pushed through last October, the Fleet Street printers should have a wage increase due this October brought forward to July. The reason is that prices have been more than the official index figure of 177.4 for two months, the condition in the agreement for the rise to come into effect early.

But the Pay Board ruled that this would break the 'anti-inflation' law. In other words, wages must be held back while the cost of living goes on rising.

If the print unions accept this situation, their members lose out in two ways. First, they lose an 8 per cent wage increase for three months—an average £60 each.

This £60 a head will go to help newspaper proprietors to continue clocking up the record profits of the past few months. Profits of Beaverbrook Newspapers (Daily Express) have trebled, of News International (Sun, News of the World) increased by £9 million, and Associated Newspapers (Daily Mail) have made £8.6 million.

The printers are likely to lose out over the government's scheme to stop workers getting more than one wage increase a year. So however much prices rise from now on, the printers will not be allowed a second increase until October next year.

Even if some 'under the counter' method is found to pay the £60 due between now and October, the printers are still likely to lose out.

Yet the unions seem to be doing their best to work out a compromise. There has been talk of the increase being paid into the unions' pension fund or the workers getting an extra day's holiday in the New Year.

The union which last week seemed the most militant, NATSOPA, had told its members to go for the increase on a 'paper by paper' basis. But this means that workers whose union strength is weak won't get much of a rise. All union leaders are carefully avoiding making any real challenge to a government law they denounce with militant words when on conference platforms.

Double pay -to ditch pro-Caetano leaflets

THE advertising slogan of the London employment agency which the Portuguese government has been paying to give out pro-Caetano leaflets during the dictator's visit to London this week is 'Have a happy Alfred Marks day'.

Thanks to Royal Docks shop steward Tony Delaney that is just what the 100 students who were stupid and poor enough to sell their labour to the agency did have.

Tony Delaney, militant and socialist, found the pub where the leaflet distributors were assembling on Monday and struck a deal with them. He assured them that he would get their wages doubled—provided they agreed to throw the leaflets away.

The agency, embarrassed by press publicity, agreed to pay higher rates. Indeed, in an agreement made with Tony Delaney, Sidney Marks, a director of the agency, stated: 'I do solemnly and sincerely undertake that all persons who are members of the TGWU represented by Mr Anthony Delaney' would be paid £1 an hour for the six hours worked on Monday.

Mr Marks was unaware that the work involved little more than a few quick visits to a large dustbin on a nearby building site.

Tony Delaney told Socialist Worker: 'It gave me great pleasure to organise these people to get higher wages for chucking fascist literature into dustbins. It was a small gesture in support of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guine and those in Portugal itself, such as Aureliano Santos, a Lisbon docker who has been in prison without trial since 1971 for attempting to organise a strike in the port.'

The Portuguese dictatorship is not the only exploiter that has benefitted from the remarkable services of the Alfred Marks bureau in recent weeks.

Two weeks ago Alfred Marks entered what is potentially an even more lucrative



The Black Workers Movement contingent on the 10,000-strong march through London on Sunday protesting at the visit of Portuguese dictator Marcel Caetano. Inset: Francisco Salgado, a deserter from the Portuguese army, who told the marchers assassinations, torture and atrocities were part of everyday life in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. Members of the International Socialists supported the demonstration. PICTURES: Christopher Davies (Report).

field—providing strike-breakers.

Two of the major tinned fruit suppliers for Sainsbury, British Brazilian of Silvertown, London, and Chingford Fruit Packers of Woolwich, were hit by strikes. The companies contacted the Alfred Marks Bureau, which dutifully supplied scabs. They were paid 70p an hour for nightwork, without insurance cards, just like the Caetano leaflet distributors.

Fine Tubes : The cash-in

UNION members should not lift the blacking of Fine Tubes, Plymouth, although the strike is over, Harry Urwin, Transport Union deputy general secretary, told the union's conference at Brighton last Friday.

Members should step up the blacking and put the firm out of business, he said, speaking for the executive against a motion containing a gentle censure for the executive's lack of a lead to win the three-year old dispute.

Such a fine militant speech would have sounded a bit more authentic if made before the strike was defeated, thanks largely to the union leaders' refusal to organise a real campaign against Fine Tubes.

Many delegates were not fooled, although the motion critical of the executive was not carried. Wally Boughton, from Ford, said Fine Tubes was a black page in the TGWU's history. Charlie Tomlinson, from ICI Severnside, insisted that his plant would go on blacking

NCB explains away mine disaster

SOUTH WALES: The disaster at Cynheidre Colliery at Pontyberan near Llanelli had hardly happened on Monday than National Coal Board spokesmen were busy explaining that this was no dangerous pit and the incident in no way resembled the disaster at Lofthouse, where seven men died.

Donald Davies, the board's area director, said the two missing men, 35-year-old Michael Williams and 52-year-old Frank Evans, must be presumed dead. He admitted that the pit had its share of accidents, but added: 'This is not easy territory geologically and by coalfield standards the number is reasonable.'

On Tuesday Michael Williams, one of the two men presumed dead, walked out alive.

PRIVATE PATIENTS BAN BECOMES STRIKE

PORTSMOUTH: Hospital workers walked out on strike on Tuesday when trade unionists operating a ban on private patients were threatened with the sack. The hospital secretary at St Mary's Hospital had tried to break the four-month ban by picking out individual workers and ordering them to work with private patients. When they refused they were threatened with dismissal.

Members of the public employees' union, NUPE, immediately began a sit-in, then walked out. Union members at the Royal Portsmouth and the sterile supplies department of Queen Alexandra Hospitals struck in sympathy.

The workers' action against the priority given to private patients puts them at the front of the struggle to defend the National Health Service against private medicine. They are setting an example which should be taken up by hospital workers throughout the country.

Messages of support to: Sid Parkinson, NUPE Branch Secretary, 29 Minstead Road, Eastney, Portsmouth.

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