

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 10p

INTIMIDATION?

Yes, Grunwicks use it every day in their factories—page three

TRIAL OF STRENGTH

—centre pages

GRUNWICKS:

A test for us all

'GRUNWICKS is a litmus test, perhaps a turning point, in our political and constitutional life'.

So says Sir Keith Joseph, multi-millionaire building contractor and Tory economic spokesman.

In one way, he's right. Sir Keith wants a society where 'businessmen' like George Ward, the Grunwicks boss, are free to

□ Employ people at starvation wages (£25 for a 35-hour week at Grunwicks).

□ Dominate and insult workers in the workplace. (At Grunwicks, workers couldn't talk to one another, and had to ask permission to go to the toilet).

□ Use the police including the thugs of the Special Patrol Group and the secret police of the Special Branch, to break picket lines.

Strong trade union organisation is the great enemy of the so-called freedoms that Joseph and his allies support.

There are ten million other workers in this country not in trade unions. They work in hotels, like the workers sacked for joining the Transport Union by Trust House Forte, they work in catering, they work in the sweatshops like Grunwicks which exist in every industry.



For all these workers Grunwicks is the test. It is the turning point.

If the Grunwicks workers win then thousands of other workers will have the confidence to join the trade unions and fight against rotten conditions and rotten wages.

If the Grunwicks workers lose then other employers will step up their efforts to drive out trade union organisation.

The battle of Grunwicks is a battle for trade union organisation itself.

It is a battle that still hangs in the balance.

On Tuesday the police were still managing to get scabs and materials into the factory, despite the mass picketing. This was because many of the promises of support from the trade union movement have not yet been turned into action.

Resolutions and donations are not



1 Who are these two young blokes on the Grunwicks picket line on Monday morning? Just two ordinary workers? Not on your nelly. They're secret policemen on the look-out to tip off their uniformed pals about which pickets to arrest.

enough. Thousands of pickets are needed.

There are thousands of workers in factories across London who ought to be on the Grunwicks picket line until the factory is shut down.

Every trade unionist in Britain must ask herself or himself: What can I do to aid the Grunwicks picket this week? What numbers we can get down to the mass picket at 7am when the scabs go in.

Otherwise, despite all the fine talk, the Wards, the Josephs, the professional strike breakers, can enjoy a notable victory over the right of workers to join unions.

Secret Police kicked off the picket line

PICTURES: John Sturrock (Report) and Mark Risher (IFL)

2 Bad luck on the spies. The pickets rumbled them when they were seen talking to top coppers. They were booed and hooted off the picket line. But not before one of their pals had thrown a milk bottle at the scabs' coach.



3

One spy takes refuge in the police coach. But what about the other? He walked off down the road. Yans Mintoff, one of the pickets, told Socialist Worker: 'The man in the red shirt turned up at the end of the road. He saw me, and started hitting me. He landed five punches on my face... then cleared off. Not only patriotic, doing their duty. But brave as well.'



PRINTERS STRIKE IN PROTEST

NEWSPAPER workers at the Sunday Telegraph went on strike last Saturday in protest against an article in the paper calling on readers to send their films to Grunwicks for processing.

The workers demanded that

the offending paragraph be taken out of the paper. The editor refused.

The workers only agreed to return to work when promised a 500 word article in next week's Sunday Telegraph to put the Grunwicks strikers'

case. The paper lost 200,000 copies, and a lot of profit.

And the print workers had struck a greater blow for the freedom of the press in four hours than the Sunday Telegraph has managed in 17 years!

FORD

'For years we have been treated like cattle, herded in and out of the plant whenever the company wants'



Shop steward address a meeting inside the occupied Body Plant



Peter McMonagle (top) and Bob Overstone: 'Ford have already proved they can afford to pay us lay-off pay. Last week they were prepared to keep workers on pay doing nothing inside the plant to try and break the pickets outside'.

Roma Samy (left) and Hafizur Rahman on picket duty outside Fords PTA plant at Dagenham.



'WHAT do we want? 80 per cent lay-off pay! That is why workers in the Paint Trim and Assembly (PTA) plant have brought the whole of Ford's operations at Dagenham to a standstill.'

'We want to decasualise Fords—a week's work or a week's money. Don't believe what you read in the press—lay-off pay is the issue, not the garbage you

read in the Sun about one man holding the whole of Ford's to ransom.

'For years we have been treated like cattle, to be herded in and out of the plant whenever the company wants,' says Razvi, shop steward on the trim line.

Stewards

'We are sick and tired of being continually laid off. Hardly a week goes by without the layoff threat hanging over us,' maintains Brian Elliot, TGWU convenor of the PTA.

'With this continuous uncertainty, our lads just cannot see their way to paying their bills.'

After the layoff in February the plant accepted the policy from the shop stewards that they would fight layoffs by picketing all five plants on the Dagenham estate. So when the company laid off the PTA day shift last week, the fight was on for 80 per cent layoff pay for disputes over which PTA workers have no control.

The results have been swift and devastating. Fords UK is grinding to a standstill, and their European operations are being severely affected.

This magnificent action was taken in the face of fierce opposition from trade union officials and some convenors. Johnnie Davis, a deputy convenor in the Engine Plant, recommended the transport drivers to cross the picket lines.

The fight against the layoffs has united both day and night shift PTA workers as never before and has gained wide support from workers in the Foundry, Engine and Body Plants.

Fords management also did everything they could to undermine the action.

Peter McMonagle and Bob Overstone, final line workers, explain: 'Ford have already proved they can afford to pay us layoff pay. Last week they were prepared to keep workers on pay doing nothing inside the plant in order to try and break the pickets outside.'

Support

But, as Hafizur Rahman and Rama Samy, who work on the front suspension line, said: 'In the past the company relied on us being divided between the shifts. Now we are getting 100 per cent support.'

'We have no confidence either in the trade union officials. It is us, the rank and file, who have got the company on the run, and not the trade union officials, who never gave us any leadership at all.'

In the face of this unprecedented action, the company is powerless. They will now look to the trade union officials to get them off the hook.

Shop stewards in particular are worried that the company may try to set the Assembly Plant against the Body Plant by offering a package deal on layoffs that will demand agreement on a harsher disciplinary code for all Ford workers.

The PTA pickets have shown that the 80 per cent layoff money without any strings can be won. It will be a historic victory against one of the most vicious and calculating companies in the world.

Irish Labour Party takes a battering

by EAMONN McCANN

The Irish Labour Party emerged battered and in bits from last week's General Election, which swept Jack Lynch's Fianna Fail back into power.

Against a background of rampant inflation (14 per cent and rising) persistent high unemployment (10 per cent plus), decaying social services and fierce repression, Fianna Fail took 84 out of 147 seats—a massive majority by Irish standards.

Labour has paid a high price for four years in coalition government with the right-wing Fine Gael. With lost votes and seats, and morale at rock bottom, the factions within it are now gutting one another in public as the search for a scapegoat begins.

The party ran a joint campaign with Fine Gael ('The Team You Can Trust') appealing for 'moderation' and 'responsible government'. It was a style of 'socialism' which owed more to James Callaghan than James Connolly and which totally failed to ignite the enthusiasm of working-class voters.

With official Labour in total disarray, opportunities will open up for the left. This was shown by the support for independent anti-coalition Labourites, one of whom won a seat.

And for the first time there were women's candidates in the field. Although none of them fought for revolutionary politics the extent of their support—one polled more

than 3000 first preferences—make it clear that Irishwomen are at last moving into political action on their own account.

One of Lynch's first appointments as Taoiseach (Prime Minister) will be with the delegation asking him to intervene against brutality and torture by the army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

That torture will be the order of the day in Northern Ireland for some time to come is obvious from the announcement that Major General Timothy Creasy is to be the army's new commanding officer.

Repression

Creasy comes with battle honours from Kenya, Aden and Oman, where he headed the Sultan's mercenary force from 1972-75 and was condemned by the Red Crescent (eastern equivalent of the Red Cross) for sanctioning 'interrogation techniques' including the plucking out of finger and toe nails, tying detainees in sacks and dipping them alternately in boiling and freezing water and forcing prisoners to stand on one leg for several hours.

Creasy's activities in Oman were defended in parliament against the Labour left by the then Minister for Defence Roy Mason.

Mason is now Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. No doubt He is looking forward to renewing his old partnership with the savage Creasy.

Picture: John Sturrock (Report)



Thousands of people, mainly students, marched through London last Saturday, one year after the black uprising in Soweto, South Africa. But the organisers of the demonstration, the executive of the National Union of Students, tried to prevent a representative of the Soweto students speaking at a rally afterwards. The majority of the demonstrators rejected this insult and instead attended a separate rally called by the National Organisation of International Socialist Societies, the Southern Africa Solidarity Campaign and the Socialist Students Alliance, addressed by Barney Makgathe of the Soweto Students Representative Council.

Shock for Powell

ENOCH POWELL met an angry picket of 70 anti-racists when he went to Swansea to speak to a local Tory group.

The Tories, who paid £5 a head for a meal of turkey and racism, were outnumbered three to one by the pickets. Among the pin-striped Powellites were a professor of philosophy from the local university and two of his staff.

The picket was organised by the local branch of the Southern Africa Solidarity Campaign.

March against racialism

Saturday 9 July in Manchester
Called by the Trades Union Congress as a national demonstration. Leaves Strangeways Prison, 12 noon.
□ All SWP North West branches and members to support with maximum turn-out

PUBLIC MEETING

The Official Secrets Act.
Speakers: Duncan Campbell (facing 14 years imprisonment under the Act.) and John Hodgman (Scottish organiser, NUJ).

Sunday 26 June 7.30pm, McLeellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.
Organised by NUJ West of Scotland Area Council.

INTIMIDATION?

SUPPORT GRUNWICKS PICKET LINE: Chapter Road, London NW10 (next to Dollis Hill tube station). 7am

INTIMIDATION. Violence. Mob rule. Pickets in such numbers as to frighten those who wanted to work.

That's how the press has presented the Grunwicks story. It is accepted by Labour leaders such as Merlyn Rees, Home Secretary.

They say that the aim of picketing must simply be to have a peaceful chat with strike-breakers. They defend the police when they arrest and beat up pickets who try to do more.

But effective picketing *cannot* just involve a couple of pickets. For the whole point of picketing is to counteract the intimidation of employers.

The intimidation of threatening to sack anyone who does not jump to their beck and call. With a million and a half unemployed, with half the school-leavers unable to get jobs, that is a very powerful weapon of intimidation indeed.

It is a weapon that enables the likes of George Ward, managing director and slave driver at Grunwicks, to persuade miserable wretches from the dole queues to take the jobs of those who had the courage to stand up to his bullying.

It is a weapon that could be used by his class to prevent trade unionism not only in Grunwicks, but in thousands of other sweatshops.

Yes, Grunwicks use it every day inside their factories



Such intimidation will not be beaten by feeble groups of half a dozen people pleading with strike-breakers to listen to their consciences. For those consciences will always be weaker than the fear of being sacked and the lure of other people's jobs.

Only one thing will stop such people helping to destroy whole chunks of the trade union movement, and that is picketing on such a scale that it frightens the scabs more than the threats of Ward and his pals.

If the numbers are big enough, the scabs and the police will retire from the factory and the violence will end—as it ended at Saltley near Birmingham during the 1972 miners' strike as 30,000 engineering workers took to the streets.

But that will not happen at Grunwicks unless we are prepared to meet the threats of Ward and the violence of the police with the organised force of the trade union movement.

To those who say they do not like the idea of using force, we can only reply: 100 trade unionists at Grunwicks have been *forced* out of their jobs for standing up for their rights. It is up to our movement to *force* Grunwicks to let them back in.

Rape? But he's in the Guards...

HE FRACTURED her ribs. He left her with serious internal injuries. He even ripped her earrings out.

So Norwich Crown Court found Tom Holdsworth guilty of rape and causing grievous bodily harm.

For Carol Maggs, aged 17, that attack in Great Yarmouth last summer was just the beginning. She spent two months in hospital, and another two months having treatment as an out-patient.

She was on crutches. She had to have help even to turn herself over in bed. But as Carol says, 'That takes into account of none of the heartache and humiliation which I and my family suffered.'

For then she had to relive it all in court. She had



WIEN: Ex-Guards

to submit to questioning and cross-examination.

And when the wheels of British justice had done their turning, what was the result? The rapist finished up spending less time in jail than Carol spent under treatment.

For Tom Holdsworth is a Coldstream Guardsman. And along to the Appeal Court last Friday came his superiors to plead for him. They made every ex-

cuse. They said he had a promising career. They pointed out he has been doing a good job shooting Republicans in Derry, Northern Ireland.

So Mr Justice Wien, former Major in the 22nd Dragoon Guards, member of the Army and Navy Club, an officer and a gentleman, was deeply moved.

Perhaps he cast his mind back to his friend Judge Griffiths Jones, old Etonian and Colstream Guardsman, who recently let off an armed bank robber 'from the same school and regiment with a suspended sentence.'

Hearing the appeal with Lord Justice Roskill and Mr Justice Slynn, Wien reduced Tom Holdsworth's sentence to six months suspended. He was freed.

Imagine Justice Wien's response if he had been

brutally attacked. Imagine the sentence if, say, a woman striker had caused grievous bodily harm to a policeman.

But his answer to Carol Maggs was that she would have suffered less injury if she had submitted to rape. That's his advice to women. Silly girl, don't struggle, it will only make things worse for you.

This week another judge, Justice Brian Woods, advised a man convicted of having sex with a 14-year-old girl: 'If you can't make do with your wife, pay someone of your own age.'

That's it. Payment by results. Dock it off her housekeeping.

There could be no clearer examples of the sexual double standards cushioned in the law, and in the minds of the decaying men who administer it.



THE LESSON OF SALTLEY

The shutting of Saltley coke depot, near Birmingham, during the 1972 miners' strike shows how to stop the violence at Grunwicks.

Day after day there were clashes (left) between pickets and police as miners tried to shut the depot.

Then 30,000 Birmingham engineers turned out in their support (above). The depot shut. The police gave up. The violence stopped.



EAGER BEAVERS

THE COMPANIES THAT
LOVE THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

CHLORIDE GROUP, one of Britain's biggest battery makers, are trying to force a new productivity deal on their UK workforce. More than a third of the workers are occupying Chloride factories or on strike.

But last week Chloride were happy to announce that negotiations had reopened with the unions. They were even happier to announce that last year Chloride's profits rise by more than a third to over £26 million.

Despite the heart-rending pleas from Chloride's £1,000-a-week chairman and director of the National Enterprise Board, Michael Edwardes, Chloride have not been brought to the edge of bankruptcy by the greedy British workers. Last year each British worker produced £1,163 of profit for Chloride, partly as a result of the company's success in pushing up productivity by 12 per cent.

But Chloride are greedy for profits and want more than this.

The row over productivity has not cropped up suddenly. For years Michael Edwardes—who has over a quarter of his annual £50,000 salary paid to him abroad—has been rabbiting on about productivity in the British factories.

Dared

Over the years the profits made from the traditional Chloride battery business have been ploughed into building up and buying other parts of the Chloride group throughout the world.

As a result the car battery side is much less important to the group now than it used to be, accounting for under a fifth of group sales last year, compared with over two-thirds ten years ago. So the Chloride management have now dared to take on the UK workforce.

They are doing so at a time when Chloride has plenty of wealth stashed away. Profits of the whole

Eyewash from Chloride

group last year were £26,400,000, of which £12,200,000 were made in the UK.

The tax on the UK profits came to only £1.08 million as a result of the generosity of various tax concessions.

Such government treatment has helped Chloride to accumulate profits of £75 million over the years.

In 1974 UK profits were only £7.7 million—or £830 per worker. Last year they had risen to over £1160 per worker.

Soaked

And last week Chloride were forced to admit that last year productivity in the UK car battery factories had risen by 12 per cent—much more than the national average.

Not that the wealth which the workers have produced has been invested in new factories and machines. Last year the

surplus produced by Chloride workers around the world was something like £38 million. Of this, dividends (up by 25 per cent) and interest payments soaked up over £10 million and just under £19 million was spent on investment.

Mind you, this was an improvement on the year before, when less than £12 million of a total surplus of £28 million was invested in new plant.

Which shows up the Chloride management's claim that they have 'done their part to increase productivity' and 'now it is up to the workers to do their bit to increase profits for Chloride's owners.' It's a lie.

SEYMOUR PROPHET

—the bug in the boardroom

SOCIALIST FIST FOR A NAZI

WHEN Britain's leading Nazi, John Tyndall of the National Front, came to Edinburgh to spread his campaign of racist hate in Scotland he received a warmer welcome than he bargained for.

When he emerged from polluting the airwaves of Radio Forth he was met by 150 anti-fascists and some well-aimed eggs. Police arrested four demonstrators, including one SWP member, then rushed Tyndall to Gayfield Square police station.

The demonstrators remained outside reinforced by a contingent from Saturday's Miners' Gala.

Finally police drove a frightened fuhrer to a press conference at a 'secret' destination. Despite elaborate security operations Tyndall again encountered anti-fascist demonstrators and was involved in a small collision with



The collision and the result. The fist, we are glad to report, is fine.

a revolutionary fist.

Police then gave the rat a lift to hospital, where he received six stitches over his eye.

We hope that Tyndall and his Edinburgh henchman

School-leavers: Dole or SWP?

by Keith Gardner

YOUNG Socialist Workers Party members from all over Scotland met at Stirling University for two days to discuss a wide range of topics, from the organisation of school students to the struggle in South Africa.

We had a session on organising teenagers on the dole, looking forward to the Right to Work march in September. Work on this has already begun in Dundee.



Rank and File DIARY

RANK AND FILE TEACHERS SOCIAL: Band and disco, Saturday 25 June, 8.30pm onwards, Ladbroke House, North London Polytechnic, Highbury Grove (Highbury and Islington tube). Admission 70p (unemployed 50p).

Right to Work Campaign PETITION OF THE UNEMPLOYED to the Blackpool Trades Union Congress against the Social Contract. Blank copies available from Right to Work Campaign, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Send stamped addressed envelope.

RIGHTS TO WORK CAMPAIGN BADGES: 35 hours now, Fight for the right to work. Stop the Cuts. Smash the Social Contract. Save our Hospitals. All from the Right to Work Campaign, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4. 10p each (7p postage). Cash with orders please.

The Right to Work Campaign require a plumber and a driver with an HGV license, 1-7 September. For further details, apply 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

SOUTH LONDON HOSPITAL WORKER PUBLIC MEETING. End the Social Contract now. How to win the wages we need. Speaker: Steve Ludlam (NUPE Secretary, Moorfields Eye Hospital). Chairman: John Cousins (NUPE Secretary, St Georges Hospital). Tuesday 28 June, 8pm, Hanover Arms, Kennington Park Road, London SE11.

HEALTH WORKERS ALMANACK: Essential reading for all who care about the NHS. Information and practical advice for all hospital trade unionists. Order now from Hospital Workers, 19 Red Post Hill, London SE24 or phone 01-733 8443—or contribute to the next one.

RIGHT TO WORK CAMPAIGN AND ROCK AGAINST RACISM present Buzzcocks and the Verbsals at North East London Polytechnic, Barking Precinct, Longbridge Road, Barking. Entrance fee 80p, 70p by ticket and 40p for unemployed with dole card. Saturday 25 June, 8.30pm till 1am, bar extension. All proceeds to Chloride Occupation.

STICKERS FROM THE COLLIER, rank and file paper in the Miners Union. 50p for 50, 100 for £1. Cash with orders to The Collier, 38 Abbey Lane, Cundy Cross, Barnsley, South Yorkshire.



THE COLLIER—new format June issue out now. Articles on The Joe Gornley Show, the campaign against a productivity deal, Notts Miners' Gala, Dodworth safety victory, coal allowance deal, Rockingham, opencast mining, 10p a copy, plus 7p postage (subscription: 5 issues for 75p), from The Collier, 38 Abbey Lane, Cundy Cross, Barnsley, South Yorkshire.

HOSPITAL WORKER paper produced by rank and file hospital workers. Issue 8 out this Saturday, 25 June. Order now. Write or phone Hospital Worker, 19 Red Post Hill, London SE24 (01-733 8443).

JUST OUT—2nd edition of RANK AND FILE FIREMAN. Articles on: Witechhunt against R & F Fireman, The Fight for £15, The Lessons of Glasgow 1973. Individual copies 15p, 10 for 50p, 20 for £1 (all post free) from Rank and File Centre, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Cash with orders.

ESSEX TRADE UNION HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK COMMITTEE presents North West Spanner in Safety First... or last? Wednesday 29 June, 8pm, St Martin's Church Hall, Town Centre, Basildon. Admission 35p. Tickets at the door or from committee members. Secretary Paul Tharby, 60 The Rundels, Benfleet. Telephone Rayleigh 79785 (evenings).

Right to Work Campaign LEAFLETS FOR DOLE QUEUE DISTRIBUTION: Join the march to the Blackpool TUC. £1.75 for 500. Money with orders to the Rank and File Centre, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Transport and General Workers Union branch, shouting racist abuse and threats.

So it is vital that Friday's meeting is confronted by a mass picket. A demonstration, supported by all the left-wing organisations, including the Labour Party, has been called and support is expected from as far as Hitchin, High Wycombe and North London.

MASS PICKET: Friday 24 June, 7pm, Warner's End Community Centre, Hemel Hempstead.

Boot boys? There'll be more this year

TURN Grunwicks into another Saltley. That was the message from the National Council of the Right to Work Campaign, which met in Manchester on Saturday.

Delegates left the meeting with large bundles of the campaign's Grunwicks Broadsheet, which was produced last week. The broadsheet outlines the strikers' case and calls for the maximum turn-out for mass picketing again this week.

Paul Lutener, works convenor at British Reinforced Steel Services, called for support for their occupation in Greenwich over victimisation. Council decided to mobilise Right to Work supporters for a day of action on Tuesday 5 July, in solidarity with the occupation.

Mobilise

Council discussed the September Right to Work March. Over 500 unemployed youth will be marching from Liverpool via Skefmerdale to the Blackpool TUC. The march organisers see it as a militant four-day flying picket through one of Britain's worst hit unemployment regions.

The council decided to launch a fund-raising drive to secure the £10,000 necessary to finance the march.

The march will also be an important means of linking the struggle against the Social Contract on the wages front with the plight of those suffering the cuts and mass unemployment. That the march is already sponsored by 73 trade union organisations is encouraging.

As one delegate put it: 'Last year Len Murray accused the unemployed of being Trotskyite Boot Boys. Well, this year there are thousands of us employed boot boys also anxious to smash the Social Contract. And Len Murray certainly does need a boot up ... so, where?'

WHERE WE STAND

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

The workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up, or reformed, as the established Labour and trade union leaders say. It has to be overthrown.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers'

delegates and a workers' militia.

At most, parliamentary action can be used to make propaganda against the present system. Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a world-wide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racialism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against homosexuals.

We are for real, social, economic and political equality of women.

The experience of Russia

demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

Russia, China and Eastern Europe are not socialist, but state capitalist.

We support the struggles of workers in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism, the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests.

We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

We urge all those who agree with our policies to join with us in the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

If you want to know more about Socialist Worker and the Socialist Workers Party, fill in the form on page 16.

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A mugging-but the police look the other way

FOR THE FIRST TIME the plight of the Lewisham 21 who were arrested in dawn raids on 30 May and charged with conspiracy, got national publicity last week from an unexpected quarter: Prince Charles.

His Royal Highness was paying a visit to a local youth club. He noticed a picket by the Lewisham 21 Defence Committee. Brushing aside his security aides, he went to speak to Kim Gordon, secretary of the committee.

After Kim had outlined the details of the police brutality against the 21, the Prince summoned the police chief for the Lewisham division, Commander Rentall.

"Why don't you get together?" he asked sweetly of the fuming policeman.

The Commander reluctantly agreed. This Thursday the committee will meet him in Lewisham Town Hall.

There he will hear the full details of a horrifying dossier being collected by the Defence Committee.

David Foster, the committee chairman, told *Socialist Worker*:

"I thought their treatment of my son was fairly bad, but now I have seen most of the parents and their reports have really staggered me."

Attack

"A Mrs Saunders told me that although she had no children among the 21, the police have been in her house 16 times in the last year to 'check up' on her children."

"A mother of one of the accused, Mrs Robinson, told me: 'It's a disgrace what the police did in my house when they came to arrest my boy. I didn't know they were in the house until one of the police shook me awake.'"

"And my boy, who is on bail for conspiracy, has been arrested since. He was just standing at a bus stop and they got him for 'loitering with intent to steal.'"

"The mother of Peter Reid reported that, in a series of raids on her house, the police 'broke the front door and took it right off its hinges. They also burst in three bedroom doors.'"

"Andrew Macdonald, another accused, was, according to his mother's statement, covered in dry blood on his skin when she met him later on the day of the arrests at the



Prince Charles gets the low-down from Kim Gordon on the Lewisham 21—and the police fume



Victim of the 'master race': Norma Hundleby after being knocked unconscious by members of the Nazi National Front.



Heavily outnumbered, members of the Defence Committee are set upon by the fascists



Faith Foster: heckled and abused for an hour

A PROTEST meeting by the Lewisham 21 Defence Committee being broken up by the National Front on Saturday.

Faith Foster (right), mother of one of those arrested, spoke for an hour about the arrests and about police brutality, to constant chants such as 'National Front is a White Man's Front' and 'Socialist Worker supports Muggers'.

About 20 fascists were faced by about as many supporters of the Defence Committee. Eventually, one fascist ripped the Socialist Workers off one of the committee supporters,

and a running battle ensued.

Three heroes from the master race grabbed Norma Hundleby, an SWP member, and banged her head into the ground until she was unconscious. Norma was taken to hospital, and released the next day.

Throughout all this, there wasn't a sign of the police who had appeared so suddenly the week before to break up a protest meeting and make arrests.

After the Front had broken up the meeting, and after the fighting, the police lackadaisically appeared, and showed no interest. There were no arrests.

The muggers of Norma Hundleby go home in peace, while young black men who deny all mugging charges are arrested at dawn, held without bail and charged with conspiracy, for which the sentences are unlimited.

**Defend the Lewisham 21!
Stop Police Mugging!
Drop all charges!**

**Demonstrate, Saturday 2 July.
Assemble 2pm, Clifton Rise, New Cross Station, London SE14.
All London SWP districts to support**

police station.

"A Mrs Marsh, who has also given David a statement, said that her son was due to take an A-level exam on the day of the arrests.

"When she pleaded with the

police station for bail to let him take his exam, she was told: 'There'll be no bail until he gets to the Old Bailey.'"

David Foster says that his bundle of statements now presents a dreadful picture of

police violence. He intends to put the whole lot to Commander Randall, and to insist that all the charges are dropped and that police stop harassing young black people in the area.

"We are meeting Labour Councillors in Lewisham on Wednesday" he says. And we'll tell them everything we tell Randall. We intend to go on shouting until we get what we want'.

LET THEM BURN!

THAT'S WHAT THE CUTS MEAN TO THESE STEEL WORKERS

THERE WAS once a serious burns unit at Sheffield's Wharncliffe Hospital with 15 beds and adequate staff levels.

Those 15 beds could cope with the most serious burns in the area. This is a bad city for burns, especially in the steel mills, where molten metal often spills onto the ground and fills workers' boots.

The unit has been drastically run down. There are now only nine beds and few staff.

By Lero Reynolds

There's also a three-week waiting list before you can get in—which isn't much help to workers when they get burnt in the factories.

On the day I went into the unit, there was a man there who had lain in another hospital bed for three weeks without being washed or shaved because none of the nurses felt able to cope with his serious condition.

A male nurse said they used to discharge people when they were healthy, but now they discharge cripples because they get their treatment too late.

They're going to close the Wharncliffe soon, and there will be no burns unit at the new Hallamshire, whenever that opens.

There'll just be three beds in the other wards for burns cases.

You can't prevent accidents, but you can stop the cuts.

Number 99
40p (inc post)
6 Coltons Gardens
London E2
or from SW seller

**THE HEALTH SERVICE
THE BRITISH ROAD DEBATE**

International Socialism



TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM Anna Paczuska

Get back to Russia?

East European workers have no independent trade unions. Trade unions there are simply used by the bosses to implement their policies. And workers have no organisations to defend themselves with.

VICTOR HAYNES is a representative in London of the Committee For the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners. Sponsored by defence committees in Europe and Canada, he is going to Belgrade next week. He told Socialist Worker why:

A mock trial of the Soviet authorities was held in London. It made the front page of the Daily Mail. It highlighted religious persecution, psychiatric abuse, censorship and the terrible conditions in Russian prisons. But of the working class and its protests there was no mention. Of the 17 submissions to the mock trial, three came from workers. But no-one took them up.

This is because the right wing and the press in this country which takes up these questions is not interested in workers. They are not interested in workers in Britain, and they are not interested in workers in the Soviet Union either.

Yet workers form the majority of the population. Repression against workers is very much greater. Workers suffer harsher conditions and have a much lower standard of living than the intelligentsia.

This is really what the conference is all about.

Those countries who do the most trade with Russia, like West Germany, are least interested in Human Rights. Those like America which do the least trade are really plugging the Human Rights issue.

They use it as propaganda to cover up the lack of rights in their own countries.

The whole thing is a big farce really. But I am going to Belgrade. And I'll tell you why.

I'm going to talk with the left in Yugoslavia. We are going to raise the question of organising a counter-conference, with representatives from all over Europe.

The governments of 35 countries signed the Helsinki accords. But they have ignored them. The accords guarantee workers rights, such as the right to work and the right to strike, as well as general civil rights.

In reality you see high unemploy-

ment in the west, and in the east you see that workers are used as cheap labour and have no rights with which to defend themselves against the bosses.

The governments of the 35 countries are hypocrites. The Belgrade conference is a joke.

Implement

For working class people, the only way forward is to wage struggles in the individual countries and to support the struggles of workers in other countries.

Western European workers must understand that East European workers have no independent trade unions. Trade unions there are simply used by the bosses to implement their policies. And workers have no organisations of their own to defend themselves with.

In the Ukraine, for instance, more than a million Ukrainian working men cannot find work. They are forced to emigrate to Siberia.

Supposedly they do so voluntarily. In fact they are forced to because they have no way of fighting.

There are jobs. But the use of the Russian language in offices keeps Ukrainians out of well-paid jobs. The best jobs go to Russians.

Blood

A worker wrote to Brezhnev recently:

'Wage rates are very small and limited. Piece rates and tariffs are often revised. There is, however, no improvement in working conditions.

'I have to bring my own tools to work. It seems that more sweat and blood is being paid less.

'Since 1961 the prices have risen sharply in the state stores. The increases have been 30-40 per cent for groceries such as meat, eggs, lard, butter and other high-calories products.

'Prices at stores selling farm produce from private peasants have also risen—by up to twice as much for vegetables, fruit, lard, honey and other products.

Rights

'Our citizens are denied the right to demonstrate, strike or protest in any way. Citizens who disagree are persecuted by the militia, the KGB and at work by the bosses.'

That's how it is in Eastern Europe for workers. It is up to socialists to take up the questions of workers' rights. The Belgrade Conference won't.

Revolutionary socialist organisations should send representatives to the counter conference. The Helsinki accords guarantee the freedom to travel across borders.

We should use that to organise a successful counter conference.'

□ We'll be interviewing Victor Haynes when he returns from Belgrade next month.

Sent to Coventry—flowers

COUNCILLORS in Coventry have decided that the perks that many of them have been enjoying for years now have to be cut back.

They have stopped a £15 a head meal allowance for councillors returning from inspection tours.

They have also stopped a splendid system which allowed councillors to purchase, at cost price from the City Engineer's stores, items such as paint, paving slabs, sand, cement and other building materials.

free passes to public swimming baths and sauna facilities.

A number of councillors have also been receiving flowers from the City Recreation Department. Deliveries have sometimes taken place each week.

The Labour leader of the Council, Mr Arthur Waugh, said he had been getting the flowers for about 15 years.

'It would not have been cheap by any stretch of the imagination for the flowers, surplus to normal requirements, to be delivered

by council vehicles,' he said.

Nevertheless, the council's vehicles have been organising this private little service for councillors for 20 years.

The Director of the Recreation Department claimed it was 'administratively impossible' to arrange for the deliveries of surplus flowers to old people's homes, schools and hospitals in Coventry.

Presumably it was 'administratively impossible' because all the vehicles were out delivering flowers to the councillors.

□ MIDDLESEX Hospital spent £600 on one item for the Jubilee—putting a flag pole on top of the hospital.

At Christmas, the same hospital closed down two wards because of 'lack of money'. The wards were called the Nash and, oddly enough, the Queens.

Middlesex Hospital are also closing down their Clacton Convalescent Home. Now patients will have to recover from operations in the hospital, depriving someone else of a bed.



NEWHAM Rights Centre lawyer Roger Burrige gave the judge at his Old Bailey trial last week some useful advice.

Roger told the court how there were National Front stickers on the Rights Centre.

The judge said: These stickers are jolly difficult to get off aren't they? Would you mind telling me how to do it? I've had a lot of stickers stuck onto my car recently.'

Roger replied—soak them in water and then scrape them off with a knife.

Don't use your fingers. Concealed behind some National Front stickers are razor blades.

The man who thought he was Hadrian...

THE PEOPLE who climb to the top of our society, we are told, are always those best suited to command.

Capitalism, in other words, rewards, the experts, the intelligent, the dynamic and the hard-headed.

Recently the newspapers have been full of the exploits of Howard Hughes, a self-made millionaire and paragon of capitalism.

Hughes started life as a playboy and ended as a lunatic.

He designed an aeroplane which crashed, and directed a film which nobody could watch.

He spent most of his life in the upper rooms of hotels, and anyone who wanted to see him had to take their shoes off before entering.

This was the man who nominated and financed President Nixon.

□ ONE OF the richest British millionaires of past years was Sir John Ellerman, a shipping magnate. Sir John directed most of his enterprise and initiative towards a menagerie of mice which he kept in his hotel suites. He, too, didn't like anyone to come and see

him, let alone speak to him, since that might disturb his mice.

He once announced that his family of mice were more important than the whole human race.

Now comes news of one of the most famous capitalists this century which finally proves the reason and sanity of millionaires.

□ PAUL GETTY, the oil multi-millionaire who could displace governments by a flick of his cheque book, believed strongly in reincarnation.

According to a recent book about him, Getty was sure that he was a reincarnation of Hadrian, the Roman Emperor.

What had he in common with the Emperor? Oh, the usual things:

'Palatial buildings, fine pictures, gold and silver plate—we even share a love of swimming pools, although my two at Sutton Place are very modest compared with those that they had.'

So convinced was Getty that he was the Emperor Hadrian that he based the design for the J. Paul Getty Museum in California on Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

Getty, one of the richest and most powerful men on earth, had, in short, little initiative, little enterprise, and no common sense.

He never read a book or showed the slightest interest in his fellow man.

He was, like so many experts and capitalist geniuses, completely off his rocker.

Have gun, will travel

EDMUND Morrison is the leader of the Leeds-based fascist organisation, the British National Party.

He has just announced that 'any members of the BNP who carried weapons on the streets would be summarily

expelled.'

This is rather odd since Morrison, when manager of Pickfords Travel Agents, used to keep a gun in his desk.

This interesting fact was discovered by a group of SWP members who visited the travel agents to ask for 'six tickets to Nuremberg.'

He claims that 'we (the BNP) have not since our inception broken up one Communist street demonstration.'

They have, in fact, broken up one Labour Party Young Socialists meeting, and attempted to break up a meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

They turned the speaker's table over and left the hall chanting Sieg Heil.

JOHN APPELYARD



John Paul Hadrian, the millionaire and well-known Roman Emperor

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Most people in Britain are behind Mr Ian Smith in his present difficulties, especially in protecting Rhodesia from Marxist-backed guerrillas. Our politicians call him 'obstinate'. I would call his particular characteristic 'guts'...

Human rights? There seem to be human rights for Marxist left-wing blacks but no human rights for Right wing whites in Africa. ... Cecil Rhodes must be turning in his grave.

—The Earl of Clancarty, in the Daily Telegraph.

Socialist Worker

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People try to help a child who bore the brunt of a police tear-gas attack in Soweto

Police killings make sure...

Remember Soweto!

THE South African police were out murdering again last week. The occasion was the first anniversary of the great Soweto uprising, when the young blacks of South Africa rose up against the racist apartheid regime and the police killed more than 500. This time the police responded to the demonstrations and strikes that marked the anniversary by shooting six blacks dead.

FRANCO'S HEIRS RULE, OK?

FRANCO'S HEIRS RULE, OK. But only through a fiddled election system that robbed the powerful opposition parties of seats.

That is the message from last week's elections in Spain. The victor was the so-called 'centre' party of prime minister Suarez, who was leader of Franco's totalitarian fascist party, the Movimiento, only two years ago. He was also one of the government officials responsible for the massacre of striking workers in Vitoria 18 months ago. Now he is being toasted in western capitals as the 'leader of democratic Spain.' The whole state machine had been working 24 hours a day for months to get votes for him. Every state-owned hoarding, every bus, every tube train was plastered with his photo. What is more, the electoral system gave him an in-built advantage. He only got 31 per cent of

the votes—less than the combined vote of the Spanish equivalent of the Labour Party, the big PSOE (28.8 per cent) and the smaller PSP (3.6 per cent). But this gave Suarez 48 per cent of the seats in the congress. The extreme right-wing remnant of Francoism, the Popular Alliance, got only 8 per cent of the vote—less than the Communist Party.

DEMOCRACY

Yet both this party and Suarez' party will be much strengthened in the upper house of parliament, the Senate. For the King appoints a sixth of the senators, and has opted overwhelmingly for members of these two parties. So much for 'democracy'. Spanish big business has been rejoicing at Suarez's election victory. Its aim for a long time has been to establish a parliamentary system which would enable opposition politicians and trade union leaders to play games with the government, while leaving police and the army under the control of Franco's appointees.

Votes on the left express lack of alternative

THE main Spanish Socialist Party, the PSOE, led by Felipe Gonzalez, took the lion's share of the anti-government vote. Yet until a couple of years ago, this party was little more than a shadow from the past. Gonzalez himself is a smart lawyer who played little role in the anti-Franco underground. But virtually limitless finance from the social democratic parties of Western Europe—particularly from Germany—has enabled him to build up his party from next to nothing. The votes he got express the feelings of millions of people who want an end to Francoism, but who are not yet clear what they want to replace it.

Second

Even in the Basque country, where there have been many strikes and clashes with the police, Gonzalez's party took the majority of votes, forcing the traditional opposition, the Basque National Party, into second place and leaving the extreme, more left-wing nationalist parties with only two seats out of 25. The Spanish Communist Party has become notorious in recent years for its 'moderate' Euro-Communist policies. Indeed, many people in Spain now refer to it as 'monarcho-communist' since it declared that it accepted the monarchy.



But its moderation did not do it any good electorally. It received less than 10 per cent of the votes, even though for years it was the backbone of the anti-Franco resistance. In the militant Basque country it received fewer than 5 per cent of the votes, and none of its candidates there were elected. Only in Barcelona did it do well, getting a fifth of the total vote.

Expose

The revolutionary left took part in the elections, not so much to win votes as to make propaganda and to expose what the government was up to. Its vote was well under one per cent—which underestimates by an enormous amount the influence it exerts within the factory and neighbourhood committees that lead many workers' struggles.

It is these struggles which will determine the success or failure of the Suarez government. The danger is that the members of the Socialist and Communist Parties will be under orders not to upset the government too much. The Communist Party has already called, in vain, for a coalition of the workers' parties with the ex-fascists around Suarez. Now it says it will be a 'responsible' opposition to these redeployed thugs.

Israel uses torture

WIDESPREAD and systematic torture of Arabs by the Israeli police appears to be sanctioned as deliberate policy. That is the conclusion of a detailed investigation by the Sunday Times. Some 1.2 million Arabs live in territory seized by the Israeli army in 1967. Resistance to the Israeli occupation included two general strikes last year, affecting hundreds of thousands of Arab workers. As a result of these and other protests there are thousands of Arab political prisoners in Israeli jails. The Sunday Times report on how many of these prisoners are treated concluded as follows:



BEGIN: Ex-terrorist, now prime minister

Shock

'Some of the ill treatment is merely primitive; prolonged beatings for example. But more refined techniques are also used, including electric shock torture and confinement in specially constructed cells. This sort of apparatus, allied to the degree of organisation evident in its application, removes Israel's practice from the lesser realms

are Jewish from anywhere in the world may enter Israel and become a citizen. But some two million Palestinian Arabs in refugee camps around the borders of Israel are not allowed to return to the villages where they were born. The new Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, is one of the leading supporters of the founding ideas of Israel, Zionism. He believes that the Jewish people have a 'historic and holy' right to all the land in Palestine, to build an exclusively Jewish state by driving out the Arab inhabitants.

Terror

He calls the occupied territories seized in the 1967 war 'liberated'. He is actively encouraging more and more Israeli settlements in Arab-owned land in the occupied areas. In the 1940s Begin was the leader of the Irgun, the Zionist terrorist organisation. Their achievements included the massacre of 250 Arab women and children at the village of Dair Yassin. But the Sunday Times' detailed revelations will not lead to any widespread outcry in the British press. If it were

Chile or Russia the response would be different. Instead the newspapers are concentrating their venom on denouncing students in a number of colleges who have taken a stand against the Zionists. In York University the Jewish Society has declared itself 'explicitly Zionist'—that means support for the terror tactics, the racist discrimination, the seizure of land belonging to the two million refugees, and support for torture. Students in York are demanding that recognition of the Jewish Society by the Union Council be withheld until they change their explicit support for Zionism. Members of York NOISS, the student organisation of that supports the Socialist Workers Party, have declared: 'We support unconditionally the right of the Jewish Society to exist as a cultural and religious body within the students union. We support unconditionally the right of all people of all races to live in and participate freely in a secular state in Palestine. It is because we oppose all racism that we oppose an openly Zionist and racist Jewish society.'

VICTORY TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

southern africa

Southern Africa
Solidarity Campaign

BAN THE RACISTS

Demand that South Africa is
banned from International Lawn
Tennis. Picket the International
Lawn Tennis Federation meeting:
Wednesday 29 June, 9.30am,
Savoy Hotel, The Strand, London
W1.

BADGES, in red and black, 20p each (plus 9p postage) or £2 for ten £15 for 100. From SWP International Department, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 (cheques payable to SW International Fund).

**STOP THE MASSACRES!
SOLIDARITY WITH
ETHIOPIAN WORKERS AND
PEASANTS!**

On May Day 1500 workers and students were massacred in Ethiopia—as Colonel Mengistu, head of the ruling Derg, was in Moscow tying up an arms deal with the Russians. Those arms will be used against the freedom fighters in Eritrea and the workers and peasants in Ethiopia.

PICKET THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY: This Friday, 24 June, 4.30pm-onwards, 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8 (nearest tube Notting Hill Gate). Called by the Ethiopian Students Union (UK).

□ **THE POLISH WORKERS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN** is asking for support for the picket of the Russian Embassy instead of its own picket of the Polish Embassy, which has been called off because of the clash. The evening meeting will go ahead as planned: Friday 24 June, 8pm, Regent Street Polytechnic (near Oxford Circus tube).

Grunwicks: Trial of strength

GRUNWICKS, a small film processing firm in North London, has become a battlefield over trade union rights which could affect the trade union movement for years to come.



Violence on the picket line: another police attack

The 90 workers on strike want a union. The factory is being run by scabs, mostly recruited to take the place of the strikers. The scabs wage rates have been raised 25 per cent since the strike began last August. The firm's boss, George Ward, can only carry out his battle against trade unions by

paying the kind of wages he would never have contemplated before the strike.

He is backed by the National Association for Freedom, Tory shadow Ministers and hundreds of police.

If he is victorious, it will not only be the Grunwicks workers who suffer. Firms employing hundreds of thousands of workers in similar conditions will have a sigh of

relief. They will know that powerful trade unions can be beaten.

It looked, last weekend, as if Grunwick's plans were going to be smashed. The mass picket was gaining strength from day to day.

Throughout the trade union movement, people were beginning to talk of a repetition of the huge pickets that closed the Salfley coke depot and won the miners' strike in 1972.

But Roy Grantham—general secretary of the Grunwick workers' union, APEX, lost his nerve at that point. He issued a call to restrict the number of pickets to 500.

The press gave this call enormous publicity. Thousands of workers who had been preparing to join the picket felt they were not needed.

On Monday morning, the police had little difficulty getting the scabs in.

Grantham's move was not just a 'mistake'. He is a man of decidedly right-wing views—responsible, for instance, for a rule that prevents members of the Socialist Workers Party holding any office in his union.

According to Grantham, mass picketing should never be necessary. All that is needed is the election of Labour MPs and Ministers.

That is why, even now, when it is clear that the employers and the police are ignoring the views of MPs and Ministers, Grantham does things that can only sabotage the fight of the Grunwicks strikers.

Grantham's behaviour has been matched by that of many other national and local trade union officials. They make fine speeches about helping the Grunwicks pickets.

But they do little to ensure that vast numbers of their members turn up to shut the factory.

The responsibility for winning this crucial strike rests on the shoulders of rank and file trade union activists. Deeds matter, not words.

Either we get massive delegations to the picket line and do a Salfley.

Or this vital battle could be lost.

What is NAFF?

THE FIGHT for the employers at Grunwicks is being masterminded by the National Association for Freedom.

What is NAFF? Its director, Robert Moss, described it earlier this year as a 'non-party political group which draws support from a broad cross-section of our community'.

Moss himself has written a book about Chile which supports the military overthrow of the elected government in 1973.

Brian Crozier, another prominent member, who founded a CIA-financed information unit called Forum World Features in the 1960s, has written an adulatory biography of Franco, the Spanish dictator.

Viscount de L'Isle, chairman of Phoenix Association and director of at least ten other companies:

Attack

Sir Frank Taylor, chairman of Taylor Woodrow: 'The reason for NAFF is that the day is passed when he could feel totally secure about the free enterprise system. For the time being, the system is under attack.'

Sir John Foster, former Tory MP: 'The public should form an organisation strong enough to equal the pressures of the unions.'

Professor D.R. Denman, professor of land economy at Cambridge: 'Property speculation is part of normal commercial life.'



NAFF boss John Gouriet: his outfit is a menace to every worker

The Tory MPs behind it

THE TORY MPs on the NAFF council have been specially selected for their extreme right wing views.

They include Jill Knight, the anti-abortion campaigner; Rhodes Boyson, the country's leading champion of privilege in the schools; Winston Churchill, who fought the workers at Automat, Manchester; and Nicholas Ridley, who married into the Guest steel and engineering family and therefore is a strong supporter of private enterprise (lolly for Ridley).

NAFF also has its support in the Press, especially the Daily Telegraph.

On its council sits Peregrine Worsthorne, right-wing columnist and deputy editor of the Sunday

Telegraph.

John O'Sullivan, the Telegraph's political correspondent, writes regularly in the NAFF paper, Free Nation.

And last Sunday, Patrick Hutber, the sleazy city columnist of the Sunday Telegraph, actually called on his readers to send their films to Grunwicks!

Effective

But the most effective work done by the NAFF has been in the police and the army, especially the former.

From 1972, NAFF and its side-kick the Institute for the Study of Conflict (director, Crozier; prominent committee member, Moss) have been sending official speakers to police colleges.

In March, 1975, Peter Janke, secretary of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, spoke on 'Urban Terrorism' at the Bramshill Police College. His substantial fee was paid by the Home Office professor at Cardiff University, has also spoken at the College's 'senior command course' on behalf of NAFF.

In the same month, Janke spoke at a top security, heavily-vetted conference of 50 officers from the crack Special Air Services divisions, whose main job is to counter 'terrorism'.

The links between the NAFF organisers and top police and army officers are close. Recently, Robert Mark, the firmly anti-union Metropolitan Commissioner of police, was offered a top

job in Phoenix Assurance, whose chairman is Lord de L'Isle (chairman of NAFF).

The NAFF is the first extreme right wing organisation since the war which could win vast powerful support from British big business.

Non-union

At present, big business is holding back, seeing whether the NAFF can win its spurs. If the NAFF can halt trade unionism at Grunwicks, non-union employers all over the country (like Trust House Forte) will jump on the bandwagon.

That is why the NAFF takes Grunwicks so seriously—and why the whole labour movement should, too.



A scab van arrives at the picket line ...



... and, as usual, the police are only too happy ...

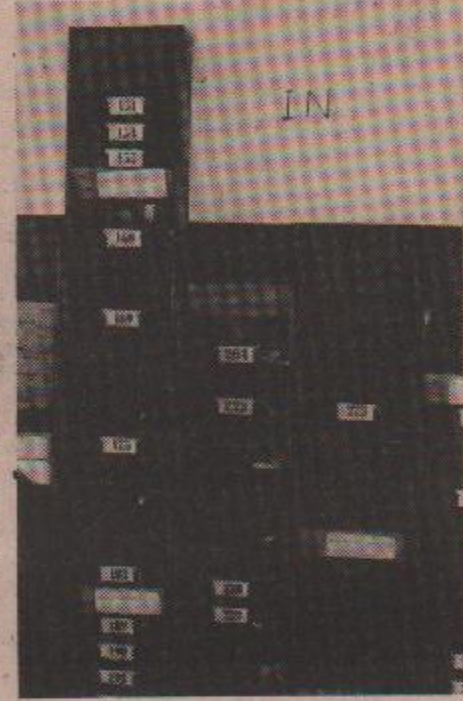


... to smash the picket line and get it through

Conned by the TV

Ex-PC:
I was
kicked
3 times

Press and television reporters were invited into Grunwicks factory last Thursday by the bosses—and by John Gouriet of the National Association of Freedom. They were shown the 'wonderful conditions' (right). They weren't shown the clocking-in cards (far right) which proved that only a small minority of workers were in the factory that day. No wonder everything looked so spacious!



ONE OF the first pickets to be arrested on the first Monday morning of the mass picketing was former policeman Eddie Bassant, now an Enfield fireman and secretary of his Fire Brigade Union branch.

He told *Socialist Worker*: 'We were all standing in front of the gate—about 60 of us. Then the Chief Inspector said that only six could stand in front of the gate. 'None of us moved. He then ordered the police to move in. They must have lifted about 40 people out of that group. I was kicked three times by PC 446Q before I was arrested.'

Arrest

'It doesn't surprise me at all that the police act as a strike-breaking force. They love arresting people.'

'It was their desire to force arrest that finally made me quit the police force.'

'Once at West End Central Station, I was summoned to an inspector's office and told I hadn't made enough arrests. He told me to 'get the wogs—there's plenty of them about'.

'The police are brainwashed at training school. I remember some trainees were told off for not making their arrests aggressively enough.'

'Again, racialism was used to stir us up. We were told to pretend we were arresting blacks. Needless to say the one black trainee quit eventually.'

'They used films of the Red Lion Square demo to work us up for dealing with demonstrations. This was of course the day the police killed the student, Kevin Gately.'



I'VE NEVER SEEN SUCH POLICE VIOLENCE

I REMEMBER the Kevin Gately demonstration—violent yes, but nothing like today.

A few of us had been asked by a steward to go round to the back gate; there were not a lot of us, but many, many police were there. So the scene was set.

There was a small group of pickets and hundreds of police. Then the bus full of scabs arrived and police and pickets lined up against each other in the usual way; people were leaning out, and trying to see what was happening, but no violence against the police.

Gusto

What shocked me was the brutal violence of the police, they were going at us with such gusto, with such obvious enjoyment. There was no question of us doing anything to provoke it—no way—the police were just weighing in, dragging people along the ground, or picking them up

By Mel MacPartland, who was on last Friday's picket

bodily with armlocks around their necks, pushing them, chasing them—so viciously.

We were so outnumbered, they could have just taken people away, we were so few, there would have been no violence from us. But no. They actually enjoyed manhandling people, treating them brutally. The police were obviously not in any danger from the small crowd.

People started screaming and running. One young Indian boy came running past me; he was shaking and in tears and he said, 'I've never seen anything like this.' And I was shaking too.

There was a scuffle, and the police ran amok, grabbing anyone they could lay their hands on, really roughly. When some people's nerve broke, because of the brutal way the

police were handling people, they broke away and ran—and the police chased them.

One policeman leaned out of this green van and told them to stop; they were not supposed to chase after us, and they were obviously reluctant to go back to the picket line—they were having more fun beating up pickets and their supporters!

I saw a young girl with curly hair being dragged along in a vicious half-nelson armlock; another young girl fell down near me obviously in shock, shaking and crying—so frightened; I put my coat around her and tried to comfort her.

Violence

It was awful. Unbelievable. A lot of us, I'm sure did not expect that scale of violence—we were not prepared for that scale of things.

I saw the shock on the face of one very respectable Labour councillor—white and drawn—he couldn't believe his eyes.

POSTMEN: WE'LL GO TO PRISON

'WE'RE waiting for the court order. We'll go to prison if necessary.'

The words of a spokesman for the Post Office workers at Cricklewood sorting office which is currently boycotting Grunwicks' mail. They have been instructed by their lawyers not to give their names in interviews.

'We should have done this months ago. One reason we didn't was because Roy Grantham, general secretary of APEX, didn't ask us to—despite repeated hints that he should.'

Stimulus

'It was the mass pickets that gave us the stimulus we needed to get the resolution through. Tom Jackson is going to have great difficulty persuading us to call off the blacking. Only the branch can do that.'

□ Telegrams, messages of support to UPW members, 243 Cricklewood Broadway, London NW2.

SUPPORT THE GRUNWICK STRIKERS: Stickers, 100 for 20p (inc. postage) from Grunwick stickers, 10 Fairclough Street, London E1. Proceeds to Grunwick strike fund.
BENEFIT for Grunwick strikers: Rock Against Racism/Staff the Jubilee Concert, with Black State and support group. Reggae disco. Friday 24 June, 8pm-11.30pm. SOAS, Malet Street, London WC1. Admission 30p SOAS, 40p others.

Pictures: Andrew Ward (Report)

MARXISM 77

North London Poly, 1-8 July.
Only one week left to book!

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The Tories, the NF, the Queen and me

By JOHNNY ROTTEN

NOW officially at No 1 but banned on radio and unable to play, the Sex Pistols are rightly refusing to speak to the gutter press.

But Johnny Rotten has talked at length about his politics to *Rock Against Racism*. Here are some of his views...



The Sex Pistols and (above right) Johnny Rotten: 'I despise the National Front'



□ **What do you think of the National Front?**

I despise them. No-one should have the right to tell anyone they can't live here because of the colour of their skin or their religion or the size of their nose. How could anyone vote for something so ridiculously inhumane?

Interview by DAVID WIDGERY of Rock Against Racism

□ **Well, why?**

Well, quite frankly the other main parties don't offer any opposition, do they? Not one of them are serious. Not one of them has seriously attacked the NF's policies.

The thing is that people have got used to the parties not doing what they say.

People don't expect anything any more. But I'm damned sure the Front will do what they say!

□ **What do you feel about the Queen?**

I feel sorry for her. She's never known freedom. The poor cow doesn't even write her own speeches. She hasn't

even got the right to an opinion.

All that money wasted for nothing. All that Jubilee bullshit. She's passing by here and just 'cos she's passing they've got to close all the pubs.

The money for her procession going past here is being

taken out of the National Health. What is more important, the Queen poncing about in a Rolls Royce or people dying in hospital?

□ **What do you think about racism?**

I'm white. I'm not black. There's no point in pretending I am. They have their

own culture, I've got mine. We get on fine.

I go down black clubs, I know most of them. Anything else is condescending. They like being on their own.

I'm Irish. That's the way I've been brought up. Freedom. That's usually an Irish attitude.

That's the way we think. I get picked up by the cops everywhere I go. It is like the

blacks. It's exactly the same.

That's why I say you've got to let them sort it out for themselves. Let them know you are on their side. But I think they know already.

□ **But as long as the Irish and Black are divided, the police and the authorities can deal with them one by one.**

Well, the whole idea of the state is to separate people. Divide them and you can rule.

They like people to be put in categories 'cos then they can be dealt with easier.

□ **What are your politics?**

I hate Tories. That's my total political view. Anything Tory I hate.

The basic Tory attitude is keep people down in their place. Conscription. Uniforms all over again.

□ **What are you in it for?**

I was pissed off. I used to go round hitting people for no reason 'cos I was annoyed. There was nothing left to live for. I just looked at it very practically and there isn't.

I was pissed off completely with the music which was around. When the band took me on, I couldn't even talk properly. I was so annoyed at everything.

That's why we started the group. To get other people to do the same. And people to come and listen to us and go away and do it themselves.

When you dance a lot you're so tired you don't go and punch someone's head. Fights are started when people are annoyed or depressed or hate themselves.

That's why London is such a violent place. This was my outlet. I really think that if I didn't join the group, I would be inside now.

That's the way it is for a lot of kids. Violence is the last thing left.

□ **What do you think about Ireland and the republican movement?**

The British should leave the Irish alone. Paisley and his mob aren't doing any good. He's meant to be a priest, that lout. The Irish have the right to control their own country.

□ **What about Africa?**

Africa should be black. Well it is black except for Rhodesia and South Africa. Which is wrong.

□ **For the full interview, see the second issue of Temporary Hoarding. Details—page ten.**

SIXTEEN men are about to come up in court in Bodmin court in Bodmin, Cornwall, charged with 'serious crimes' which did no harm to anyone.

There are no witnesses—only confessions given to the police that these men had sex with one another.

Yes, that's still a crime. It's called 'gross indecency in a public place'.

A 'public place' includes a car, a party or even a flat to which anyone apart from the accused has access.

The Cornish case is not an exception. All over the country, police forces, which constantly complain about overwork, are straining at the leash to 'run to ground' anyone who can be proved to have had sex with someone of his own sex.

Adults

All this is happening ten years after the law was changed to allow homosexual relations between adults.

Nettie Pollard, Gay Rights officer of the National Council of Civil Liberties, reckons that these prosecutions have 'doubled at least since 1967, when the law was changed'.

Why is this vast battery of repression directed against people because of their sexual behaviour?

Why, last week, did the

How much longer must these people be hounded and humiliated?

By LIONEL STARLING and PAUL FOOT

House of Lords vote 146-25 not to allow people of 18 to 21 to have sex with each other if they are of the same sex?

The few apparently rational answers to this question do not stand up for a second.

□ That homosexual behaviour is 'unnatural'. But what is 'natural'? Surely, what comes naturally to people, is what they like or prefer doing.

What's natural to some may be unnatural to others. What some like, others dislike.

Whoever says that one sort of sexual behaviour is unnatural is saying that the sexual behaviour which he or she likes is the only one that is 'natural'.

□ That homosexual behaviour leads to corruption of children, especially at school. What statistics there are show that the rate of importuning or assaults of

children, in the streets and at school, is more common among heterosexuals than homosexuals.

If banning sexual activity by law stamps out the corruption of children, we should ban all sexual behaviour.

Official

And then, of course, there would be much more corruption of children, much more secret, ashamed and transient sex, because people would be terrified or conscience-stricken by the law from doing what they want among people they like.

There is no rational argument against homosexual behaviour.

Repression against gay people is therefore based entirely on prejudice. Why then is so much official activity directed to upholding prejudice?

Because the society in which we live is founded on the belief that people must behave according to a set of rules imposed from above. These rules lay down what is 'normal' and what isn't.

People's lives can therefore be drilled to conform to patterns; patterns in factories and offices and schools, and patterns at home.

Any deviance threatens the power of the people in charge of society to lay down its rules. And therefore minorities who behave differently to the laid-down 'norms' are persecuted.

When the people in charge of society feel safe, they make concessions to these minorities.

That's why, for instance, in 1967, when there was little unemployment and even less economic crisis, laws for homosexual reform (and for abortion reform) were passed.



Homosexuals being herded into Hitler's concentration camps: today they are still hounded

But when the people in charge feel threatened, they insist much more fiercely on the acceptance of their norms. They repress all those minorities who don't conform.

Everyone knows that Hitler's Fascist regime in Germany outlawed and persecuted Jews.

Few know that at the same time Hitler outlawed and persecuted gypsies and homosexuals.

We want a socialist society not just to change property forms—but to develop the potential of all the people in that society.

In such a society laws

directing sexual behaviour would be unthinkable. And it's the job of everyone who wants such a society to contest the prejudice against homosexuals, to argue with the preposterous jokes and insults which permeate so much back-chat on these matters.

Above all, it's our job to support those gay people who are courageous enough openly to fight their persecution.

There's a Gay Pride march this Saturday (25 June). It assembles at Temple Underground in London at 1pm.

Socialist Worker supports that march and urges its readers to join it.

IN THE 'LAND OF THE FREE'... WHERE BEING GAY IS A CRIME

DADE COUNTY in Florida has just voted by a 2-1 majority to throw out a Bill banning discrimination against homosexuals.

The campaign against homosexuals is being led by Anita Bryant, a former Miss America and a rabid anti-semitic and racist.

'If God wanted people to be homosexuals, she would have created Adam and Bruce', is one of her more enlightened campaign slogans.

By Barbara Winslow

She and her followers have created organisations such as Save the Children and Parents Against Perversion. Their main weapon is fear that gay people are child molesters.

She plans to move her campaign to cities like Atlanta, Minneapolis, and Chicago. As a result of the Dade campaign, other cities are debating similar anti-discrimination ordinances.

There have been growing attacks against gay people in the United States. Early last year, for example, the Supreme Court ruled that homosexual acts between consenting adults

were illegal.

Meanwhile, women are under attack—over abortion rights, child care, welfare rights, employment and education.

But as a result of the Dade vote, most gay groups have become more active in fighting not just the laws that discriminate against them, but also the society which creates the prejudices.

JUBILEE POINTS

YESTERDAY'S Sun ran a report on the capture of a 12oz perch that had been making a nuisance of itself, they said, by eating its way through 3000 goldfish in a pond.

To date there has been identified one species of perch in Britain, *Perca Fluviatilis*, and were it to consume 3000 goldfish it would weigh in at about 4 pounds.

The Sun has, I think, discovered a new species, *Perca Royalis*. It is commonly known as HRH or Queen Perch and its distinguishing feature is its massive consumption with little or no product.

A parasitic perch such as this would soon become extinct were it not for the self-sacrificial behaviour of the Jubilee minnow.

□ J RANDALL, Glenrothes, Fife.

ON A HOUSE in the next street, the bottom flat is draped with strings of triangular-shaped union jacks. The top flat is also draped with what at first glance appears to be bunting but on noticing that the flags were different colours, I realised that in fact they were knickers—the occupier's way of saying 'Knickers to the Jubilee!'

□ S BAKER, Hackney, East London.

IT IS a pity Hitler did not win the war. The Gestapo would have taken care of you. England would have been a decent place to live—no blacks, communists or unions.

Hitler was right about communism. We will burn down Curbridge Works. Dirty bestial communist swine. What nauseating drivel you print.

Smash the unions. Jail the union leaders. God save the Queen. Up the National Front.

You would like a republic with some scruffy trade union nincompoop for president. She is a decent woman. Not a lousy dirty communist.

□ The above letter arrived addressed to SW (Jubilee). It was written completely in block capitals and totally without punctuation. The spelling errors are faithfully reproduced. The final paragraph is believed to refer to the Queen. The letter was not signed.

READING the Socialist Worker Jubilee edition one is puzzled about the specific socialist content in the criticism of this state institution, the royal family.

The whole edition is another example of SW's excellent analysis of capitalist society, calling 'kings, archbishops and businessmen associates in exploitation', presenting the sophisticated view of a minority ruling over the mass of people.

SW is ignoring the political content of this Jubilee enterprise, which is to organise to unite the British citizenry above all class differences.

□ MICHAEL STREITZ

Praise due

FOR ONCE can the paper please offer praise where it is due, or are you afraid that the people who read it may begin to realise that, while far from perfect, our present society has much to offer and commend it?

They may come to the conclusion that reform and not revolution has much to commend it, not least would be the removal of risk of a right-wing backlash.

If, however, the paper continues to convince us that there is nothing to lose, we will be prepared to take that risk and hence one reason to fill the paper with criticism rather than present a more balanced view.

□ A J EGGS, Witham, Essex

The press on both sides of the picket line: NUJ pickets stop a delivery van during the recent journalists' strike at Kettering, while a television crew films in the background.



Picture: Laurence Sparham (FL)

Stuff the news bosses!

HC MULLIN, (letters, 18 June) attacks the 'hack writers' of the media for being willing tools of bosses' propaganda.

Although I express sympathy with the writer's anger about the biased crap that pours daily from Fleet Street newspapers and the tele, I would like to put the record straight.

First, virtually all the newspapers in the country are controlled by a handful of millionaire press barons. These powerful gang appoint editors who appoint journalists to create a self-perpetuating propaganda machine.

Second, the journalists and printworkers have no say in the major editorial policy.

I know well there are a minority of my colleagues who gladly indulge in worker-bashing stories. However, the large majority of journalists are exploited, poorly-paid people who suffer just the same oppression of other workers.

Proof of this is clearly provided by the hysterical campaign mounted by newspaper bosses and editors against the growing determination of the journalists' union (NUJ) to fight for 100 per cent closed shops.

Among the NUJ, we are building an increasingly strong rank and file group of journalists, called Journalists Charter, which is fighting around policies that not only include the three-yearly election of all our union officials but a demand for nationalisation without compensation of the media industry, under full workers' control.

By agitation we are raising the political consciousness of journalists to such an extent that for the first time ever our members in several local papers have blacked adverts for the National Front Nazis.

But, as with the rest of society, it's a long, sometimes very hard battle, to convince your fellow workers that they don't need to be exploited under Great Britain Ltd., and that they can run things themselves.

With the SWP, we are going to win that battle.

Stuff the newspaper bosses. Roll on the workers' Republic.

□ STEVE CHILDS (Sheffield NUJ branch, national committee member of Journalists Charter.)

Randolph: Wrong

IT WAS nice you printed my poem about how the Randolph Hotel strike was sold out. But you spoiled it a bit for me by putting me down for one of the strikers myself. When actually I wasn't.

So does the poem mislead the reader, by using that 'we' all the time about the strikers, when I that wrote it wasn't one myself? (I'd put myself down much more for one of the 'erratic student supporters' of the second verse, actually, even though I'm 35 years old and earn some kind of living from teaching part-time.)

□ RIP BULKELEY, Oxford.

Letters

Write to Letters, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent London E2

Punk on our side

WHAT IS James Keogh (Letters, 18 June) on about? Perhaps he should listen to some of the 'new wave' lyrics before rubbishing Punk as anti-working class.

Oh, but of course, 'you can't hear the lyrics'. Well, here is Violent's latest track, all written out for you: NO MONARCH We don't want no monarchy. What are those creeps to me and you?

They blinker our eyes so we can't see, let's destroy the monarchy. They're of no use today, Send them down the mines straight away. They're worked by the people who tell us what to do, The majority ruled by the chosen few. They take and never give, They don't give a shit about you and me.

If this isn't any good, then try Violent's 'Destination Dole Queue', 'Police brutality', or 'Working class kid'.

□ KARL PAPERCLIP

MINERS: IT'S AN OUTRAGE

PERHAPS I am just another immature and naive student passing through 'that phase we all pass through', but I must confess to being shocked and offended by the recent rumours that miners will be demanding £135 a week.

Why should men working in conditions alien to all animals save the mole, threatened by floods, rockfalls, explosions, and diseases of the lung, earn less than the average stockbroker in the City of London?

Yes, I was shocked, stockbrokers earn more than £135 a week!

□ MARTIN HORESH, Didsbury, Manchester.

But it is still happening in Chile...

'HAD any of this happened in Chile... the present government would have been up in arms, MPs would have been jumping up in the House, condemning the mindless brutality (Hull or hell?', Socialist Worker, 11 June).

As a Chilean refugee I would like to put the record straight.

It was not the government that condemned the Chilean massacre, but the workers of this country—the trade with Chile continues, apples and onions are sold on the British market, the

submarines are being sent to Chile. Is that condemning the brutality of the Regime?

The solidarity has not come from the government, but from political organisations and trade unions. I mean real trade unionists, not the bureaucracy, and to them our thanks and mutual solidarity.

Boycott Chilean apples!
Boycott Chilean onions!
□ JIM KARSTEOL

STEEL'S HIDDEN SCANDAL

STEELWORKERS have come under attack in Greenwich and Port Talbot—both from BSC management and from their union bureaucracies. Files are kept on militants, wages are held down—all in the interests of 'productivity' and 'increased investment'.

But there is another, more horrific side to the story. Side by side with the run-down of local steelworks and high unemployment in the area, the BSC encourages the working of long overtime

hours in order to save employing more workers. To cut costs, safety at work is thrown to the wind.

At a fatal accident inquiry last week into the death of a worker at Ravenscraig Steelworks, the sheriff said that efforts should be made to eradicate blow-outs from moulds of molten metal. After years of deaths and injuries in the steel industry, does the sheriff believe BSC will suddenly take an interest in safety procedures?

Steelworker John

McGrath died two months after being burned by molten metal—cause of death was broncho-pneumonia, renal failure and burns.

When the mould blew, McGrath was showered with molten metal. Although his jacket was flame-proof it was smouldering and his trousers were burned off from the knees down.

A workmate said it was 'far too often an occurrence'. How correct he is—steelworkers injured and maimed all over the country will testify to that.

The management of that great nationalised industry shed crocodile tears for the workers who die, while attacking our brothers at Greenwich Reinforcements for demanding adequate hospital facilities to care for BSC's injured, and attacking those at Port Talbot who demand a decent living wage for working in BSC's hell-holes.

□ MARTIN CHAMBERS, Motherwell.

Starving on the SS

THIS WEEK I have been ill and unable to get out of the house. I'm unemployed and normally sign on a Monday.

When I was well enough to go and see them on Wednesday, I was told that I'd been warned about signing late before and that I wouldn't be paid this week.

If I want to reregister as unemployed I was told to go and see Social Security. They told me they could see me on Friday.

I asked: What was I supposed to do until then, suffer from malnutrition?

Er, well yes. No wonder they are called the SS.
□ HOWARD SPENCER, North London.

HOW RACISM GOT A GOOD START

I AM pleased to support the fight against racism.

When hostilities ended in 1945, the army command felt they needed to prepare us for civilian life. Outside the Orderly Room a notice was displayed: 'All ranks will parade at 17.30 for a lecture on some aspects of civilian life.'

The lecturer dressed as a civilian and chose as his subject the dangers of negroes

in our midst. It was the usual rubbish—we must not become integrated as negroes were inferior in every way, due to the negro build he was prone to TB and a health hazard to the white population, and so on for the entire lecture.

By that time news of the horrific events that had been perpetrated by the fascists in Europe was beginning to filter through.

That lecture obviously left its mark. On myself it was one of disgust.

Perhaps this loathsome lecture took place at other army camps and has a bearing on the number of people of that generation ardently and admirably supporting the National Front.

□ D BALSAMO, London N7

DOWN THE ROAD
UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK
Sarah Cox and Robert Golden

DOWN THE ROAD—Unemployment and the Fight for the Right to Work. 132 pages of arguments, facts, poems and photographs. The authors are giving their 'royalties' to the Right to Work Campaign.

£1.50, plus 17p postage, from the Right to Work Campaign, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

RIGHT UP to the outbreak of the Second World War, the Communist Party called for government by workers' councils in Britain, for soviet power. This power, the Party argued, could only be achieved by revolution.

A speech made by the then General Secretary, Harry Pollitt, in the 1930s had the title: Towards a Soviet Britain. It was printed in pamphlet form and sold by Party members.

The same Harry Pollitt was the man whose job it was to introduce the new policy in 1951 calling for the achievement of socialism through Parliament.

This acceptance of a policy which the Communist Party had opposed from its foundation in 1920 was prompted by Russian foreign policy after the Second World War.

During the war, the leaders of the Communist Party in Britain had kept a close eye on the various meetings of the top leaders of the warring nations. As early as October 1944, before the war was over, Harry Pollitt told a Party conference:

Rescue

'The recent conference between Churchill and Stalin is of tremendous importance at the moment. We need to back it up by ensuring that national unity shall be strengthened in Britain.'

And: 'To those who attempt to score a point against us by saying there is no talk of revolution at our congress, or the glib use of revolutionary phrases, let us proudly reply: what we are fighting for constitutes the greatest revolution of our time; to rescue our country from a state of economic backwardness, to make it the finest in the world.'

Stalin's foreign policy required 'stability' in other countries, especially Britain, and so the Communist Party leaders in 1945 called for a Labour-Tory coalition. At the Party congress after the election, Pollitt recognised his mistake.

'It became clear in the light of the election results' he said 'and the political developments that had taken place that the proposal to form a coalition government, including the Tories, was a mistake.'

Collaborate

In 1949, he told the executive committee of the Communist Party that a desire to retain 'the collaboration established at Yalta and Potsdam' and 'to help forward the movement towards working class unity' had led to 'our lack of polemicising against the theory and practice of social democracy immediately the war had ended, and the stress laid on

WHICH WAY TO SOCIALISM?

The second of a series to which readers are invited to contribute

The origins of the British Road



By HARRY McSHANE

Founder member of the Communist Party. Leader of the Scottish Unemployed Workers Movement in the 1930s. Resigned from CP in early 1950s.



parliamentary forms of organisation instead of intensifying the fight for basic factory organisation'.

But the root cause of the mistake—the dominance of Party policy by Russian foreign policy—remained.

Who laid down the line for the British Road to Socialism in 1951? One answer to this question was given by Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev in a speech in East Berlin in 1963.

'We must say for the edification of those admirers of the cult of Stalin that it was none other than Stalin who, in an interview with British communists after the second world war spoke of using the peaceful, parliamentary way to bring about the victory of socialism, and this is recorded in the programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The leaders of the British Communist Party know that this wording was proposed by Stalin.'

Khrushchev's version is different from what members of the Communist Party were led to believe at the time. We were told that Stalin 'approved' of the policy as a piece of 'creative Marxism'.

According to the late R Palme Dutt something like that was said by Stalin in the columns of 'Pravda'. In that case, according to Khrushchev, Stalin

was praising his own brain-wave!

Harry Pollitt had no trouble in getting it through in 1951. The call was for the establishment of 'a People's Government on the basis of a Parliament truly representative of the people.'

The policy of 'the seizure of power' by the workers was discarded. It was put this way:

'The enemies of Communism accuse the Communist Party of aiming to introduce Soviet Power in Britain and abolish Parliament. This is a slanderous misrepresentation of our policy.'

'Experience has shown that in present conditions the advance to Socialism can be made just as well by a different road. For example, through People's Democracy, without establishing Soviet Power, as in the People's Democracy of Eastern Europe.'

Inspiration

This switch in policy was more opportunist in character than that condemned by Pollitt in a speech two years before. One is forced to the conclusion that Pollitt and his colleagues were under pressure from somewhere to make such a switch.

Gone was the Communist Party which owed its existence to the inspiration that flowed from the Russian Revolution.

Lenin's rebuff to the German social democrat Kautsky on this very issue was ignored; they now sided with Lenin's chief opponent.

In 1957, however, a new draft was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. It was decided that the whole section on the Labour Movement should be re-written.

In a short statement by Harry Pollitt and John Gollan they said: 'there had been tendencies in recent discussions suggesting that a peaceful transition to socialism means a complete absence of class struggle.'

'We have to make it clear that it is only through political and industrial mass struggles that the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism can become a reality.'

The final document, issued in 1958, emphasised that the House of Com-

mons would become 'the sole national authority'. That is what all issues of the programme are about.

It looks as if Gordon McLennan, when presenting the new draft, is in for a tougher reception than was accorded either Harry Pollitt or John Gollan when they did a similar job.

McLennan is operating in a new situation. Gone are the days when the Communist Party could pose as the sole guardians of Marxist theory. New competitors, free from the Stalin heritage, have entered the field. *There is more Marxist thinking going on outside the ranks of the Communist Party than inside it.*

The new draft of the British Road to Socialism rules out all thought of decisive action by the workers whose fate will depend on the return of a 'Left Labour Government, including some Communists in Parliament'.

More is said about the mass movement in this draft than in any previous one, but the highlight must be the return of a Left Labour Government. That is essential, so they say, if socialism is to be achieved.

It talks about 'revolutionary transition' and then says that 'the declared position of the Labour Movement, including the Communist Party, is that it will respect the verdict of the

electors, and that a left government will stand down if it is defeated in an election.'

What could be more revolutionary than that? Mass action does not mean the conquest of power by the masses. Let us at all costs abide by the constitution. It is enough to make Tom Mann turn in his grave.

It is amazing that a body calling itself the Communist Party should sit down and plan precisely the steps the workers will take to achieve Socialism.

No thought of a proletarian upsurge is permitted. The role of the proletariat is ignored by this 'Communist Party'.

They have no time for revolutionary initiative as it was seen by Marx at the time of the Paris Commune. This may explain why Gordon McLennan declared the rising of the Hungarian workers, in 1956, as 'counter-revolution'.

Die-hard

The new draft makes an analysis of the present situation. The discussion at the coming congress will not centre on that. The signs are that the so-called parliamentary road to socialism will take most of the attention of the delegates.

It is rumoured that those opposing the draft are die-hard Stalinists. It would seem, however, that the line put forward in the document was dictated by Stalin. In that case the congress should be interesting.

It seems certain however that some of the critics will not be tainted by Stalinism.

The problem of social revolution will not be solved by the political quacks who have more in common with Liberalism than revolutionary socialism.

The instincts and passions of the people below will bring the struggle to a head. Socialism will not come through Acts of Parliament.



Harry McShane (above right) with John McLean (centre) and other revolutionary socialists in Clydeside after the First World War.

BOOKMARX CLUB

Selections for third quarter of 1977

All members will receive the books in List A plus either List B or List C. Please indicate your choice when applying for membership.

LIST A
Southern Africa After Soweto by Alex Callinicos and John Rogers
Daughter of Earth by Agnes Smedley. A powerful feminist novel set in the shanties and mining towns of America at the turn of the century.

Plus one other book to be announced

LIST B
A Biography of James Connolly: Socialist, Patriot and Martyr by Samuel Levenson
LIST C
Destiny by David Edgar. A brilliant play about the rise of fascism in Britain.
Poems and Ballads by Wolf Biermann. The East German government stripped him of his citizenship in 1976—but they failed to silence his communist songs and poems.

HOW TO JOIN THE BOOKMARX CLUB: Send £4.50 a quarter to Bookmarx Club, Bookmarks, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

£6,000 BOOST FOR GREENWICH SIT-IN

£6,450. THAT'S how much workers at Greenwich Reinforcement Steel Services have received from the national conference of the local government workers union, NALGO, to help them carry on their occupation.

None of the 80 workers who voted to occupy their factory six weeks ago is in NALGO. They are all in ISTC, the steel workers union.

But all they have received from their union is a telegram, received on the second day of the occupation. It said: 'Cease occupation immediately... return to normal working.'

The occupation was launched to force the British Steel Corporation to back down on their attempt to sack six workers and suspend another

seven. Their offence was to take strike action for one day in protest against the cuts on 11 May in answer to the call by the public employees union, NUPE.

Shop steward Paul Lutener told Socialist Worker: 'Five hospitals stand to be shut in this area.'

'Four local factories struck for the day in support of NUPE. It is one of the first times that public sector workers have had industrial support.

Worse

'If we go down, it will be much harder for them to get support in the future.'

Christine Enifer, chairman of the ISTC staff, who are fully backing the occupation, told Socialist Worker:

'The closing of the hospitals makes our jobs even more dangerous. If it is twice the distance to the hospital, after an accident, it could be much,

much worse for whoever it is by the time they arrive.'

Another reason workers decided to strike is because they, too, are going to be direct victims of the cuts.

BSC has decided to shut the factory. It was only opened three years ago, after BSC built and equipped a brand new factory.

Now they want to shut it, move the equipment and sack all the workers, because of the cuts.

That is why NALGO and NUPE and local health service workers have rallied to the defence of the Greenwich steel workers.

But the ISTC are not supporting their own members against blatant victimisation.

Another worker at the factory, Jack Ougham, said: 'They just put management's position—no negotiations until we return to work.'

'We went down to the union offices and demanded to get in and see the executive.'

'When they said no, we refused to move until they would speak to us. They agreed to a meeting but they just said at it that we should go back to work.'

The ISTC has even failed to take action over the management files on two shop stewards. The files, discovered during the occupation, included information supplied by the Economic League and the police Special Branch.

Another document was discovered from the personnel manager of the reinforced steel division of BSC. It contains this advice about how to deal with the ISTC.

Factory

'Bull-doze your officials. Do not wait for them to come to you. Send for them.'

Safety shop steward, Ray Duffin, who has also been sacked, said: 'I'd like to say this to anyone else who occupies a factory. Don't let them get away with the

documents. 'I've often lain in bed wondering what we let them get out with. After all, think what we found and we let them out with lots of stuff.'

Workers involved in the occupation meet twice a week. Paul Lutener said: 'We don't just send out the committee on delegations. Instead we try and get everyone to go in turn, sending one experienced person and one who isn't.'

'It's a great morale boost for everyone. We've had films and street theatre and so on. We send delegations even as far as South Wales.

'We've also had lawyers down to advise on possible action by the courts so everyone knows exactly where they stand

'We want to organise a joint meeting with the Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Act and the other occupations in London—Chloride, the Weir, the Hounslow, the EGA and now Fords.'

Weinstock plan gets the thumbs-down

THE CONFEDERATION of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union executive, meeting in Scarborough, voted 21-1 on Monday to oppose the dreaded 'Weinstock plan' for the turbo-generator industry.

Under the plan, 6000 of the industry's 16000 workers would lose their jobs and one big factory—either at Newcastle (CA Parsons) or at Rugby (GEC)—would close.

The Confed called for a controlling stake in the industry by the Government-controlled National Enterprise Board, or for full-scale nationalisation.

Enough

Industry Minister Eric Varley has therefore failed in his plan to woo the union leaders to support the Weinstock chopper.

But a conference resolution is not enough.

The government will almost certainly press ahead with the Weinstock plan, whatever the unions say.

They will put the contract

for the Drax B power station out to tender, which will mean heavy redundancies in Newcastle because of the delay.

If the union leaders really mean to protect the jobs of turbo-generator workers, they should make it known that they will call for strike action throughout the industry if the Weinstock plan goes ahead.

Then the government—and even Weinstock—will start to listen.

That's how to beat the cuts

By Mike Jackson, NUPE shop steward Grimsby Leisure Centre

GRIMSBY: NUPE members at the Leisure Centre have shown that determined united action can stop the cuts.

A bid to implement lower ratios of attendants to the public was met by an instant strike threat.

Confronted by such strong resistance, the scheme was dropped by management.

Action of this type shows that cuts can be beaten.

Heathrow bosses get an answer

IAN MORRIS and another shop steward from Heathrow Airport's engineering base were prevented last week from boarding a plane bound for Glasgow.

They were going to discuss the engineers' shift claim at the British Airways AUEW Combine Committee.

They were told they could not go because no leave had been agreed for them.

The next day 200 workers went on strike in the engineering shop during a management 'inquiry' into the incident.

This harassment by management has characterised their campaign against the shiftworkers.

Management have been told by the union's district officer that shop stewards will do union business whatever the airport regulations say.

'Wage cut' threat to miners

PIT-HEAD voting has begun in the ballot over the Coal Board's offer of a national concessionary coal agreement.

Until now there have been wide differences in the annual tonnage given to miners in different areas of the country.

Two years ago, the NUM Conference voted unanimously, with the recommendation of the Executive, to demand a national scheme based on the highest tonnage given to any area.

The Executive has now recommended overwhelmingly an agreement which will cut the entitlement of more than 100,000 miners in Yorkshire, Notts, Leicester and South Derbyshire.

The cut for Yorkshire miners would be equal to a cut in wages of £1 a week.

Among Executive members who voted for the new scheme were Michael McGahey (Scotland) and Peter Tait (Yorkshire).

The Yorkshire and Notts miners have already stated that they will take industrial action if any coal is taken from them.



FORTY strikers who are occupying their factory in Dagenham, carried out a second occupation on Saturday night.

This time their target was the boat on which Chloride top management were hoping to enjoy a lavish candlelight dinner as they cruised down the Thames.

Strikers arrived at Greenwich pier to find the boat on which the binge was to take place sailing off empty up

the Thames. A chase by car followed along the river to find out where the management party were boarding!

They finally tracked it down to Westminster pier, where to the horror of the management—all dressed up to the nines—they clambered aboard the boat.

Fred Higgs, TGWU steward, said: 'We've occupied it because we've seen documentation that this is

costing the company £50 a head and we're incensed about it.'

'We've been on strike for five weeks and some of our members are having to support their families on £10 social security.'

Management were clearly upset at having their evening ruined.

Trying to put on a brave face, John Ray, Manufacturing Director of Chloride Europe said between glasses of

Now sit-in strikers occupy bosses' pleasure boat



champagne: 'It's a bit rough on the ladies, but it's good training for the younger chaps here—in-British industrial relations.'

The occupation lasted two hours because the police had no jurisdiction to evict. But eventually they were told to board the boat and remove the strikers, acting as private citizens.

The strikers were jubilant. Their occupation at Dagenham is solid but they

know they need publicity to gain support from the rest of the labour movement.

As one striker commented: 'This is the sort of action we need to keep the occupation alive.'

'The Grunwick strikers showed us the way. Now we hope that other workers will follow our example and not allow these people to indulge themselves while we are forced onto the Social Security.'

DESOUTTERS WON'T STOP US

'DESOUTTERS will not be another Grunwicks'.

Placards on the picket line in North West London this week sum up the determination of the strikers, out for six

DRIVERS WALK OUT

BIRMINGHAM: Seven drivers have come out on strike at the delivery firm of Stern-Osmat because negotiations over Phase 2 have broken down.

They are also fighting management's harassment of shop steward Pat Harte.

Pat was flooded out with petty memos, given written warnings for every kind of offence and watched more closely than any of the other drivers.

The drivers are out on strike for all the workers at the firm, but the warehouse staff and others are still working, which

weeks for union recognition, to win as speedily as possible.

Management have been trying to undermine their solidarity by sending letters to them at home.

The letters make empty

means management is paying out about £2000 a week in wages without any work being done.

The depot is being picketed and everything being turned back.

A MASS meeting of workers at Chrysler Linwood has taken an important decision to fight for substantial wage rises for all hourly-paid workers.

The bargaining year at Linwood begins on 1 July. But the workers have decided not to finalise negotiations until after 1 August.

promises about ballots, and then the management refuse to negotiate with the strikers about the organisation of a ballot.

So the Strike Committee are proposing to step up the campaign to win their strike now.

A North London AUEW District convenors meeting is being called for next Monday, when they will press for mass pickets of the factory, and sympathy strike action.

A London levy of AUEW members is also needed because, although the strike is official, the strikers are only receiving £9 a week strike pay.

Blacking of all Desoutter products must be organised now.

Messages of support and donations to Denis Norville, Treasurer, Strike Committee, 24 Colman Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex.

Laings strikers call off picket

STRIKERS at Laings Water Treatment Plant site in Lancashire have had to withdraw their picket after 14 weeks because of lack of support from their own union, UCATT, and from the TGWU, which has failed to stop Topmix Concrete from entering the site.

The men are now unemployed but are still fighting to get unemployment benefit, 14 weeks after being dismissed by Laings.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
 Please send me more information
 Name
 Address
 Trade union

Send to: National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party, 6 Cotton Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Electricity Board condemns Kamina, 6 months

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

THE BABY KILLERS

KAMINA REID, six months old, is dead. She was murdered by the North West Electricity Board and the Social Contract.

The story came out last week. The electricity Board had cut off her mother's electricity, and had repeatedly refused to reconnect it in spite of overwhelming evidence that Kamina would die.

Twice in a month, Dorothy Reid, who lived alone with her three children at Miles Platting in Manchester, went to the board and pleaded for electricity. She explained that Kamina had a chest infection and had to keep warm.

She offered to pay her £15 arrears by instalments.

But the board refused. 'Either you pay the lot or you don't get any electricity, they told her.

In the first week of February, in the freezing cold, Dorothy reconnected her supply herself with a piece of copper wire and a matchstick. But it was too late. Kamina died on 9 February.

This story was told at a magistrates court in Manchester last week. In the dock was Dorothy Reid herself—charged with 'dishonestly using electricity' after reconnecting her supply.

The amount of extra electricity used was estimated at £15.

She was found guilty and discharged.

After a furious attack on the electricity board by Dorothy's solicitor, Barry Cuttle, the board spokesman whimpered: 'We didn't prosecute. The police did'.

'That's nonsense!' Barry Cuttle told Socialist Worker. 'The police can only prosecute if the board lays the information in front of them'.

In court, Barry Cuttle said: 'This case leaves me with a sense of revulsion and disgust.'

That's putting it mildly.

But who is responsible? Not just the electricity board. In two years, electricity prices have been doubled—by the government.

Thousands of women like Dorothy Reid, and hundreds of thousands of families, now find it almost impossible to pay their fuel bills.

While prices have shot upwards, wages and benefits have been held down by what is still laughably known as 'the Social Contract'.

This week the figures are out again: so stark this time that even the employers' press can't hide them.

In the year April 1976 to April 1977 earnings—that's wages, overtime, benefits—rose by 10.9 per cent, the lowest rise for five years. In the same period, prices rose by 14.6 per cent.

Despair

Even the Department of Employment admits that 'real disposable income—that's official language for what the money in your wage packet can buy—has gone down by 6 per cent in the past years, the biggest drop in 30 years.

These are the statistics behind the frozen body of a six-month-old baby in Manchester, behind the near-starvation of hundreds of thousands of old people, behind the consternation and despair which is paralysing working-class families across the country.

If the trade union leaders, who start talks with government ministers this week, agree to another round of this wage restraint, they will be sanctioning still more drastic cuts in the living standards of their members—and condemning still more thousands of Kamina Reids to death.

NO DISCONNECTIONS!

Meanwhile some people were too busy to worry.

'Why can't they do a decent day's work'—ASCOT 1977.



by MICHAEL FENN NASDU shop steward, London Royal Docks

TWO STORIES in the papers this week show what kind of society we live in.

First the unemployment figures. 1,450,000! That's the highest for 30 years, and at a time when they were promising us that unemployment would go down!

Most of the new unemployed are young people who have just left school—with no chance of finding a job.

Still, I doubt whether the rich people in our society care too much for the unemployed. Last week, at any rate, they were too busy. They were at Ascot.

In a year that workers have suffered their greatest cuts in living standards since the 1930s, a year when trade union leader

after trade union leader has called for restraint and sacrifice for the Labour Government, we witness a week of ruling-class greed and arrogance that certainly hasn't changed since the 1930s.

24,000 bottles of champagne at £10 a bottle and fresh raspberries specially flown from America.

Hundreds of grey toppers and tails and women in light summer dresses that they may wear twice and which cost more than £100, more than many working class families spend on clothes in a year.

This is what the Social Contract is all about—making sure that they keep their wealth and privilege, making sure workers have to fight to maintain their standard of living.



The Ascot champagne cellar—24,000 bottles drunk by the end of the fourth day. PICTURE: Phil McCowen