

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## IT'S THE RICH WOT GET THE GRAVY

IT'S been wonderful weather all week, and some people have enjoyed it very much. The Prime Minister came away early from the Commonwealth Conference so he could compete in the Admirals Cup—the most expensive sporting event in the world.

37 yachts were built in Britain for the race this year, at a cost of £2 million—£54,000 each. That's more than the government hopes to raise by charging for entry to museums.

In a marvellous first day's shooting on Britain's grouse moors, Viscount Stormont, the 17-year-old son of the Earl of Mansfield, and some school friends from Eton shot down more than 100 brace of grouse. Lord Biddulph and his party at St Boswell's, Roxburghshire, shot 122½ brace, and Viscount Allendale in Northumberland got 134 brace.

Anyone who wants to join them is free to do so. Sporting Services, a prosperous London company, can arrange grouse shooting in Scotland or Yorkshire at up to £750 per gun per week, or salmon fishing at between £400 and £750 per rod per week.

Grouse can be eaten at the Savoy at £5 per head. 'Young grouse,' says Silvano Trompetto, the Savoy chef, 'is generally accompanied by a green salad, and because a good claret is recommended, there should be no vinegar in the salad dressing.'

The whole meal won't cost you more than a hospital worker's weekly salary.

The Marquess of Normanby delighted with the sale of his 1000-acre Baliffscourt Estate at Bognor Regis, Sussex, for £3.5 million, more than the entire rateable value of Bognor Regis, which has a population of more than 33,000 people.

### CHAMPAGNE

The headmasters of public schools and preparatory schools are still celebrating this year's entrance application figures, which show since the Tories came to power a 40 per cent increase in the number of people who want to buy their sons a £20-a-week snob education.

At Rolls-Royce, the directors have drunk several bottles of the best champagne to celebrate the building of a prototype body for their new model, the Delta. It will sell for £20,000, and will be the most expensive car in the world.

This wonderful project is being held up at the moment by a handful of greedy workers who are refusing to exchange their present piecework rates for a flat-rate £54 a week.

Any fool can say that if the workers accepted the £54, and then starved themselves and their families for 10 years, they might be able to afford one of the cars which they are building.

Sir Arthur Cockfield a former chairman of Boots, has had a particularly happy week. He gets £300 a week as chairman of the Price Commission to approve price increase applications from manu-



HEATH: Yachts at £54,000

factors like Boots.

Another lucky man is John Methven, deputy chairman of ICI's Mond Division, who will now be paid £300 a week by the government to see that firms like ICI don't cheat customers in the shops.

The Stock Exchange firm of Phillips and Drew, in a special summer bulletin to its clients, talks about an 'unprecedented boom' in profits in the first half of 1973. The £1 plus four per cent formula for wages has produced a 40 per cent increase in profits—the highest in the history of British capitalism.

### PRETENCE

As the directors of these booming companies shoot grouse on the moors, they are praying for another six months of trade union 'responsibility and restraint'.

They look anxiously to the trade union leaders who are preparing for yet another round of talks at Downing Street to 'take the sting' out of any workers' revolt just as the Price Commission has taken the sting out of Heath's pretence at price control.

They imagine that dustmen and miners and hospital workers and dockers and millions of other workers will 'tighten their belts' still further to ensure that wages are held down, profits held up and vinegar kept out of the salad dressing.



The picket line at STC last week. On Tuesday a lorry smashed through. PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

## Anti-racist strike holds firm

**NORTH LONDON:** An unmarked lorry got into the Standard Telephones factory at New Southgate on Tuesday by racing through the picket line, a line which has held for five weeks and voted on Monday to go on until the anti-racist strike is won.

Management at the ITT subsidiary have been playing it cool with the pickets, hoping that the line will get smaller and less effective. Inside the factory they have been putting the frighteners on Asian workers to prevent them joining the strike.

But the pickets are being successful in turning away lorries. The line is being visited by engineering shop stewards from local factories and by other trade unionists, including some dockers.

The most important support so far has been the instruction of the shop stewards committee at STC, East Kilbride, Scotland,

to transport drivers there not to deliver to the New Southgate plant. This decision is strongly supported by the Electricians' Union stewards at East Kilbride who are adamant that the members of their union at New Southgate are wrong to have any truck with racism.

### Bonus

The strike started after ITT management connived with Electricians Union members to stop Roderick Adams, the first black worker on night shift being trained as a setter.

West Indian and Asian workers on low basic wages are given bonus jobs with impossible times. If anyone looks remotely like achieving the targets they are immediately moved to other jobs. Semi-skilled setters' jobs are 'reserved' for whites

whose prejudices are used to undermine union organisation and who are encouraged to satisfy themselves with comparatively low wages because they feel themselves a cut above Asian and black workers.

The AUEW is supporting the strike officially, but local full-time officials are playing down the race aspects and the shameful role of the Electricians' Union.

On Monday the Leeds branch of the Electricians Union voiced 'grave concern' that members of their union at STC 'are refusing to train members of other unions for better-paid jobs on the grounds of their colour.' The branch called on the union executive to investigate and to make expulsions if the union is being used as a cover for racism. The union's annual conference this year condemned all forms of racism.



Burnt-out remains of the £1m Butlin's holiday camp near Pwllheli, North Wales. Only luck stopped countless lives being lost

# 4 HOURS

from  
**TONY BARROW,**  
Ford Leamington  
shop steward  
on holiday at  
Butlins, Pwllheli  
North Wales

THE SHELL of the Gaiety complex is silent now, only hours after the £1 million camp entertainment centre caught fire early last Thursday. And only a few firemen can be seen picking delicately at the smouldering wreckage.

The two-storey building was made of cheap rubbish. Access and exits were totally inadequate for the 900 people that could be accommodated. Only one person has been detained in hospital as a result of this latest 'accident'.

But if the fire had started four hours earlier, say at 11pm the previous evening when the Gaiety complex was packed to capacity, the story would have been vastly

different. Let me paint the picture for you. The ballroom is filled to capacity. Everyone is enjoying themselves. Suddenly smoke fills the air. A shout of 'fire' goes up, just as it did a week earlier at Summerland,



## BRIEFING

POLISH Communist Party leader Edward Gierek has declared 'an absolute war on all manifestations of duty-shirking and discharge of obligations.' In other words, a series of new measures to enforce discipline on Polish workers.

Workers who are absent from work without sufficient reason now face losing all or part of the incentive bonus known as the 13th month's pay. This used to be paid to all workers according to the state of the country's economy, but will now be paid on an individual basis. The quantity

and quality of goods produced by the individual worker will be taken into account, and also his observance of factory regulations, attendance at work and general discipline.

Meanwhile about 40 different types of bonus are being abolished. Since bonuses form a major part of a worker's income, sometimes as much as 60 per cent, a rise in basic wages is promised to compensate for this loss, but no figures have yet been announced.

This is linked to the introduction in

several industries this year of a management reform under which the amount of money available for wages will be linked to the profit earned by the factory or group of factories.

A FEW days before Brehznev's visit to West Germany, the offices of the KPD, one of the German maoist parties, were raided, many documents were seized, and a member of the organisation was arrested. This is part of an attempt by the SPD government to brand the revolutionary left as criminal elements and to obscure the political issues involved. It sparked off a series of demonstrations in protest.

This followed an earlier incident when members of the KPD occupied a post office during the visit of President Thieu of South Vietnam. Later 25 homes were searched and during Brehznev's visit 500 demonstrators were arrested and more than 50 charged with breach of the peace and challenging the power of the state.

ONE industry that has certainly been stimulated by the Common Market is the manufacture of statistics. However, if you pick your way through the misleading and often irrelevant figures that are churned out, two things are clear. First, that workers throughout Europe are facing the same problems. Second, that in many fields British workers are lagging behind their European brothers.

While prices have been rising throughout Europe, there has been also a concerted attempt to hold down wage increases. In all the Common Market countries percentage wage increases in industry and construction were lower in 1972 than in 1971.

In Germany the figure fell from 8.5 per cent to 4.5 per cent and in Italy from 12.7 per cent to 7.5 per cent. The British increase of 6 per cent in 1972 was relatively low compared with 7.5 per cent in Belgium and Italy and 6.5 per cent in France.

In housing, Britain was well down the league table, with only 6.5 new dwellings completed per 1000 people, compared with 10.4 in Holland, 10 in Denmark, 9.3 in France and 9.1 in Germany.

Unemployment has dropped slightly this year throughout Europe, after rising in 1972. In 1972 Britain's rate of 2.9 per cent was surpassed only by Ireland (6 per cent) and Italy (3.2 per cent), compared with Germany's 0.7 per cent and France's 2.2 per cent.

One factor producing unemployment will certainly continue this year—the closure of coal mines. In 1972 in the enlarged Common Market, 18 coalmines, with a production capacity of nearly seven million tons, were closed. A further 14 with a capacity of 14.5 million tons, will close this year—and this doesn't include Britain, where the figures are secret.

# Chile: President Allende turns sharply right

THE Chilean government of President Salvador Allende took a sharp turn to the right last week.

For two and a half years Allende's supporters in the Communist Party and the Socialist Party have been arguing that it is possible to move to socialism 'peacefully', without destroying the power of the existing army and police.

The right wing in Chile has not been so restrained in its actions. Towards the end of last year businessmen staged a 'bosses strike', disrupting the country's transport system, in an attempt to overthrow the government. It has now been attempting to do the same again and there have been continual plots aimed at producing a coup d'etat against the left.

Allende's response has been to rely more and more on the army and police to preserve law and order. Last week he brought the heads of the armed services and the police into his government and indicated that he was looking for a compromise with one of the two right-wing parties, the Christian Democrats. On Monday he announced a state of emergency which gives exceptional powers to the army.

### Powers

But the armed forces are run by officers who continue to have ingrained hatred for the workers' movement, even though they have so far been prepared to resist overtures from the extreme right to make a military coup.

The right wing has been engaging in armed plots to overthrow the elected government, but it is the army and police officers who have been using their increased powers to attack the left.

They have searched the working-class districts and factories looking for arms, while often ignoring the much larger caches of arms kept

by the middle class. When an air force unit searched a factory in Punta Arenas a fortnight ago, one worker was shot and another was severely injured with bayonets.

Rank and file members of the armed forces who have shown themselves more friendly to the left than their senior officers have been arrested. The head of the army, General Prats, now a member of the government, has started legal proceedings against one socialist member of parliament for daring to make 'attacks on the army'.

But Allende, and those Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders who support his policies, have not criticised the generals' behaviour. Instead they have attempted to build up the army and have bitterly criticised workers who have prepared to defend themselves against the right.

The reaction of the workers to

the plots of the extreme right has been to occupy factories and to prepare to defend them. The government, however, has denounced the occupations in its efforts to placate the generals.

In effect it has said that there is no need for right-wing plots to stop any moves towards socialism. The government itself will put a stop to any such moves, with the aid of the army.

The more the right plots, the more the government cringes before the army officers.

Many people on the left in Chile who until recently supported Allende's government, are now beginning to see that there can be no further progress without destroying the power of the middle-class army and police officers. And that means breaking with Allende and his 'peaceful road to socialism'.

# Airline workers attacked

REPORTS about massacres by the Portuguese army in Africa have made millions aware of the obscenity of Portuguese colonialism. President Caetano's regime was rather more successful in playing down a smaller atrocity committed just before the dictator's arrival in London against workers of the Portuguese national airline, TAP.

Leaflets put out at the time by an anonymous group of TAP workers and by the members of the TAP inter-union negotiating committee have now reached us, giving a thorough account of events that received little attention in the British press. It shows that police violence is not something that happens occasionally in Mozambique, but is a daily threat to Portuguese trade unions.

On Monday 11 July, the government banned a meeting of TAP workers, who wanted to discuss a pay claim. Several hundred went to the meeting place in defiance of the government's order, and were met by a police baton-charge. The

police continued to harass the workers as they peacefully marched to the TAP main building in Lisbon airport, where a full-scale attack was then launched against the workers.

At lunchtime on Tuesday, TAP workers held a meeting in the main building. They demanded to see the management, to protest against its complicity with the police and to demand the release of a pilot, Magalhaes e Silva, who had been arrested the previous evening and handed over to the secret police.

### Whitewash

Management called in the riot police, who invaded the building and repeatedly opened fire, wounding several workers and killing one of them. Many more were beaten and six men were taken.

In revolt against management and police, many workers walked out the next morning. Their determination was increased by the whitewash of the police atrocities in the morning papers, and they were still



ALLENDE: Army pals

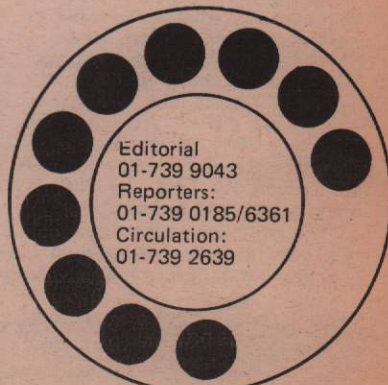
out on Friday 15th July.

For its part, the inter-union negotiating committee issued a leaflet calling for a further meeting, for 19 July, and throwing back on the government accusations of responsibility for the events.

The tie-up between management, the dictatorship and their use of police brutality is nothing new in Portugal. But Caetano cannot take comfort from the thought that previous strikes were defeated. The Portuguese working class has grown enormously in the last decade, and if socialists can take the lead, the government will be unable to control it.

The determination of the TAP workers to fight on, in the face of the most brutal repression, shows that a powerful movement can be built.

A final point concerns Britain. Bob Wright of the AUEW executive called for solidarity with Portuguese workers at a rally during Caetano's visit. But he has made no suggestions for action even though and many other employers in Portugal are vulnerable to action taken in this country.



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# FROM DISASTER

the Isle of Man 'fun palace' in which 50 people died. The stampede begins because the guests have not been given any kind of fire drill.

The 1000 people below in the bar rush into the tiny promenade, effectively blocking the exits from the ballroom above. The complex is now well alight. It will only take 45 minutes before it is razed to the ground.

In the ballroom there is indescribable horror. Thousands of plastic flowers hanging from the roof are alight, showering the dancers of a few minutes earlier.

The children and the old are already dead, having been trampled underfoot. They are already unrecognisable even before the fire has done its work. People with hair and clothes alight are throwing themselves out of the windows to

be cut to pieces on the ground.

Suddenly there are no more screams of anguish—only the dull thump of exploding gas bottles and the sickly smell of burnt human flesh. The building slowly caves in and dies in a shower of sparks.

## GHASTLY

Inside more than 2000 have perished. Hundreds are maimed for life. And all this has happened because the capitalists behind it wanted to cut corners and save on outlay to maximise their profits. And it is profits that matter, not safety, not lives.

No it didn't happen exactly like that because there was a four hour grace. The fire did not take place until 3am. But already many holiday makers have streamed away from

this ghastly place where another fire on 7 August gutted six chalets. They are no longer willing to believe that their lives are safe in the hands of Butlin's management. They are wise.

The lesson is obvious—money at any price, even your life. Those who follow this doctrine have much to answer for and some day, hopefully soon, myself and people like me will call them to account.

Sitting beside this shambles, I 'see' the rows of smouldering bodies that could have been. Myself and my family would have been numbered among them for we were inside the Gaiety centre at 11pm on the Wednesday night. And we would now be in the one place where no-one can try to make a killing though the undertakers would have nipped in smartly for a last trophy.

# Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

LAST DECEMBER the government of the Republic of Ireland was trying to push through its parliament a law to limit political freedom and to introduce internment. The main target of the law was, of course, the Provisional IRA. The British government had been pressing for such a law for a long time.

There was a great deal of opposition to this law. There was some doubt as to whether a majority could be found for it in the Irish parliament.

And then, on the very night that it was being debated, two car bombs exploded in Dublin, killing two people and injuring another 74. The IRA was blamed. The law went through.

It was a put-up job of course. 'Honest Jack' Lynch, Irish prime minister at that time, now says: 'You would have difficulty in finding anyone in Dublin political circles who does not believe that those bombs were the work of British agents.'

That is not what he said at the time. Lynch was pushing through the repressive law and denounced the Provisionals as loudly as anyone. Now, in opposition, he is speaking the truth. Indeed the only real doubt last December was whether the British government was responsible or whether the Irish government itself planted the bombs.

One thing is quite certain. Neither wing of the IRA had anything at all to do with bombings. Neither has undertaken a bombing campaign in the Republic. Neither, this incident apart, has even been accused by its enemies of doing so. The bombings could only injure them. A more obviously faked incident would be hard to imagine.

We now know for certain that British agents organised and carried out the armed raid on the Grafton Street bank in Dublin which was also blamed on the IRA. That much is admitted even by the British government now that its cover-up attempts have broken down.

They denied that the raid was carried out on orders from the British secret service, that it was a piece of private enterprise by two of their admitted agents, need not be taken too seriously.

It is quite possible that no specific order was given to rob this particular bank. A nod is as good as a wink. But that the Littlejohn brothers were employed to provoke 'incidents' that would be blamed on the IRA is perfectly clear.

So much for the sincerity of Tory speeches about 'law and order'. But there is a more important point. British rule in Ireland was imposed by force and violence more than 300 years ago. The country was conquered and plundered. When the Irish rebelled, as they did repeatedly, the results were put down by violence on a massive scale.

British rule is maintained today, in the six counties of the north, by force. The use of secret agents, spies and agent-provocateurs—men sent to infiltrate nationalist organisations and organise particular illegal actions and then denounce those who have helped them—has been a feature of British rule for 300 years.

It is not the exception. It is the norm. For Carrington and his kind to protest that they are not responsible is like a hardened old lag protesting that he would never dream of stealing anything. These methods are inseparable from the aim of government policy.

The real guilty men are not the wretched tools now in Mountjoy prison. They are the ministers in Whitehall.

## WHITEHALL FARCE

NEXT Thursday will see the latest episode in one of the longer running Whitehall farces. A collection of men who can be relied upon to denounce Toryism and all its works from any conference platform will be ushered into 10 Downing Street. There they will discuss with the arch-Tory himself the terms of a deal on inflation.

Not that the trade union leaders can really be accused of being inconsistent. Over the past two years they have had several chances to build a movement that could have swept the Tories from office. They resisted the temptation each time.

With their acquiescence, Heath has frozen wages, put up council rents and allowed unprecedented price rises.

Yet still they go to talk to him. There could hardly be a clearer indication that the present leaders of the trade union movement—from 'left-wing' Jack Jones to right-wing David Basnett—are incapable of organising a real defence of their members' living standards.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2

## Hospital left glass

KEITH McDONALD is from Jamaica. He works in Fords at Dagenham as a welder and is a member of the Boilermakers' Union.

On Saturday 4 August he was a passenger in a car which was involved in an accident with another car at Phillip Lane, near where he lives in Tottenham, North London. Both cars were write-offs and Keith and his friend who was driving were both seriously hurt.

At this point the National Health Service should have taken over. The treatment Keith got—or rather didn't get—is revealing not only about what happens to black people in the course of their everyday lives in this country, but also pinpoints the increasingly decrepit state of the health service on which all working people rely.

At about 6am on Saturday 4 August Keith's mother, Mrs Kelly, was awakened by telephone and informed by a nurse at the Prince of Wales Hospital in High Road, Tottenham, that her 28-year-old son was in hospital as a result of a car accident. At that very moment Keith was in the casualty ward, she was told.

Mrs Kelly was upset by this news but the nurse told her there was nothing to worry about and that her son would be sent home shortly.

Nevertheless Mrs Kelly left the house and made her way to the Prince of Wales Hospital where she saw her son and the other man involved, lying on two cots in the Casualty Department. She noticed that they were both in agony, especially her son, whose face was covered in blood to the extent that both his nostrils were partially blocked.

Mrs Kelly arrived at the hospital at 6.15am with three other West Indians. From their observations and from the information they received from the nurses at the Casualty Department, it was clear to them that the young men had not been seen by a doctor. The nurses also advised Mrs Kelly that the injured men would have to wait until 8am before they could be X-rayed. This meant a waste of TWO VITAL HOURS after such an accident.

### Concerned

Keith told his mother that he was in great pain, and that there were particles of broken glass embedded in his right eye. The left eye was seen to by what the nurses described as an 'agency doctor'. But the right eye, which needed immediate attention, was merely bandaged and secured by sticky tape.

Mrs Kelly was so distressed and concerned for her son's condition, that she returned home. She decided to phone the hospital once again. This time she was informed that the two young men would be seen at 9am. At 10am, when she telephoned again, she was told that the victims were ready to be sent home.

This time Mrs Kelly got into a car with some other friends of the family. They made their way to collect her son. He was in such a dirty condition that she had to wash the blood away from his face and clear his nose which was blocked up with dried blood.

## in crash man's eye

by S W correspondent

When he was put to bed at home, Keith suffered severe pains in his head. He tossed and turned and groaned, insisting there were pieces of glass firmly stuck in his right eye. This caused his mother to phone for the local doctor. As he was off duty, it was his relief who actually came to visit Keith.

By the time the relief doctor actually arrived, Keith's condition was becoming progressively worse. He was vomiting blood and could hardly keep awake. It was fortunate for the young man that Cecil Sampson, a friend and neighbour, happened to call round at Keith's mother's house at that time.

Cecil Sampson took the matter in hand and in no uncertain manner told the relief doctor that Keith must be sent immediately to a proper eye hospital where there were adequate

facilities and staff to attend to the eye injury. If Mr Sampson had not done this then the loss of time would have meant the difference between saving the eye and Keith going blind.

But the relief doctor seemed young and afraid to go against the Prince of Wales Hospital. He said that he could do nothing except to refer him back to the Prince of Wales again.

Cecil Sampson insisted and made his demands quite clear. As a result the relief decided to write a letter to the casualty officer at Moorfields Eye Hospital, but said that he could not order an ambulance to take Keith there. So once again Keith had to be moved by private transport.

On arrival at Moorfields Eye Hospital, Keith was examined and found to be in a serious condition. So urgent was the need for attention that an operation had to be performed on Keith's right eye the same night. That operation saved Keith from being permanently blinded.

## Labour party ban on IS members

MEMBERS of the International Socialists are ineligible for membership of the Labour Party.

This ruling has been made by Reg Underhill, the party's national agent.

On 21 April Ken Bracewell, a former chairman of the Derbyshire High Peak constituency Labour Party, wrote to Transport House asking for a ruling about IS members who are in the Labour Party.

I understand that the matter was discussed at an organisation sub-committee of Labour's national executive soon afterwards. The sub-committee's membership includes Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Michael Foot, Dennis Healey, Ian Mikardo and Shirley Williams.

Underhill was given permission by the meeting to write to Bracewell stating that under clause 2, subsection 3 of the Labour Party constitution, organisations which have their own programme or principles, or who promote parliamentary or council candidates are not eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.

Wrote Underhill: 'In view of the fact that the International Socialists

has its own programme, carries out its own propaganda and has branches in various parts of the country, therefore members of the International Socialists are ineligible for membership of the Labour Party.'

The decision to pass on this ruling to the High Peak constituency was, I understand, not minuted by the organisation sub-committee, which has decided to ban IS members only where they are a 'nuisance' to the Labour Party. Four constituency parties who have sought guidance on the question have been told to ban IS members. On the other hand, a senior Labour Party spokesman assured me that there has been 'no circular to all constituencies, and no witch-hunt of your members.'

In other words, there is one law for the 'nuisances' and one for those who are not a nuisance.

The ruling has surprised many on the Left inside the Labour Party, who point to the section dealing with individual Labour Party membership. The section bans members only if their organisation has been specifically banned by the national executive. IS has not.



## Dennis the menace and pals

HELP given by several major building societies to one of the city's top asset strippers demonstrates how ugly the face of capitalism really is.

Workers of Dennis Motors, taken over by leading asset strippers Hestair last year, face massive rent increases following the sale of their houses to a property company financed by the Leicester Permanent, Leek and Westbourne and Nationwide Building societies.

Dennis Motors, makers of fire engines and dustbin lorries, later were taken over by Hestair in May 1972. The takeover valued each Dennis share at over 160p, compared with a low point of 100p earlier in the year.

That price put on the Dennis business was related directly to the company's profits and assets which were substantially increased by the sale of 101 houses, which cost Dennis £37,000, for £455,000 in March 1972.

The houses were bought by Villagate Properties Ltd, with money lent by the Leek and Westbourne Building Society. Tenants in the houses now face rent increases of up to 140 per cent.

## Directors

Dennis Motors started business in 1913 and for many years provided houses for some of its workers in Dennisville, Guildford.

In March 1972 the houses were sold to Villagate properties. This company was established in 1971. Within two months the company had borrowed £135,000 from the Leicester Permanent building society to buy some houses in Birmingham, Coventry and Worcestershire.

At that time Villagate had four directors—Bernard and Dorothy Clarke and Ian and Patricia Burbridge. The two men were directors of several other property companies, Mrs Burbridge, who has left the board, is conveniently the company's solicitor.

In the past two years the company has spent several million pounds on houses in England. These purchases have been financed by the building societies and by Barclays and National Westminster banks.

On 20 April 1972 the Leek and Westbourne Building Society—chairman, Labour peer Lord Greenwood—lent Villagate £300,000 for buying the 101 houses from Dennis. The month before they lent £200,000 to buy houses.

Since buying Dennis Hestair have sacked 400 workers

## Avoided

Earlier this year Villagate tenants were notified of rent increases, following improvements to their houses. In one case such 'improvements' involved putting in a wash basin. In some cases the improvements had been carried out by the tenants themselves. Rent increases from £2.50 to £6 a week are common.

Hestair, who have already sold part of the employees' playing fields for housing, have avoided the embarrassment of selling the workers' houses.

They have also avoided the embarrassment of evicting them from the houses when they were sacked—workers report that they were threatened with eviction in 1970 at the time of possible redundancies.

This is possible because a large, responsible and respectable building society—who would hardly ever lend money to any worker who lives in the houses—has put up the capital.

Nationwide and Leicester Permanent have lent Villagate another £200,000 this year. As we have been told frequently how short of money the building societies are, it is clear where their priorities lie.

T H Rogmorton

## KEITH AND KIN

I UNDERSTAND that Keith Mason, the Sun's industrial correspondent, will not be writing regularly any more in the monthly journal of the Engineering Workers Union. His decision coincides with a sustained attack on his right-wing articles, coming to a climax in a burst of fury about his call for tougher immigration control last June.

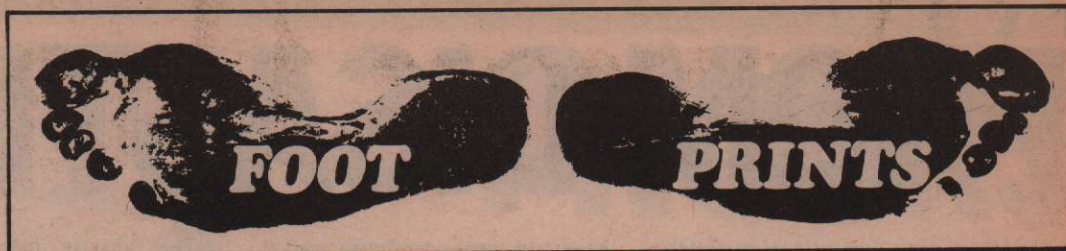
The article provoked some adverse comment in the left press, including this column, and this month's letters column of the AUEW Journal is full of abuse for the Wretched Mason.

J Burn, for instance, of the Beswick branch of the union, writes to say that if the black workers in this country are sometimes used as cheap labour, 'that's the trade unions' fault, not theirs.'

Similar points are made in angry letters from R W Foster, of the Crayford 7 branch, which has sent a resolution criticising Mason to the AUEW executive, B Hill, president of the North Walsham branch, and E Handy, Erith district secretary. All four writers refer to Mason's attacks on strikes and militants in the Sun and point to the absurdity of hiring capitalist propagandists to write in union journals.

The man to a great extent responsible for CU's style is Francis Sandilands, the chairman. At 59, Sandilands is something of a novelty among the British insurance group chairmen in that he came up through the ranks as an executive with his company which, by any criteria you might chose, is one of the two biggest insurance companies in Britain. After Eton and Corpus Christi, Cambridge, where he got an MA,

—Financial Times, 11 August



Erms



# Shutters up for Clutterbuck

THIS MONTH's issue of EEF News, the journal of the Engineering Employers' Federation, announces that Dr Richard Clutterbuck, who is absurdly described as 'Lecturer in International Politics at the University of Exeter', will be speaking to the next meeting of the West Midlands Engineering Employers' Association, an offshoot of the EEF.

Dr Clutterbuck is a member of the Great Right-Wing Trilogy. The two other members are Michael Calvert, who is a leading member (and right-wing rebel) in the Monday Club and an expert on counter-revolutionary

town planning, and Major-General Frank Kitson, whose recent book advocated using the army in a more political counter-revolutionary role.

Clutterbuck's role in this nasty trio is to dig up the dirt about revolutionary organisations and pass it on to where it matters. For instance, after the bombing of the Old Bailey earlier this year, Clutterbuck rushed on to the radio to name the International Socialists as an organisation which could have been involved.

As far as I know, this is the first time that Clutterbuck has been asked to speak to an employers' association. Unhappily, however, his speech will not be reported.

The Engineering Employers' Association is already regretting that

it publicised the meeting at all. When a reporter from a right-wing paper rang them up to ask for forward copies of Clutterbuck's speech and permission to attend and report, a spokesman for the federation replied:

'Oh, gosh, old chap, this is frightfully hush, hush. Oh, no, I'm afraid there won't be any press statement, and no transcripts of the speech either. The meeting is intended for top level management only. Attendance will be by invitation and there certainly won't be any press there.'

UNLIKE most of the workers at the three large Ferranti Engineering works in Edinburgh, Alan Bews, who is the Engineering Workers Union convenor at the factories, still has his annual holiday to look forward to.

Most ordinary workers at Ferranti took their holidays during the Edinburgh Trades Holiday last month. Alan Bews, however, asked the Ferranti management to let him take his holiday at a later date, and to find a job for him during the holiday.

The company, whose relations with Alan Bews have always been more than cordial, complied at once. He was taken on during the holiday as a security policeman.

The favour was more than deserved. For several years this patriotic convenor has endeared himself to the management in several different ways.

During last year's national engineering pay claim, he negotiated a £2.80 increase without any extra holidays—which was repudiated by the union's national executive as too weak. Under Phase Two of the Freeze, he went in for a meeting with management on his own and then accepted a £2 increase for apprentices without referring to the workers. When he held a flamboyant stag party recently, guests were surprised at the number of senior management men who had been invited.

## SNEEZE WHEEZE

REG WASHINGTON, an electrician who has been working in the Socialist Worker offices, has an amazing story to tell about a new defence for policemen who drive dangerously.

Last December, Reg and his two young daughters were driving in their van down Westbury Road, Croydon. Reg was turning right, and his van was stopped in the middle of the road waiting for a gap in the on-coming traffic.

Suddenly a police panda car smashed into the back of his van, injuring Reg's two daughters. One girl had to wear a special collar to protect her damaged neck for several weeks after the accident, and the other was bruised and shocked.

Only after prolonged inquiries from Reg's lawyers was Constable Charles Morton, who was driving the panda car, summonsed for driving without due care and attention. The case eventually came before Bromley magistrates at the end of last month, and five witnesses told the court that the panda car had been driven recklessly, for no apparent reason.

Constable Morton explained that he had been answering an 'emergency' call, and was driving very fast. Suddenly, he said, he had sneezed, and the car had got out of control.

The magistrates dismissed the case, and awarded the constable £10 towards his legal costs.

Reg's insurance company have accordingly refused to pay any of the cost of the damage to the van, since a sneeze is now regarded as an 'Act of God.'



MANY people have wondered why Bryan Turner, who is on remand for some of Britain's biggest bank robberies, was smiling so broadly when he was brought back from Spain by detectives last Friday.

I have been asked by the authorities to state categorically that Mr Turner has not been offered a job by British intelligence, and has never met Mr Geoffrey Johnson Smith.



## Consolidated Barbarism Ltd

AN ARGUMENT has broken out in the office here as to whether J Donald McCall, chairman of Consolidated Goldfields, is the most loathsome man in Britain. The case for is as follows:

Mr McCall has been spending much of his time recently justifying his company's operations in South African gold mines, where the exploitation is arguably the most savage in the world. In a letter written on 17 May to the House of Commons Expenditure Committee which recently investigated wage levels in South Africa, Mr McCall wrote about what he called 'the multi-racial society in South Africa.'

Of the rural Africans in the barren South African hinterland, he wrote: 'It is a life based on minimum work, maximum leisure and large family units. Such things as running water, modern cooking equipment, bedsteads, lavatories etc are unknown. But it is his way of life since time immemorial, and because the stan-

dards are so different from the materialism of the Western world, this does not in itself mean that in normal times he is any less contented than the white man.'

Which is why, when the migrant labour comes to work in Consolidated Goldfields mines, they get about £10 a month. They go to the mines, according to Mr McCall's letter, 'as a necessary and desirable step into manhood.'

Earlier this year, Mr McCall went on a 2500-mile trip to South Africa during which he spoke to anyone who might help his company make a bit more money. 'During that trip,' he told the Investors Guardian, 'all the responsible Africans I spoke to said the same thing: "For God's sake, don't withdraw investment".'

The Investors Guardian report continued: 'McCall cites Buthelezi, the African leader who backs the government's views on many issues, and TUC leader Vic Feather in support of his argument.'

# Terror that kept profits high...

The enforcement of factory discipline was crucial for employers at the beginning of the industrial revolution, as the first generations of factory workers had to be forced into a completely new mould. Last week we examined the system of punishments and rewards that were used. This week we look at the drive to enforce the employers' ideas into workers' minds and assess the social consequences.

In an attempt to divert attention from the conditions of wage slavery, many employers became supporters of a harsh new morality in order to enforce time and work discipline. In some cases employers used full-time staff to check the morals of their workers.

Throughout the country the churches, chapels and Sunday schools were supported by employers, both to foster their so-called morals and to enforce obedience, order, and other capitalist virtues.

Drink became a major target of reform, and much of the pre-industrial village culture and traditions came under attack. This often meant the suppression of sports and fairs.

One of the most barbaric attacks on children came when bishops and employers launched a campaign against leisure on Saturdays and Sundays, as this was announced to be 'immoral idleness'. A bishop exclaimed in 1785: 'The children are during the weekdays employed and on Sundays are apt to be idle and mischievous.'

## 'Morality'

And in addition to some of the worst forms of exploitation, employers in the new factories enforced strict rules of 'moral' behaviour. A Stockport cotton mill owner stated: 'While at work . . . behaviour must be commendable, avoiding all shouting, loud talk, whistling, calling foul names, all mean and vulgar language, and every kind of indecency.'

Fines of 5s were enforced for swearing, singing, or being drunk. Thus 'morality', as defined by the employers, became yet another weapon of the ruling class.

Bishops, priests, and evangelical ministers gave force to these ideas. The founder of Methodism, Wesley, in particular, preached in emotional (often hysterical) terms about sloth, idleness, and the wages of sin. Preachers of the new Methodist morality introduced an appalling system of religious terrorism in which they aroused fears of death and the unending tortures of Hell in order to enforce their code of 'Thou Shalt Not'.

Children were the hardest hit by this indoctrination. When not suffering from exhausting hours of toil in the mills and factories, children were being forced to learn verses of hymns, such as:

'There's not a sin that we commit,  
Nor wicked word we say,  
But in thy dreadful book 'tis writ,  
Against the judgment day.'

In a typical moral story of the time, retold by Edward Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class*, we read of children who played truant from Sunday school and played football instead. The following Sunday the children were rebuked and told of 42 children who mocked the prophet Elisha and who were torn to pieces, at the wish of a merciful God. The children then learnt the hymn:

'When children in their wanton play,  
Serv'd old Elisha so;  
And bid the prophet go his way,  
"Go up, thou bald head, go."  
God quickly stop't their wicked breath,  
And sent two raging bears,

## HOW THE SYSTEM STARTED



Part Two by Alastair Hatchett



Schoolchildren in the 1840s: education was 'moral rescue'.

That tore them limb from limb to death,  
With blood, and groans, and tears.'

Such terrorism was by no means exceptional. Within the years of the industrial revolution the function of elementary education, such as it was, was seen as mainly the 'moral rescue' of the children of the poor.

One little girl who worked down a pit told a Commissioner on Child Labour in the Mines: 'If I died a good girl I should go to heaven—if I were bad I should have to be burned in brimstone and fire; they told me that at school yesterday, I did not know it before.'

Some of such children did die in the belly of the earth in explosions and fire, but these were the consequences of profiteering in coal.

The employers' brainwashing was

not just waged on children but on all workers. A key book published in 1835 gave powerful support to the worst aspects of this subordination to capitalism. In Dr Andrew Ure's *Philosophy of Manufacturers* we read:

'It is, therefore, excessively in the interests of every mill-owner to organise his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, watchful eyes, and prompt co-operation, essential to excellence of product . . . There is, in fact, no case to which the Gospel truth, "Godliness is great gain", is more applicable than to the administration of an extensive factory.'

## Discipline

It is within the context of this statement on the introduction of the factory system and wage slavery that time, work and moral discipline have been examined. But what of the social consequences? How did the first generations of the working class exist in such conditions?

Frederick Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* gives us graphic answers to these questions.

'Immediately under the railway bridge there stands a court, the filth and horrors of which surpass all the others by far . . . Everywhere before the doors refuse and of all . . . privies are so rare that they are either filled up everyday or are too remote for most of the inhabitants to use them . . .'

'In Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds and Birmingham these were typical conditions. Driven off the land in search of work, families faced overcrowding, squalor and poverty—the only products of capitalism that were distributed in abundance.'

**NEXT WEEK: what happened to the country people**



Pit disasters are not new. This old print shows a rescue team descending a shaft in the 1840s to search for victims of an explosion.

As a result of the long hours and conditions at work, plus the verminous housing and streets, life expectancy was low. In Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* (1842) he analysed the average length of life for employers compared to workers, contrasting rural Rutland with Manchester and Liverpool.

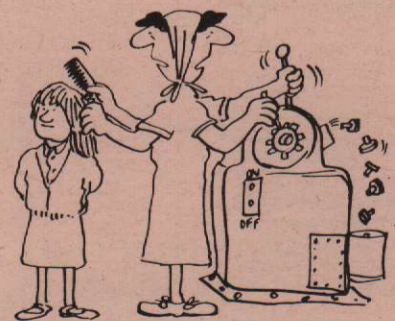
The average length of life for an employer in Rutland was 52 years, in Manchester 38 years and in Liverpool 35 years. For a worker in Rutland it was 38 years, in Manchester 17 years, and in Liverpool 15 years. The figures are a stark indication of the class

differences of the period.

The history of revolt and organisation against capitalism at this time stands as a tremendous testament to the spirit of defiance and challenge that was built up—in illegal trade union organisations, in strikes and demonstrations, and in the attempts to establish a working-class press.

Despite every possible form of repression and intimidation (including conspiracy charges) the period through from the 1780s to the 1830s was one of struggle and advance as the new working class, becoming conscious of itself as a class, entered the heroic age of Chartism.

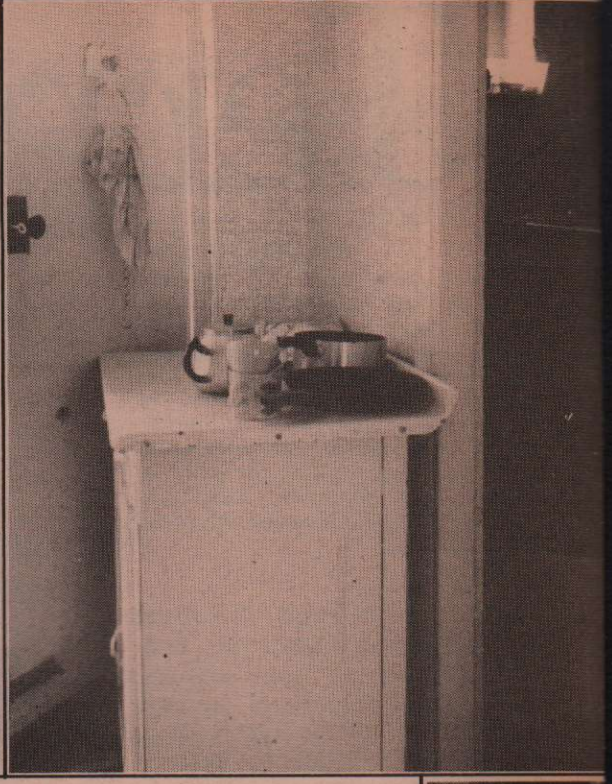
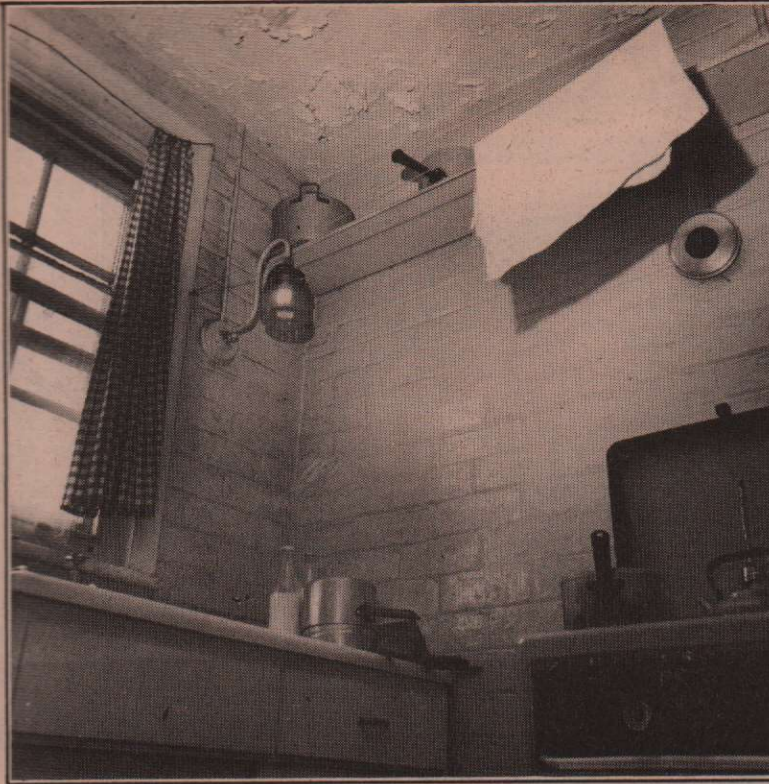
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# Beattie & co

# battle on

# 10 months on rent strike

**BATTLING BEATTIE**—that's how Mrs Beatrice Jones is known to council tenants in Sedgely and Dudley in the Midlands. She is chairman of Dudley Tenants and Ratepayers Association, which has been organising a rent strike in the area since October.

'We've been withholding the increases ever since they were brought in on 2 October,' says Beattie. 'There are more than 10,000 tenants on rent strike in Dudley and the council now has a debt of £300,000.'

The Labour-controlled council plays down the number of tenants on rent strike. It tries to split and demoralise them by suggesting that many are now paying the increase and only a few are left on strike.

But the tenants have not been taken in by this and are confident of their strength and support.

Beattie has been living in the

same council house for 37 years. 'It cost the council £500 to build 53 years ago,' she says. 'When I moved in, the rent was 12 shillings

a week, including rates.

'Now with the Fair Rents Act, the rent will be £5.05 a week. Yet over the 53 years the rent we

have already paid out will have paid for the house many times over.

'By 1975, if the Tories are allowed to get away with it, the rent will be more than £7. In other words the rent will have doubled in three years.'

As soon as the increases were announced last year, Sedgely tenants called a meeting. There was no time to produce leaflets or posters, but 500 people turned up.

to be abolished and we should fight until we get the Rent Act removed from the statute book. If any of our Labour councillors had stood up to this iniquitous law and gone to jail, we would have supported him to the hilt.

'They should have taken their responsibility and given a lead to the rest of us. As it is now, we feel very let down by the Labour Party.'

'Almost all the tenants were strong Labour supporters. But we are bitterly opposed to the way Labour just capitulated to the Tory Housing Act.'

In Beattie's opinion, the Housing Finance Act was started effectively by the Labour Party. She is convinced that if the last Labour government had stayed in power after 1970, then it would have passed a similar Act to the Tories'.

She wrote recently to Harold Wilson, asking for a commitment that Labour will not just repeal the Act but will bring rents down to the 1972 level and pay back the increases to tenants.

'Otherwise Wilson is trying to get into power under false pretences. It is an easily made and empty promise to agree to repeal the Housing Finance Act if rents have risen to £10 a week and no attempt is made to bring them back down again.'

'I do not expect a reply from

Wilson. But if commitment to get the support housewives.'

Beattie thinks councillors should have done. Last Party conference the Act and if campaign had nationally then they have won hands down.

'The TUC has real support. A through the general substitute for a against the Act, the labour meetings in union councils and fact

Her

'This is the the Clay Cross cannot put into councillors have of them deserves go down in history

Beattie is an Tories are doing class. She thinks to the bad 1930s. that time and wa

## International Socialism 61

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## Jail

The mood was angry. They were determined to fight the increase. Other areas around Dudley joined the movement and now the tenants' association covers 17 different areas. In December more than 3500 tenants marched through Dudley against the Act.

'Right from the start,' says Beattie, 'we encountered strong opposition from the Labour Party. The Labour councillors said it was a bad law but we had to accept it until it had been changed. They were not prepared to go to jail to oppose the Act.'

'We think that bad laws ought

Story: PAUL HOLBOROW

# INDIA: 'POWER'

# - FOR A FEW

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO, on 15 August 1947, the old British Indian Empire was partitioned and independence conceded to the two new states of India and Pakistan. Not that the next day, when the imperial junketings were over, it was anything but 'business as usual'.

The same bureaucrats were at their desks, the same bosses were in their mills and plantations. A term was coined which aptly summed up what had really happened—The Transfer of Power.

A transfer of power, not to the workers and peasants, but to the Indian industrialists and landowners who through their political party, the Indian National Congress, had so 'moderately' and 'reasonably' conducted their campaign for independence over the previous half century.

It was a gentlemen's agreement between two ruling classes aware of the danger both of them faced from an independence movement led by the working class. Time and time again the Congress leadership had held back militant movements led by workers and peasants.

Even the 'no-rent' campaign of 1921/2 was called off by Gandhi when it began to hit the pockets of the landlords who supported Congress. The sight of sailors in the Indian navy seizing control of their ships and raising the red flag in 1946 was enough to make Congress bosses and the British ruling class realise the need for a speedy deal to get both of them off the hook.

Both shared the common interest of a peaceful and orderly transfer of power, one wanting to make sure they would hold the reigns of power after independence, the other anxious to protect its investments.

*With indecent haste against a background of increasing hostility between Hindus and Muslims, the monster created by imperialism's divide and rule policy, the old India was partitioned into Hindu and Muslim majority states. This formula for Independence, built as it was on communal hatred, gave the ruling classes a trump card to play in a crisis, a powerful rallying cry to give credibility to a fake national unity.*

The other swindle of the Congress has been its so-called socialism. This party of industrialists and landlords has always maintained it was a socialist force. It would be truer to say it was a socialist farce.

Its socialist credentials will not bear even the briefest examination. Its land reform measures have always been riddled with loopholes that allowed landowners to hang on to their vast holdings.

Cases are known of landlords registering land in the name of their pet dogs in order to evade the trifling inconvenience of legislation on maximum holdings. Successive governments in Delhi and in the regional states have been curiously reluctant to close these loopholes.

The record of the Congress in the industrial sphere has been as dismal. The much-vaunted public sector of nationalised industries and banks has in fact serviced the flourishing private monopolies and big businesses which are the regime's real props.

Hand in hand with the big business empires of India are the international companies still preying upon independent India. Of the 101 biggest companies in the country, more than a quarter are foreign owned and they dominate important and growing sectors of the economy.

The activities of these com-



Mrs Gandhi at a children's home: her 'independence' keeps children in poverty

panies show the real meaning of Indian independence. One case that recently came to light was of an oil refinery in Cochin, supposedly in the public sector, where the American firm 'managing' it was guaranteed a return which enabled it to pocket three times its original investment within five years.

Independence has meant little for the workers killed and injured in six major fires in this refinery in the last four years. With the government's guarantee of massive profits, the company could afford to take little notice of safety precautions.

*In a situation of rampant inflation and declining real wages, the Indian working class gets little except appeals to work harder and longer in the 'national interest'. On 6 July this year in Bombay, Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi welcomed a new agreement negotiated by a Congress-led textile workers' union. This so-called agreement, which the*

government was so happy about, provided for a seven-day week and attempted to abolish the lunch break.

Fortunately the workers did not take this attack laying down and on 15 July 150,000 of them walked out of the mills. This is the same Mrs Gandhi who came to power in 1971 on the slogan of 'Abolish poverty'. The ever-growing wave of strikes and demonstrations indicates that this sort of trick will not work again.

The sham socialism of the Congress is wearing very thin and the experience of 26 years of so-called independence is being reassessed in every quarter.

There are many obstacles on the way forward, not the least of which is the disorganisation and confusion of the Indian left. But the potential of the Indian working class is enormous and they certainly have the capabilities to overcome these problems and to start the fight for a true and meaningful independence.

Peter Anson



Left to right: the kitchen in the 'home' of an 80-year-old pensioner who lives on the Sedgeley estate near Dudley, with flaking ceiling and gas light. His rent has gone up to £4.62. In 1939 it was 7s 6d.

Mr Harris, a retired bricklayer, holds up the brackets which the council delivered four years ago to repair the downpipe. It was first reported to the council because of overflowing in 1939. His rent now stands at £4.97. Birds are nesting in the loft of his home on the Sedgeley estate.

Ken and Mary Grocott's kitchen with adjacent toilet on the Pensnett council estate in the Dudley area. Such design would be illegal in anything but a council house. 26 years ago, when the house was new, the rent was £1. With last October's increase, rent with rates is £6.29. Rents are likely to rise another 80p at least this October.

The rat-infested rubbish tip at the back of the Pensnett estate, Dudley, where the kids have to play because there is nowhere else. Edward Garbett points to where the rats come out.

Below left: Beattie Jones and a clear message to the rent collector.



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the Clay Cross wed what the nationally could year's Labour voted to fight the Clay Cross been organised the tenants would own.

s not given any few resolutions ral council is no hard campaign which involves all vement—leaflets, branches, trades ories.

oes

sort of support people need. I words what those done. Every one a VC. They will y as real heroes.' ry at what the to the working we are going back She lived through s the only mem-

ber of her family with a job. 'The cost of living now is frightening. I am 57 and this is the first time in my life that I have been afraid to go shopping.

'Everything is too dear. I am afraid to go to the dentist because of the charges. I now go to the chemist and ask him to mix me something because it is cheaper.

## Battle

'Tenants need to realise that the Housing Finance Act is part of a wider attack by the Tories against working people. We cannot fight the Act as an isolated group of tenants in Liverpool, Dudley or any other part of England.

'We have to have one body that pools the experiences from all the different areas.'

Beattie stresses the need for national organisation, particularly as many more tenants are likely to be drawn into the battle against the Act when further increases are brought in this October.

A national organisation of tenants could help to overcome weaknesses and avoid mistakes. Beattie says, that looking back, she thinks it was probably a mistake for the Dudley tenants to

have decided just to withhold the rent increases.

'I think we could have been more effective if we had gone on total rent strike. If an organisation had been in existence we could have discussed the tactics and strategy that should have been adopted.

'That is why my tenants association welcomes the national tenants' conference to be held in Manchester on 23 September as a step in the right direction. We will be sending a coachload to the conference and we have been pleased to sponsor it.

'The tenants can easily win against the Tory Rent Act as long as they are not isolated. Our strength is in our numbers and our unity.

## Action

'The task now is to weld together into an effective, united force all the different organisations that are fighting and will be drawn into the fight in October. Together we can show up the Tories and the Labour Party for what they are.

'We are looking for action, not words, in the autumn.'

Pictures: MIKE COHEN

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# YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

PEOPLE who moan continually about the apathy of workers forget how quickly this apathy can disappear once workers learn that their activity can bring a real improvement to their conditions.

When that happens, they begin to see some point in concentrating their energies on the problem of why society is like it is and how it can be changed.

One day of participation in a successful struggle can make them learn more about society than 20 years of reading socialist tracts.

And when thousands of people devote themselves to trying to change society, untold inventiveness and ingenuity reveals itself.

This is what happens in every real workers' movement, from small strikes to revolutions. All the mental effort usually frittered away—on trying to predict what next week's eight draws will be, on studying form in a desperate attempt to beat the bookie, on pigeon-fancying or angling or simply on trying to make ends meet—is suddenly directed to a single goal. The results often take even the most militant and experienced socialists by surprise.

From this, some socialists and anarchists draw the conclusion that there is no need for a workers' party. The working class, they say, will be able to take control of society itself, 'without outside interference'.

But however quickly workers learn the truths about society and the class struggle, they never all learn everything at once.

## Lessons

Inside any strike movement, there are always passionate discussions as to what policy to follow. Workers throw off the effects of their indoctrination by capitalism at different speeds. Some see quickly that the only way forward is by relying on themselves and fighting hard against all representatives of big business. Others learn the lessons much more slowly. They continue to put their trust in what the employer or the full-time trade union official says.

A few workers are even prepared to support the boss fully by scabbing.

What is true of a strike is also true of a mass revolutionary movement. Many of the same workers who are in practice destroying the power of the ruling class can continue to believe that only members of that class are able to run society.

In Germany at the end of 1918 the only real power in society lay with the workers' councils. But the delegates to a conference of these councils did not feel that they were capable of running society. Instead

## THE NEED FOR A PARTY

they voted to hand power back to Labour leaders who were working hand-in-glove with the old army chiefs—men like Ludendorf and Hindenberg, who later gave the power in turn to Hitler.

Again in Hungary in 1956, the workers' councils rapidly became the real force controlling society and organising the fight against the Russian forces. But many of their members felt that the government should continue to be run by the more liberal members of the old ruling group. They put their trust in Imre Nagy, whose chief claim to fame was that he had been made prime minister briefly three years before by the very Russian rulers that the workers were fighting.

## Election

And in 1968 in France, a considerable number of the workers who had made the general strike so successful still put their trust in General de Gaulle when it came to an election soon afterwards.

In such situations it is not good enough for militants to sit back and wait for workers to see through those middle-class politicians who claim to be on their side.

The ruling class does not sit back. It uses all its resources to regain control of its factories and its workforce. It uses its press, radio and TV to put across ideas that divide the workers one against another. It organises things so that while some workers are lured back to work with marginal concessions, others are left out to be starved into submission. It bribes some leaders of working class organisations and imprisons others.

## Confidence

The ruling class is easily able to organise its affairs according to a coherent strategy. It is itself highly centralised, with a massive state apparatus at its disposal, many newspapers, massive research organisations and even special 'internal bulletins'—newspapers such as the Financial Times and the Economist—where it can discuss its politics in the confidence that few workers will read what is written.

If militant workers are going to win the arguments with their work-mates and counter the plans of big business, then they have to be organised as well. They have to be able to counter every piece of employers' propaganda with propaganda of their own, and to suggest tactics that will lead to unity and victory every time the employers try to divide the workers.

None of this is possible unless there already exists an organisation, a revolutionary party, linking together the most militant workers in every factory, mine and office. Through such an organisation, militants can develop the experience of working together and of relating every struggle to the overall aim of overthrowing capitalism.

Only with such a revolutionary party is it possible to ensure that there is a single centralised response from the most militant workers to the employers.

# LETTERS

## Push-button concern of the press

AT THE risk of sounding indifferent to the deaths of the Markham miners, I should like to congratulate Laurie Flynn on a magnificent piece of journalism. His account puts to shame those academic socialists who have recently expressed their horror on the letters page that Socialist Worker should be so ungentle about capitalist society.

It also contrasts powerfully with the processed, push-button concern of the millionaire press. Their hypocrisy exposed itself with this grotesque caricature in The Sun:

'It was 6.20am when the cage of death began to drop like a stone down 'Shonky Shaft' into the bowels of the earth. And 30 men found themselves on a 60mph ride into hell.'

Roll on the day when we can give the ruling class a '60mph ride into hell'!—GEOFF ELLEN, Chelmsford.

## Fire hazard

EVERYBODY has expressed horror at the terrible fire in the Isle of Man when 50 lives were needlessly lost. As your article (Socialist Worker, 11 August) pointed out, the get-rich-quick speculators who planned this death-trap are clearly to blame. But it's also apparent that the staff employed in the building had received no fire drill whatsoever.

If a fire broke out at Chrysler's Linwood factory, the situation would be chaotic. The plant is full of potential fire risks—paint, oil, wood, plastic, carpets, etc.—scattered about the factory are vaguely-worded instructions telling us what to do in the event of fire.

Three years ago the shop stewards requested fire drill. What happened to this request is unclear, but what we do know is that there has been no fire drill since the Linwood car plant opened more than 10 years ago!

Sirens occasionally sound, but for all we know it could be World War Three starting, a ship going up the Clyde, or a serious fire in the factory. And this is in a factory which has the reputation of good trade union organisation. After 10 years it's clear that Chrysler aren't too worried about the situation. The trouble about fire drill, as far as the employers are concerned, is that it interrupts production, and therefore affects profits.

And the drive for profits is the same whether it's on a building site, in a mine, a factory, or in an Isle of Man 'fun palace'.

Trade unionists shouldn't wait for post-mortem tributes and employers' excuses. We have to insist that we have regular fire drill carried out during normal working conditions. It could be a matter of life and death.—JOHN STIRLING, Chrysler, Linwood, Scotland.

## In defiance

THE report by Tom Dredge in last week's Socialist Worker showed how the executive of the Union of Post Office Workers, headed by Tom Jackson, repeatedly ignore conference decisions. In this respect they are completely matched by the executive of the Posts and Telecommunications Group of the Civil and Public Servants Association led by the full-time secretary, Alistair Graham.

Every year, despite motions of censure, the policy seems to be that if conference wishes are not to be completely ignored, then the very reverse of what is demanded is carried out.

Last year some 2200 CPSA office workers were literally horse-traded with Tom Jackson and transferred to UPW

membership in exchange for the withdrawal of his objection to CPSA entry into membership of the Council of Post Office Unions. In this way 'past family squabbles' (Jackson's words) are resolved.

This year CPSA members voted to withdraw from the Telecommunications Offices Productivity Programme, a not altogether unpredictable event in the light of the TUC's recent but rather belated conversion to opposition to work measurement schemes.

The programme, a particularly vicious import from the United States, was sold to the membership by Alistair Graham, a one-time Labour parliamentary aspirant for the Pavilion division of Brighton. It has now gone sour, the membership realising just how much they have been conned when they learned that the Post Office was refusing to pay them more than 50p per week for having sold their birthright.

Undaunted, Graham is now feverishly looking round for another 'complementing system' to replace it. Small wonder is it that in the rank and file journal of the CPSA called Redder Tape, a contributor rhyingly describes professional union leaders as 'those bleeders'—SHINY PANTS', a Post Office clerical worker.

## Race Act

WE fully endorse the Socialist Worker article 'Union call on Race Act' and further fully endorse any working-class action taken to reverse the decision of the Tory law lords on the Immigration Act.—Rab Menzies (AUEW shop steward), Tom Sykes (ETU branch officer), Walter Jeffery (ETU branch officer), Aly Hibbard (ETU convenor), Kristine Dundas (ETU shop steward), Rab Grant (AUEW), JJ Donnelly (ETU), Ian Bertram (ETU), Brian Waugh (ETU shop steward), Ferranti. St Andrew's Works, Edinburgh.

## Harold Evans

I HAVE only just been told about the allegation you made in March of this year that I killed an article in the Sunday Times Magazine because it criticised 'people we support', being a reference to right-wing Labour people.

There was an article prepared for the Colour Magazine and I did kill it, but I did not kill it for this reason. If you had checked the facts, you would have discovered the truth, which is that the article was a most amateurish piece of work making vague allegations of an unspecific and an unsupported kind against a number of politicians.

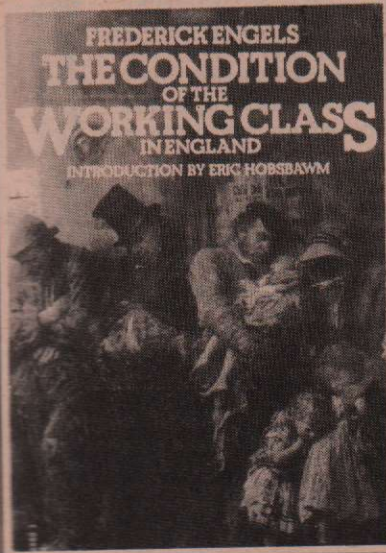
The Sunday Times is ready to investigate and publish facts about any public matter, as I think we have demonstrated. What I am not prepared to do is jeopardise that hard-won reputation by satisfying the desire of somebody to defame somebody else without having any evidence.

Nor am I 'an adviser' on the press to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, as you also said. I was invited by the Congress to give a lecture in Turin, and that was simply because earlier in the year I criticised the performance of the press.

I would be glad if you would correct your erroneous report.—HAROLD EVANS, Editor, Sunday Times.

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## THE MILLION POUND STRIKE

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

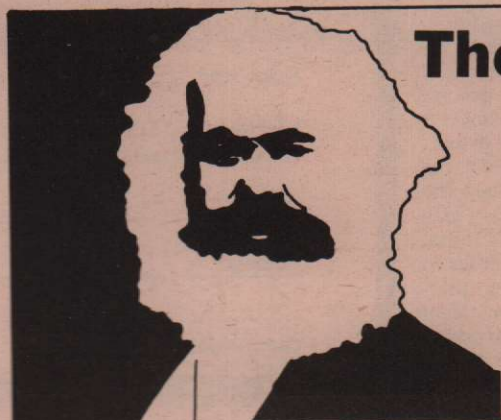
Trade unionists won the first round at Roberts-Arundel, and lost the second at Fine Tubes. Be ready for the third.

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

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by Duncan Hallas

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Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. Letters should be brief—no more than 250 words please—and should reach us by first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible, with names in capital letters to avoid confusion please.



# SPORT OF KINGS?



THE 'Sport of Kings' is how they describe horse-racing. We know today's star jockeys by their first names, just as in the 1920s and 1930s.

The racing world has taken on such an air of respectability that bookies don't have to recruit gangs to fight their battles for them. Gone are the race-gangs with their coshes and bicycle chains.

The cigar-sucking, loud-suited, raucous-voiced 'Honest Joe' now wears a city suit, speaks with a BBC accent and smokes bigger cigars than ever. He's become a business man.

His customers might not wear cloth caps—but the majority haven't changed—they're still working-class.

And they're still after the big win, still trying for that Yankee bet that'll click and put them in the big time. Yes, the working man likes his bet, though just like his wages and his beer, his winnings, if any, are taxed.

Working-class kids still leave the cities for stables in Newmarket and Lambourn with the idea that they will be champion jockey in a couple of years. Their small stature is their greatest asset. The nearest most get to being champ is leading horses round the parade ring. The stable boys work long hours—usually seven days a week—for low wages and live in prison-like hostels. Whether you reach the grade of apprentice jockey depends on whether your face fits, your ability and weight.

Racing is big business. Most race-horse owners are in business in some way or another and race their horses against their business competitors. There's status in owning a string of expensive horses—whether or not they are any good. Breeding means quite a lot but the best-bred horses don't always win.

The highest ambition of most owners is to have a Derby winner, while the ambition of the working man is to back the thing! The object of the bookie is to fill his till with the loser's money.

LADBROKE'S have over a thousand betting shops in Britain. Profits of their betting division were more than £3 million in the year ending June 1972. But betting shops are only part of the empire.

So you've made the big win? Why not take a holiday on the Norfolk Broads? Try one of Herbert Wood's boats—owned by Ladbrokes. Perhaps boating isn't your idea of a holiday and you prefer dry land? Well there is a Ladbroke-owned holiday camp near Yarmouth and Ladbroke's also own Silver Sands, the caravans and chalet firm.

Or maybe you'll go on a spree? Ladbroke's are again poised to relieve you of your money.

The Ladbroke Club in London's Mayfair is one of the 'in' places in the world of big gambling. Take a walk down

The bookie is no longer plagued by policemen after back-handers. Before cash betting was legalised in 1963, the working man continually broke the law when he placed his bet with his local bookie. It was fine if you had a credit account with a bookie and telephoned your bet, but trouble was few working men could find a bookie who'd let them bet on the knock.

Most bookies had a bloke who would stand at the street corner and take the bets. He was known as the 'regular', and was usually a bloke either unfit or unable to work.

The local police naturally knew the system well. They would warn the bookie they were going to 'nick' his regular and advise him to get a stand-in for the day. The stand-in would be approached by a plain-clothes man, asked if he was taking bets, then be arrested on a charge of street betting.

## UNEMPLOYED MEN

The police got their back-hander and the regular would return to his post after the arrest of the stand-in. The stand-in would have his fine, £5 for a first offence, paid by the bookie, and take another fiver for his services. He only got the job once, because the fine increased with each offence. There were plenty of unemployed men, then as now, to take the rap.

It's the workers who keep the wheels of racing running: the punter in the betting shop, the city boy a long way from home, the bookie's clerk.

For the rich there is the satisfaction of seeing their horses beat Lord So-And-So's at Ascot, but the ordinary punter is still waiting for the day when his Yankee bet comes up and he can tell the boss where to stick his job...

## ANATOMY OF A BOOKIE

Park Lane to the Hertford Club, conveniently opposite the Hilton Hotel. It is much in the American style, and its 'Craps' table is the largest in England. The club is popular with American visitors, with a real English marquis (of Hertford) as its chairman.

You don't have to lose your money in London. Try the Wedgwood Clubs in Leeds, Bristol and Teesside, all courtesy

of the profits made from your bets by your friendly Ladbroke bookies. Drop in at the Cesar's Palace night clubs in Wakefield and Luton and get a tan at the Dragonara Hotel in Malta.

The best form of gambling is where you don't lose, and that's what Ladbrokes specialise in — property investment. London and Leeds Investment, formed by Ladbroke's in February 1972, has plans to build a 36,000 sq ft office block near the Bristol Hotel and a 38,000 sq ft block at Harborne, in Birmingham.

The purchase of a 26-acre former Royal Engineers Depot at Swindon for development as an industrial/warehouse estate with more than 500,000 sq ft of space to let was considered a coup by Ladbrokes. Swindon is a growth area, strategically located on the M4 motorway between London and Bristol. The company also bought a site for luxury flats in Bayswater Road, opposite Hyde Park.

Ladbrokes don't just take money from punters, travellers, boatmen, holiday campers and office workers. The firm pays it out too. To people like Cyril Stein, chairman of the group. He receives a salary of £16,000 a year, £320 a week, in 1972, plus dividends of 6p a share—on 1,723,387 shares—which is more than another £100,000.

And not just Cyril Stein. There were about 6300 employees last year, with about 2500 part-timers, average wage £16 a week. A counter clerk gets between £8 and £16 a week depending on area and hours. You can make more. Become a manager and you get about £35 a week.

And the money rolls in. Profits have gone from £426,000 in 1968 to £3,963,000 in 1972 and dividends from 1½p to 6p a share.

Things have certainly changed. Ladbrokes is a far cry from the bookie in Walter Greenwood's novel *Love on the Dole*:

'Sam held up his hand: "Now Lad, speak up: how much were the bet? Turn t' crowd."

'Harry, gazing over the housetops, bawled: "Thrippence."

'"An' how much d'y reckon t'draw for y' thrippence?"

'Harry went very red, gazed at Sam quizzily and whispered: "Twenty-two quid."

3d at 3-1 is 1s; 1s at 20-1 is £1.1s;

£1.1s at 20-1 is £22.1s—Harry was done out of a bob!

Vic Tambling

## Europe: The shining vision ahead

EUROPE: THE RADICAL CHALLENGE, by Hugh Thomas, Quartet, 50p.

THE left, we are often told, are starry-eyed idealists, living in a dream-world with no sense of reality. It is the right wingers of the labour movement who are practical, flexible and down-to-earth.

But even the right wing need to show a bit of vision now and again, and the Common Market has given them a golden opportunity. Look, they can say, we are the internationalists, while the left are stuck in a nationalist rut.

Thus Jim Conway, general secretary of the Engineering Union, was able to make a speech last year, enthusiastically quoted in this book, in which he had the nerve to say: 'I believe in a United States of Europe, since I am a socialist.'

Unfortunately the left has laid itself open to many criticisms. This book was written too early to take note of Michael Foot's obscene loving up to Enoch Powell in a series of radio programmes, but it doesn't miss Clive Jenkins' celebrated speech in which he declared: 'We are being invited to join a France which has twice in a decade been brought to the brink of civil war.' One of these occasions was a general strike of 10 million workers which won rather more gains than Mr Jenkins is accustomed to obtain for his members.

Mr Thomas' book is a simple-minded propaganda job for the Common Market. The unity of Europe is seen as a shining vision ahead: 'I suggest too that there is now only one serious political possibility ahead of us: namely, to achieve a federal and democratic united community of Europe, in which the needs of different regions and classes are creatively realised.

Everything else which immediately appears to be of great political moment, such as education, housing, inflation, labour relations, the environment, pales in comparison with this long-term political design.'

Mr Thomas, we learn, has worked in the Foreign Office and at Sandhurst, and is now a professor. He can doubtless afford to dismiss the price of food as a secondary matter in favour of the 'long-term political design'.

But as well as being rich enough to be an idealist, he has another qualification—he is a historian. Historians are people who keep their press cuttings neat and tidy, know exactly who said what and when, and don't ask embarrassing questions like 'Is it true?'

So Thomas seems to believe it is enough to tell us what the Common Market's bureaucrats say about themselves. He tells us: 'Women in general should look towards European membership quite enthusiastically from the point of view of wages.'

Now it's true that Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome calls for equal pay. It's also true that it took the bureaucrats three years to decide what Article 119 actually meant. But it's also true, as Thomas mentions in passing, that women in Europe are still paid 20 per cent less than men.

Again, Thomas quotes with enthusiasm Dr Mansholt, who said: 'Those who move from one country to another to work must be able to exercise the ordinary rights of citizenship and should no longer be treated as foreign labour.' Against such stirring utterances, what are mere facts such as that a Belgian marxist, Ernest Mandel, is forbidden entry into France, or that immigrant workers can be deported for joining a political organisation?

Finally, Thomas comes up with the oldest argument of all—the multi-national companies. These companies, spreading over several countries, are not responsible to any national government—true enough. So, we are told, we need a united Europe to control them.

But, as Thomas points out, most multi-nationals are US-based. To the best of my knowledge the US has not put in an application to join the Common Market. And I know of no evidence of any kind that the Common Market has had more success at controlling multi-nationals than single governments have had.

IAN BIRCHALL

## A revolutionary experience

ARTICLES FROM THE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Lawrence and Wishart, £1.

IT IS now some 90 years since the death of Marx and 78 since the death of Engels, yet previously unavailable articles, drafts for books, marginal notes on other people's books and so on still keep appearing.

A few years ago a 'complete', 50-volume edition of the works of the two men was finally published in German in East Berlin. Since then Lawrence and Wishart have announced plans for a 50-volume English edition that will be even more complete than the German one, and the Russians have plans for a 100-volume edition that will be absolutely definitive. Meanwhile back in London the Penguin Marx Library has been launched which will contain much previously untranslated material.

In time no doubt those grocery bills which Marx, living in chronic poverty, often found so difficult to pay, will also find their publisher.

But as well as providing income for publishers and an excellent source for academic theses and footnotes, many of the lesser known writings of Marx and Engels are of interest to revolutionaries.

This selection of newspaper articles written by the two men in Germany during the revolutions of 1848 is no exception. They were written at the only time Marx and Engels had a chance to take part in revolution—though Marx wanted to rush over to France during the Paris Commune of 1871, but was stopped by Engels on the grounds that it was more important to finish his studies of economics than be shot on the barricades.

Above all the articles show their enthusiasm for action and their shrewdness of insight. Particularly worth reading is Engels' passionate defence of Polish independence.

As they were written in the heat of the moment, however, the articles often assume a lot of knowledge on the part of the reader which will make them a bit hard to follow for those who know little about the revolutions of 1848. They are also, perhaps not surprisingly, often over-optimistic.

JULIAN HARBER

'Exceptional gunning black velvet Chinchilla coat. The finest ever produced. This unique fur is only available in Britain at Harrods, £8000.' That's from an advert reproduced on the cover of an excellent pamphlet, *INEQUALITY IN BRITAIN TODAY*, just published by Labour Research. It gives all the facts for 15p, from LRD, 78 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8HF.

# Aircraft workers barricade gates

BRISTOL:-2500 hourly-paid workers staged a two-hour lock-in at BAC Filton plant last Friday. Hundreds of workers barricaded the gates, keeping management out and creating huge traffic jams around the works.

The previous day the same workers had occupied the administration block. These demonstrations are the latest in a series of actions protesting at the delayed payment of the £2.15 pay claim which has been in the hands of the Pay Board for more than 56 days. The reason for the delay is that the pay board is investigating 'escalations' of bonus earnings at the factory.

This investigation is actually management-inspired. They are not worried by the actual amount of the increase—this is less than other BAC plants have already received.

What does frighten them is the end in shop floor militancy in the factory. Recently the electricians, who are a highly organised section, pushed up their bonus earnings until they forced management to give them a fixed day rate or something more than £39.

In the present claim the union side has been falling over itself to accept the one pound plus four per cent figure of £2.15. Yet management tried to attach stringent conditions to even this paltry offer.

## Anticipated

They tried to freeze bonus earnings and to renegotiate the wages structure, protesting at 'the insidious increase in earnings due to the present bonus.'

Faced with the total opposition of the workers, they turned for help to their pals at the pay board. They put the claim before the board but appended to it a letter outlining their 'apprehensions' in respect of 'anticipated future escalation of bonus earnings and the relation of the wages of day workers indirects to bonus earnings in the factory.'

They claim that increases in bonus are not matched by rises in productivity. How productivity can be measured on a development aircraft such as Concorde remains a mystery.

But the letter has had the desired effect. The pay board is investigating the bonus system. The bosses clearly want the pay board to do their dirty work for them. They want it to make the present claim conditional on freezing or changing the bonus scheme.

It is a charming example of bosses and government working hand in glove to attack workers. The unions must recognise that this is just not a dispute about a few pennies in a wage claim, but about who has control in the factory.

This is what management are attacking. This is what we have to defend. Token stoppages are not enough. Tougher action must be used to stop management and their pay board in their tracks.

# MEMBERSHIP BOOM: 1260 SINCE MARCH

THREE HUNDRED and fifteen people joined the International Socialists in July, making a total of 1260 new members since the conference in March. The August meeting of the IS national committee heard that although most industrial workers take their holidays in July, the membership of IS has continued its steady rise.

More than half the new members are manual workers. Five new industrial branches were formed in July—in North London buses, among hospital workers in Oxford, Leeds and Merseyside and engineering workers in Manchester.

Tony Cliff from the executive committee introduced a discussion on factory branches. The building of a socialist working-class party, he said, depended on strong organisation of party branches

at the point of production, in the factory or other workplaces.

Cliff drew together the experiences of the 30 IS factory branches, all of which have been formed in the last three months. If the factory branches are to prosper, he said, they must attempt to win the leadership of the union organisation in the factory. Bulletins written inside the factory by workers have proved crucial rallying points for this purpose.

## SOCIALIST AGITATION

The factory branches must meet regularly and appoint secretaries responsible for convening meetings. They must also look outside to the area around them, and link up with tenants' organisations, housewives' action groups and so on, as the IS branch at Chrysler has done to great

effect. Trades councils are a crucial area for organisation and propaganda among other workers in the area, and in many areas trade councils will have to be revived and strengthened by socialist agitation.

Finally Cliff spoke of the great demand in all our factory branches for more and better education. The organisation is responding with a flood of pamphlets, the first of which—The Struggle for Workers' Power by Roger Rosewell—is already out.

The national committee fully endorsed Cliff's report, which will shortly be appearing as a pamphlet.

Most of the rest of the meeting was devoted to streamlining the organisation to fit the tremendous burst in membership. A new executive was elected which is no longer based solely on London, but has among its members organisers from the main industrial areas outside London.

# Growth at GKN

GKN is one of the giant engineering companies which have every reason to be pleased with the 'investment' of £33,000 they give the Tory Party each year. Last week they announced pre-tax profits for the first half of 1973 of more than £31 millions—an increase of more than £13 million on the same period last year. Added to this, GKN have been given permission to increase the prices of some of their products.

Such information, along with details of the activity of militant GKN trade unionists who are organising to fight the huge company, appears in the rank and file paper, GKN Worker, which is getting wide support from factories in Birmingham. The latest issue contained articles on the company 'comic' which tries to explain why price and profit increases are a good thing, but any attempt by workers to fight for better wages

and conditions will jeopardise the company's future. GKN Worker argues the vital need to link together trade unionists in different factories to share information on wages, conditions and management plans.

Last Tuesday Paul Foot spoke about The Tory Press to the first public meeting of GKN Worker readers. He stressed the importance of a socialist press to fight against the ideas and attitudes spread by the capitalist papers and showed how papers such as Socialist Worker can only survive because they are written and sold by members and supporters of political organisations.

Most of the audience had read Socialist Worker regularly and there was strong support for the setting up of an industrial branch of the International Socialists based on GKN factories.

GKN's recently announced profits underline the real divisions of wealth and power in our society which we are out to change. The setting up of the branch is an important step forward in that task.

# BLACK CONFERENCE TO BE HELD SOON

THE IS Committee Against Racism, meeting last weekend, reported a considerable growth in black membership of IS in Bradford, Oxford, Birmingham, Leicester and London. The meeting decided to call a conference of black IS members and close contacts in Birmingham on 30 September. IS

branches should ensure that their black members attend this conference which will discuss all aspects of work among black people.

Details of the conference can be obtained from George Peake at 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

# Convenor is in factory branch

MANCHESTER:-The first factory branch in the Manchester area is at James Halstead, Whitefield, manufacturers of vinyl flooring. Among the members of the branch are the factory convenor and the union branch secretary.

This is by no means an isolated success. There is already a branch operating at the massive Gardner engineering plant, Eccles, and it is only because of the recent two-week shut-down at the factory that the branch has not yet asked the IS national committee for formal recognition.

IS membership in Manchester has doubled over the past six months and the vast majority of the new members are manual workers.

Earlier this month, Tony Cliff of the executive committee was in the area to speak at various meetings. Besides Halsteads and Gardners, he spoke to workers at Brown and Polson, Trafford Park, and ICI Blackley. In both there are already several IS members and they will no doubt have enough members to form factory branches soon.

Next week sees the launching of industrial groups in two other key areas. Members of the Transport Workers Union on Manchester buses are holding their first meeting and so are engineering workers from Ferranti. These developments, coupled with the creation of new branches on council estates at Ellor Street, Salford, and in Wythenshawe demonstrate the increasing ability of Manchester District IS to intervene in the growing class struggle.

# WHAT'S ON

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

## IS MEETINGS

**CHELMSFORD IS public meeting:** Parliament—why it won't achieve socialism for us. How to avoid the dangers it poses for socialists. Monday 20 August, 8pm, Cricketers Arms, Moulsham Street.

**CARDIFF IS public meeting:** Women—the struggle for liberation and socialism. Mon 20 August, 8.30pm, Blue Anchor, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

**EDINBURGH AREA IS public meeting:** The Miners' Pay Claim and the Way Forward. Speaker Bill Message (Yorkshire IS organiser). Saturday 1 September, 11am, Mayfield Labour Club (near Dalkeith). All welcome.

**GRIMSBY IS public meeting:** The Need for the Party. Speaker Tony Cliff. Monday 20 August, 8pm, The Oberon, Lock Hill, Grimsby, All welcome.

**TAMWORTH IS public meeting:** The Struggle for Socialism in the 70s. Speaker Granville Williams (Birmingham district IS organiser). Tuesday 21 August, 8pm, The Globe, Lower Gungate, Tamworth.

**BIRMINGHAM IS INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' MEETING WHAT WE MEAN BY WORKERS' CONTROL.** Speaker Arthur Affleck (chairman, joint shop stewards, BSC Lackenby, Teesside). Saturday 18 August, 12.30pm, The White Lion, Horsefair.

**PARTINGTON Socialist Worker public meeting HOW TO FIGHT THE TORIES.** Speaker Wally Preston (AUEW). Thursday 30 August, 8pm, Community Centre, Partington, Cheshire. All welcome.

**IMPORTANT CORRECTION** The Factory and Industrial Branches School will now be held on Saturday 1 September, starting at 11am, at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. At least two members from each factory and industrial branch to attend.

**WIGSTON (Leics) IS WORKERS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.** Speaker Tony Cliff. Wednesday 22 August, 8pm, Queens Head, The Bank, Wigston. All workers welcome.

**TEESSIDE IS RALLY** Paul Foot speaks on The Facts of Life in Tory Britain, and How to Fight for Socialism. Thurs 6 September, 8pm, James Finegan Hall, Eston.

## OTHER MEETINGS

**FIGHT THE RENT RISES!** National Conference for tenants and trade unionists. Sunday 23 September, 2pm-6pm, in Manchester (exact meeting place yet to be fixed). Delegates and visitors credentials 10p each from Conference Organising Committee, 61 Tynney Croft, Harlow, Essex.

**FIGHT THE RENT RISES! DEMONSTRATE** Saturday 1 September Assemble 2pm, The Windmill, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool. Organised by Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Committee.

**IMG public meeting THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, FIVE YEARS LATER.** Speakers: Robin Blackburn, Ivan Hartnell, Steve Lynch (GMWU, speaking in a personal capacity). First showing of film of the invasion. Friday 24 August, New Ambassadors Hotel, Upper Woburn Place, London WC1.

## NOTICES

**IS STUDENT seeks accommodation** in Bristol from 1 October. Write John Nightingale, 42 Guildown Road, Guildford, Surrey, or phone 0483 65395.

**GAY MARXIST NO 2 now available:** 10p (including postage and packing), from 18 Dickenson Road, London N8.

**TYPIST NEEDED** by Socialist Worker to take news stories over the telephone (headphones), Mondays and Tuesdays. Write to Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS or phone 01-739 9043.

**TYPIST required** by SW (Litho) Printers. Interesting work. Must be accurate. Apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Phone 01-739 1870.

**THE IMPORTANCE OF MARXISM Today.** The Socialist Party aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. The September Socialist Standard considers the importance of Marx's ideas today. Free copy from Dept SW, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

**IS COMRADE** requires accommodation in Exmouth, Devon, or surrounding area from mid-September. Write Alan, 44 Harrington Road, Leytonstone, London.

# Lucas women fight

BIRMINGHAM:-More than half the workers employed by Lucas are women. But for too long we have been the most badly organised section.

The pay offer now going through Lucas is within the terms of the Tories' wage freeze. As such it represents a severe wage cut to all Lucas workers. The women workers who are still badly organised are in the weakest position to fight this.

The original offer would have given the skilled men £2.60, the semi-skilled men £2.40 and men production workers £2. Women, as usual without any job classification, would have got £1.80 with a 40p instalment towards equal pay.

The Tory £1 plus four per cent would only give us £2.01 with £2 for men production workers, £2.03 for semi-skilled men and £2.22 for skilled men.

The most disgusting part of the offer is the way we have been treated over equal pay. The Tory pay laws allow women workers to be paid only one third of the difference between their rates and the men's. In our case the difference is roughly £3. So the Tories will allow at least 90p.

Even this is more than the miserable 40p Lucas have offered us. And the truth is that they will always fiddle us until we get together and show Lucas that women mean business.

Another favourite little trick of management is to get us to pay for our own equal pay. At Lucas women get a long service award after five years. Men get it after ten.

The company is hoping to end the payment to women after five years. They will only pay it after ten years as 'a move towards equal pay'. But as far as we are concerned 'equality' most certainly does not mean taking away benefits already gained.

As shop stewards, one AUEW, one TGWU, at Lucas we feel that women have been putting up with this situation for too long. All of us must involve ourselves in the union not only in each separate factory but right across the Lucas combine.

We have helped to set up a combine shop stewards committee and are building up contacts in the different factories. Our aim is to form a combine group for all production workers.

We must be organised now or in 1975 when equal pay is law we will find that women are in an even more vulnerable position.

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



FOUR THOUSAND people marched through London on Sunday (picture below) to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and the end of imprisonment without trial. In Coventry 450 people, including a 100-strong International Socialists contingent (pictured left), protested at the imprisonment in solitary confinement of seven local opponents of British rule in Ireland who are facing 'conspiracy' charges.



# MOVE TO BREAK RENT STRIKERS

by Tony Boyle

**MERSEYSIDE:** — Kirkby's Labour council is making a determined effort to smash the Tower Hill estate rents and rates strike. The tenants have been on total rent strike since the council implemented the Housing Finance Act last October.

The council recently decided by five votes to three to give Liverpool county court authority to collect rent arrears direct from tenants' wages through an earning attachment order.

This was the solution suggested by the district auditor at the housing committee meeting. The auditor said he was concerned about the rent arrears at Tower Hill estate—the arrears now stand at £125,000 and are increasing by £2300 a week.

Only eight of the 20 councillors turned up to vote. There is no doubt that the rest of the council stayed away deliberately so they could bleat

in the future, 'well, we never voted for a deduction of rent from tenants' wages. After all we are socialists.'

It came as no surprise to the tenants that the council adopted the district auditor's solution. Most Labour councillors in Kirkby have consistently tried to smash the rent strike over the past ten months. Notices to quit have been served on various tenants, the council has sent out threats of court action against ten tenants and letters inviting tenants to negotiate the payment of arrears. The last attempt the council made to break the rent strike failed miserably.

This was when the council took the rent arrears to the county court as a civil debt and money judgment orders were issued against the tenants. When the orders were delivered by county court bailiffs tenants simply wrote across them 'on rent strike' and sent them back.

In fact only one tenant bothered to attend the court, all the others ignored the summonses.

Every council tenant should realise that a successful deduction of rent from wages would have a serious effect on the campaign to destroy the Housing Finance Act. It has long been recognised that the Tower Hill tenants have been in the forefront of the struggle against the act and allowing the council to go ahead with their decision would give other councils the confidence to take the same action against tenants on strike. This would have the effect of weakening any further opposition to the next round of rent rises in October.

Interfering with any workers' wages should not be tolerated by any trade unionist and the issue should be raised at every level of trade union organisation, with the demand for industrial action in the event of any deductions.

This is the first time that this attempt has been made. Let us make sure it is the last.

We should have a mass turnout of tenants and trade unionists at Tower Hill on 1 September at a demonstration to mark the support for the tenants who were victimised. Speakers will be David Skinner, Clay Cross, Ethel Singleton, Liverpool tenants, Eddie Loyden, Liverpool trades council, Tommy Staples, Kirkby trades council, and Tony Boyle, Tower Hill tenants. The march assembles at the Windmill pub car park, 2pm, to march to Kirkby town centre.

## LAING MEN WIN JOBS BATTLE

**EDINBURGH:**—Building workers on John Laing's massive Heriot Watt university site at Ricorton are fighting to protect their union organisation, improve the terrible conditions and wages.

On Monday seven building workers who had been sacked were reinstated following pressure from two mass meetings and electricians and plumbers on the job, one of Laing's four most important contracts in Britain, came out on strike for a 35p an hour bonus.

Laing management have been trying to keep wages down by getting rid of militant scaffolders and stewards. Other workers have been sacked for similar reasons. But the increasing organisation on the job has scuppered the management's plans.

Shop stewards from both Laing's and the sub-contractors meet regularly and decisions have been taken to keep out the lump and obtain a closed shop.

The joint shop stewards are also drawing up a list of the many breaches of the Factories Act which management commit on site. They are also working on a list of proposals regarding proper site amenities.

The achievements on the site underline the need for a real campaign to implement the recent Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians Scottish region conference decision in favour of a £40 basic wage for working a 35 hour week.

The Laing Ricarton shop stewards committee has also taken a forthright stand against the attempt to prosecute the 24 Shrewsbury building workers for conspiracy and picketing.

Representatives of the defence committee are being invited to address a mass meeting on the site with all expenses paid by a 50p per man levy on all Ricorton workers.

## Back La Roche strike

THE International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions has called on all workers in the multi-national Hoffmann-La Roche chemical group, including Britain, to show solidarity and support for women strikers in Spain.

The women struck last month over their wages of £10 a week, which under rampant inflation do not provide for a minimum standard of living. After they demanded more money the firm sabotaged the talks and brought in the police to intimidate the women and try to break the strike.

## Print union moves in to witch-hunt sit-in four

by Roger Rosewell

**LIVERPOOL:**—The threatened victimisation of the four Tillotson chapel officials of the print union SOGAT is now coming to a head.

This witch-hunt is being organised by the SOGAT executive after a successful six week sit-in earlier this year when the firm declared 26 workers redundant and then sacked the four officials for campaigning against Tillotsons.

Before the end of the sit-in Bill Keys, union president, negotiated an unacceptable settlement, which reinstated the four but accepted the redundancies. Keys, bitter at the rejection of his plan at a mass meeting, later told the chapel committee that he had again spoken with management and clarified that the agreement meant that 26 jobs were redundant and not just 26 people.

The committee accepted the interpretation because they knew that this would force a new crisis with the firm over the redundancy issue. Another reason for acceptance was that the union warned that strike pay would be cut.

Within a week of returning to work, however, the committee's worst fears were confirmed. Keys secretly spoke to the company and agreed that his 'clarification' of the agreement should be reversed. Workers should do the job of those people who had accepted redundancy.

A national union official, Bill Miles, then visited Liverpool to enforce the betrayal and to tell the chapel committee that no discussions on this point could be allowed.

Keys supported this move by sending a hysterical letter saying, 'I can come to no other conclusion that there are forces at work who are not only seeking to destroy the authority of the branch and the society, but by their very actions are about to destroy the livelihood of our members at Tillotsons. This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue.'

### Uproar

Keys also agreed with the firm that they should organise a chapel meeting at which Miles could speak.

The meeting was held in May and was chaired by the local Merseyside branch chairman, who allowed Miles to speak four times before finally declaring, amid uproar, the sell-out carried despite protests that the votes went the other way.

Since then the SOGAT executive has set up a committee of inquiry to look into the role of the four officials and the rejection of Keys' first attempt at a

## STRIKE AT WATCH CENTRE NOW OFFICIAL

**NORTH LONDON:**—The strike at the Seiko watch repair centre at Kilburn is now in its third week and has been made official.

All 24 workers there, 16 men and eight women office workers, came out against management intimidation and the sacking of one man. All of them have since joined the Engineers Union.

In the past week management has added several new dimensions to its techniques of harassment. It is still threatening to sack all workers if they do not return to work. Seiko is making its contacts with the union either through a solicitor or with the assistance of a slick but insidious 'troubleshooter'.

The solicitor informed union district

committee members who have been actively supporting the strike that management was considering moving the repair centre out of Britain in view of the trouble. He also asked to be provided with an AUEW rule book!

The troubleshooter, an American called John Reed who was specially flown in, has been down on the picket trying to split the strikers from the union representatives, but without success.

The workers continue their battle for full recognition and reinstatement of the sacked member and no victimisation. Donations are urgently needed. Send to: G Riley, Hon Treasurer, Seiko Strike Committee, 36 Gresly Road, London N19.

settlement.

When the inquiry met in June Miles accused the four of being 'anarchists, communists and trotskyites' and the committee found them guilty, ignoring the fact that a mass meeting had rejected the deal.

This verdict has been endorsed by the full executive which has summoned the local branch officials to discuss charges under the rule book against the four.

Meanwhile, the union has further shown its contempt for rank and file democracy by instructing branch officials to take over certain negotiations at Tillotsons. This would have meant that the chapel's own elected officials would have been excluded from dealing with problems in their own factory.

Quite rightly the membership has refused to accept this crude interference with their democratic rights. SOGAT has a reputation as a 'left wing union'. It is not a reputation that impresses or consoles the Tillotson Four.

It is this issue of rank and file democracy that is at the centre of the Tillotsons affair. It is because rank and file democracy needs to be defended that the four must be given every support and any victimisation defeated.



I would like to join the International Socialists

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# Danger signs ignored at pit

by Dave Dickson and Jim Smith

**KIRKCALDY:**—The public inquiry into the causes of the roof collapse which killed five miners at Seafield Colliery in May opened last week.

The evidence, often given by men who had worked in collieries for more than 20 years, shows that evident danger signs were largely ignored as the D22 section was considered safer than many neighbouring workings.

The Coal Board's anxiety to get D22 into production quickly—it was opened only three weeks before the collapse—is not an isolated incident. Its attitude to safety is apparent in the scanty arrangements for examining potential dangers which, witnesses made clear, are universal.

The hydraulically-powered roof supports, 'chocks', used in D22 were old and of a kind not ordered by the Coal Board since 1967. The 'chockers' and maintenance men were mostly inexperienced in this type of support.

Answers to questions put by Scottish NUM president Mick McGahey revealed that, in spite of the Coal Board's much-vaunted training schemes and teach-ins, the colliery officials and maintenance men had little or no specific training.

The coal-cutting equipment, like the chocks, had been ordered for another face. The machine's cut was too big, so that gutters appeared on the floor and roof, making the roof prone to collapse and causing excessive dust. Yet this was not regarded as unusual.

Leaks from the hydraulic system had, according to one official, become so commonplace that he had 'automatically come to accept them'. The 6in deep waste on the floor was likewise accepted, although Alexander Burnside, who led a team of shearers and chockers, believed it caused the chocks to tilt 'slightly'.

## Drive

McGahey asked: 'In other words, the chocks were not on a sound foundation?' Burnside replied: 'Yes.'

Wooden props were often necessary between the chocks and the roof, which made advancing the chocks hazardous on the steep face. But the amount of wood used at D22 was far less than in many other pits. Cuts in the roof were evident but, by NCB standards, D22 was exceptionally 'geologically sound'.

The drive for continuous working means little time for information to be passed from one shift to another. So though chockers had heard warning 'bumps' the previous night, this was unknown to the next shift.

There was little discussion about the 16 connecting pins which mysteriously vanished, leaving about eight chocks disconnected from the 'canopies' which should be wedged between the chock legs and the roof. Falling canopies have been a permanent 'problem' at D22, but again this is a familiar feature in many pits.

The truth is that the Seafield collapse could have happened in hundreds of workings. Indeed, roof falls happen daily. What distinguished D22 was that five miners died because the consequences of the fall were made far greater by the 38-degree-slope of the face, which meant that the fall had a 'domino' effect. This might have been averted had the face run up the slope rather than across it.

Yet there is no reason to think that D22 will not be repeated. Some workings slope as much as 45 degrees, and profits to the Coal Board are always more important than safety.

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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AIRCRAFT WORKERS BARRICADE GATES—page 10

# SPARKS FLY IN BIG TEST CASE

**COVENTRY:**—Chrysler management has turned the Stoke and Ryton electricians' claim for an immediate payment of a £250 interim increase into a test case for all current wage negotiations in the company. The pay-off Chrysler undoubtedly expects

for supporting the Phase Two wage ceiling is government approval of dearer Chrysler cars.

Just after the freeze the electricians negotiated an agreement giving them staff status with better holiday and sickness payments similar to the

recent toolmakers' agreement. But the company insisted that this was caught in the pay freeze.

The electricians then demanded an £250 interim payment until the staff agreement could operate. Management then sought the 'advice' of the government Pay Board and found that they could not pay it. They are naturally very keen on such laws.

The electricians put in strike notices and banned overtime two weeks ago. They came out on strike when managers started doing their work during the ban.

At Stoke the joint shop stewards blacked any electricians' work carried out by non-electricians. But at Ryton transport union convenor Jock Gibson spoke against such a stand because it meant lay-offs without lay-off pay.

## DECISION

The electricians put pickets on. Gibson and other TGWU high-ups told transport drivers to go through and bitterness increased.

But on Monday millwrights at Ryton refused to cross the picket line. Management then decided to lay off almost all the 9000 workers at the two plants without lay-off pay.

The management has taken a tough line and is as usual playing off section against section because it fears that if the electricians win it will have wide repercussions in all the other current wage talks.

The crucial aspect in this dispute is to overcome sectional differences and put up a united front against the Heath freeze.

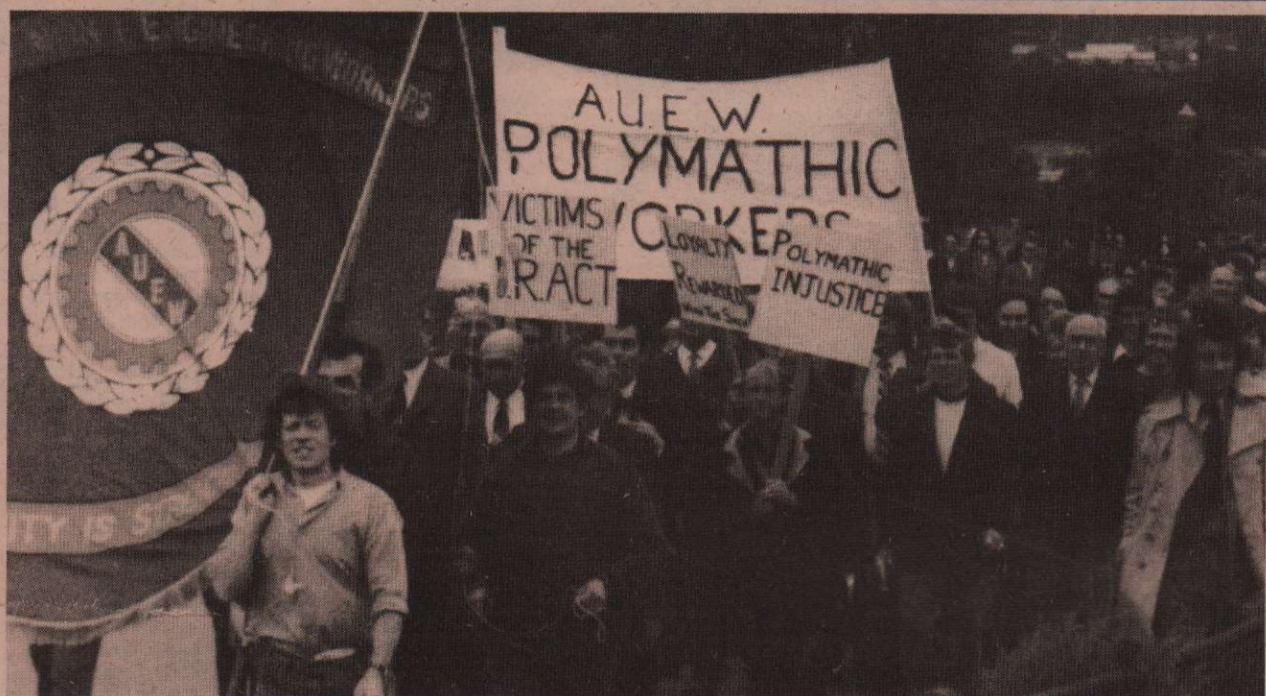
## Steelmen fight

**GLASGOW:**—Workers at the British Steel Corporation Tollcross Foundry are taking the lead in the fight against sackings in the Scottish steel industry.

The workers, who have been involved in the national action committee of rank and file steelworkers, have called a demonstration on Wednesday 22 August (2pm) in North Frederick Street, Glasgow.

## Council charity

**PLYMOUTH:**—The local housing action group's campaign for homes for the homeless has claimed a victory with the council promising to make one house available for the homeless, of which there are about 100 in the city.



## NCB: We're to blame

THE National Coal Board has admitted liability for the disaster three weeks ago at Markham Colliery, near Chesterfield, in which 17 miners were killed. The board will pay compensation to the miners' widows and orphans without putting up the usual obscene legal battle over who is to blame.

Socialist Worker regrets the implication in the report on Markham two issues ago that the Derbyshire Miners Union was involved in a re-organisation of its Markham branches with a view to reducing militancy. Union officials stress that they are re-organising at Markham because management has been playing off one branch against another and because the present branch structure has led to workers in the same unit being subject to different branch decisions on such things as overtime bans.

**MIDLANDS:**—Nearly 300 trade unionists from Birmingham, Tamworth and Wolverhampton marched last week in support of the workers at Polymathic, Tamworth, who were sacked for supporting a May Day rally.

At the meeting afterwards Bill Setterfield, district secretary of the Engineering Union, which organised the march, called for 'a programme of confrontation'.

Although only 19 members of the AUEW are in dispute, the principle of trade union organisation makes it a vital dispute, and Bob Wright, executive member of the AUEW, emphasised this at the meeting. 'We have got to force this company into recognition,' he said, and called for the total blacking of all Polymathic products.

The origins of the dispute, show clearly the maverick nature of the management. Fifteen months ago workers de-

cidied to join the AUEW because while they were on short-time working staff were doing their work. Since then management has tried all methods to prevent the union getting established.

Said Bob Wright: 'They've withdrawn from the Engineering Employers Federation—and God knows they're not a progressive body—refused to attend meetings with us and ignored correspondence.'

Last Wednesday's demonstration revealed the support in the local trade union movement to see this dispute won. 'We must trace all material supplies so they can be blacked at source and shop stewards should be alert to the use of Polymathic products and report them,' he said.

As a result of delegations by stewards to Birmingham there is now wide interest in the dispute. Details of the firm's products and suppliers can be obtained from: AUEW Offices, Anson Street, Rugeley, Staffs.

## 'Sack' firm warned

**MANCHESTER:**—The night shift at James Halstead, manufacturers of vinyl flooring in Whitefield, walked off the job on Monday evening, following the sacking of the convenor and branch secretary.

The next morning they were joined by 250 shop floor workers and a motion to strike until the two men were reinstated was passed unanimously.

The victimisation of John Nielson and Frank Logan, members of the United Rubber Workers Union, followed a mass meeting on Friday which discussed branch business.

The meeting was important in that it was the first time the plant had been stopped for a mass meeting, a sign of the growing strength of shop floor organisation.

Obviously the management hoped to squash this development by picketing the two influential shop floor leaders.

But the speed and strength of the men's reaction has them worried, and they must wonder how long they can go on making £8 a week profit from each worker while paying £26 for 40 hours.

## GEC WOMEN STAY OUT —DESPITE CONVENOR

**COVENTRY:**—200 women production strikers at GEC's Spon Street works are stepping up their fight.

After a 24-hour picket at the weekend, Monday turned out to be an eventful day. Management tried to provoke the pickets by bringing the police in. Pickets, through their shop stewards Carol Knapp and Hilda Beilakovski, made it clear that they were not going to be intimidated by talk of black marias coming to arrest them for obstruction.

It was at this point that the remarkable role of AUEW works convenor Albert Beardmore was again displayed. In the last few weeks this man has

instructed his own union members to break through picket lines manned by other AUEW members from the factory. Some of his own members walked out in protest.

attempted to remove the AUEW deputy convenor's card from Elsie Moles, AUEW deputy convenor, who is trusted by the production girls.

told the strikers repeatedly that their strike was 'illegal'.

and on Saturday worked overtime while his own members were on official strike.

On Monday it took a fierce argument to persuade him that he should stop his union members from smashing through picket lines.

The strike is becoming important locally. Collection sheets are circulating in other factories and through the GEC combine. The GEC rank and file paper is organising support. The issues involved—the freeze, undemocratic union machine, the right to picket, the fact that the strikers are women—make it essential that support grows.

## Equal pay strike ends

**MANCHESTER:**—Equal pay strikers at Salford Electrical Industries, a subsidiary of GEC-AEI, voted to return to work last Friday after the women won a £1.17 rise. Most workers regard the outcome as a victory, but militants are disturbed by the acceptance of job evaluation.

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