

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Now it's up to rank and file to smash freeze

TUC DUCKS

THE MESSAGE has come loud and clear from the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool this week: there will be no official fight against Phase Three of the Tories' incomes policy.

The union leaders are prepared to go on talking to a government responsible for a massive assault on workers, their living standards and their organisations.

One reason dominated the TUC decision to continue the talks with Heath. They know that Phase Three will be more vicious than Phase Two and that living standards will be slashed this winter as prices, rents, rates and mortgages continue to rip.

But at all costs, the unions must not get a 'bad public image' by being held responsible for breaking off the talks. All the union leaders know the talks will break down.

The Tory demands will be too high even for the TUC to stomach. But appearances are vital and so the farcical debate dragged on.

The spinelessness, servility and total integration of the TUC into the profit-making system could not be more clear. To break off the talks would not be a powerful step, the signal of an all-out fight, just an indication that some opposition will be put up.

They have refused to do even this. The white flag of surrender was raised over the Blackpool Opera House this week.

Unlike the union leaders, the rank and file of the movement have no choice but to fight to defend their wages and living conditions in the harsh months ahead. They will have to take on Phase Three—but without any official support from the windbags of the General Council of the TUC.

STARTED

In fact that struggle has already started.

At Wilmot Breeden in Birmingham, 450 maintenance men have refused a maximum '£1 plus 4 per cent' offer of £3.50 a week and are on strike.

At Dunlop, 1300 maintenance engineers want a firm commitment from management to pay them money lost during the freeze when Phase Three starts. Dunlop has refused and unofficial strike action by the men has affected 11 of the 18 Dunlop plants in Britain.

And in Cornwall, China Clay workers at St Austell are fighting a government ban on a £3.50 productivity increase.

Talks or no talks, the Tory-employer attack will step up this autumn and winter. TUC or no TUC, the workers are already fighting back.

A heavy responsibility falls on militants and socialists to help build the powerful grass roots organisations that can link up and unite workers in struggle to smash Phase Three.

The TUC has turned its back on the fight. Now it is up to us.

TUC report and Phase 3 prospects: page 2.

PHASE 3 FIGHT



FIFTEEN THOUSAND PENSIONERS marched and rallied in Blackpool on Sunday on the eve of the Trades Union Congress, demanding action from the labour movement to end the scandal of the pauper's pittance paid to them by the government. Braving wind and rain they walked to a rally to listen to empty platitudes from Jack Jones and newly-pensioned Vic Feather about all the tough and uncompromising actions the TUC will think about taking on their behalf. But if the demand for a £10 a week single pension and £16 for a couple is to become reality this year and perhaps a few thousand fewer old people are to die from starvation this winter, then it is up to the ordinary shop floor workers to organise a real campaign of industrial action to back the pensioners. REPORT: page 3. PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report).

Mines sabotage smear exposed

by Paul Foot

THE CORE of the Coal Board's argument that miners at Goldthorpe colliery, Mexborough, Yorks, had indulged in deliberate sabotage has been shattered.

Police tests on a haulage chain stated by Coal Board officials to have been 'sawn through with a hacksaw' have shown that the chain broke with metal fatigue.

On 17 August, Mr John Mills, area director of the Coal Board in Doncaster, described the break in the chain as 'a clear act of sabotage.'

He went on: 'There is no doubt in my mind that this was carried out with complete disregard for the lives and limbs of the men on the coal face. A weakened haulage chain such as the one sawn through is one of the most potentially lethal things imaginable on the coal face.'

The entire press and both television channels gave much prominence to these 'revelations'. Local papers linked the 'undoubted sabotage' with the militancy of miners in the Doncaster area, and indicated that militancy bred murderers.

The local officials of the National Union of Mineworkers, including Arthur Scargill, NUM secretary for the Yorkshire area, offered 'full co-operation' with management and police in 'rooting out those responsible'.

Abuse

One man spoke out against the disclosures. Dennis Skinner, Labour MP for Bolsover and a miner for 21 years, described them as 'another Reichstag fire'.

He went on: 'I just cannot believe that a miner can do this sort of thing.'

'I am more inclined to believe that this is a made-up story by the NCB... to draw attention away from themselves.'

Abuse was heaped on Dennis Skinner from all sides. Outraged NCB foremen filled the columns of local newspapers with calls for his resignation.

Now he is demanding an apology. He says: 'If we have people running the Coal Board who couldn't tell the difference between the work of a hacksaw blade and metal fatigue—no wonder they are spending all that unnecessary money on pit props.'

Dennis Skinner's statement, although distributed to all newspapers and television by the Press Association, was not published anywhere.

There will be no apology from the Coal Board. A spokesman for the Doncaster area of the NCB told me: 'The original sabotage statement was made in good faith. That is what we believed the situation to be at the time. We still think there was some sabotage. Some light chain and pieces of wood were found bolted into a stage loader—'

SOCIALIST WORKER
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HORSE-DEALING AT

THE ENGINEERING WORKERS came to Blackpool with a principled stand. There should be no more talks with the Tories about an incomes policy. And before they came, they instructed their president, Hugh Scanlon, that he should attend no more sessions of these phoney talks.

Hugh Scanlon disagreed but was bound by his union's decision. His union also hoped to bind others much less sympathetic. The story of their failure is the story of the TUC this year and every year until the TUC is transformed by a principled, fighting minority grouping which pursues common policies throughout the delegations.

The engineers met on Saturday to discuss the text of their motion to widen the boycott of the National Industrial Relations Court and to end the talks with the Tories. At the delegation meeting, the right wing in the union pushed and pushed hard for the two points to be raised together. They did this because they felt that if the two points were raised in unison then the left would be smashed, the NIRC would not be boycotted and the talks would not be ended.

But the left thought they were way ahead of the right. They would accept a wrecking amendment from the Transport Workers, restricting the call to one of total boycott of the NIRC.

Later in the week the breaking off of the talks would be discussed as a separate motion. In this way the great god 'unity' would be achieved.

In this way the Transport Workers and, hopefully through their block votes, the TUC as a whole would be brought to heel on one issue of principle at least.

PREPARED

It was not to be. For the Transport Workers had mixed a shrewd betting-shop calculation with their basic policy. Their policy has been that the NIRC should not be boycotted unless the boycott encompasses all TUC member unions. But in the interests of unity with Hugh Scanlon they seemed prepared to go along with a move to enforce a complete boycott.

One of the factors which informed the Transport Union leaders' calculations was that the total boycott move was not likely to succeed.

At the Brighton TGWU conference in July the leadership put up speakers to oppose a call to boycott the NIRC. This week, just two months later, they put up deputy general secretary Harry Urwin to support one.

As could be predicted, the move



**TUC
'73**

Laurie Flynn reports

was defeated. The TGWU could continue to attend the court, while left image would continue to be on show.

During the debate on boycotting the NIRC, the most fantastic ideas were brought to bear against the engineering workers. Hugh Scanlon spoke well on the fact that the leadership of the TUC had not been the front runners in opposing and neutering the Industrial Relations Act.

It was, he said, the official and unofficial direct action of the rank and file which had brought the working-class movement through. They had shown that the Act could not be resisted by legal manoeuvres, only by direct defiance.

Why should the trade unions give



Jack Jones (right) in a huddle with TGWU delegates. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

a castrated Act and a discredited court, a blood transfusion, asked Scanlon?

The answer was not forthcoming. Instead Sidney Greene of the railwaymen, Tom Jackson of the postal workers and Vic Feather spouted their servile nonsense about fighting the court in the court, opposing the law of the land by complying with it.

But Scanlon and the engineers did not challenge them at the level which guarantees their success. For Hugh a left bloc vote might just be mustered to outweigh the right.

The left in the AUEW compromised their motion and against their own rules undercut their own

union's stand in favour of breaking off the talks. The unity they pursued was a false unity, a unity of secret meetings and horse trading, a unity which helps to maintain a policy of

do nothing.

For in doing nothing it is said there is no chance element. At the TUC, impotence, it seems, is the most attractive form of power.

UNION BACKS AEC MEN

SOUTHALL:—The significance of the four-week-old strike by 22 men, who finish off military vehicles at AEC, British Leyland Bus & Truck Plant, has finally come home to the shop stewards committee.

The strike raises a central issue of last year's Measured Day Work agreement—'mutuality'. A foreman tried to move five 'excessive men' without the agreement of the section shop steward. The men walked off the job.

As the steward, Peter Cassetari, told Socialist Worker: 'There are four sections

in this factory where there is talk of "excessive labour"—the management thought that if they could get away with moving some of us, then they could do it anywhere. They forget that there is now a higher work content than ever before.'

Until last week many workers in the factory did not know the reason for the stoppage. Now however a collection of £240 has been organised, some publicity arranged, and the strike has been recognised by the Southall AUEW District Committee.

Phase 3: Tories will step up attack on your wages

by JOHN PALMER

rate increases next year simply because of the crippling level of council loan charges.

Heath's economic advisors are also worried about what is happening to the 'summer miracle'—the boom in output and jobs. Working-class families are spending less in the shops because their take-home pay buys less. At the same time big business is wary about laying down new plant and machinery with money costs so high and the outlook so uncertain.

That—even without higher taxes or other economic restrictions—is a recipe for an end to the boom and high unemployment in 1974.

To make matters worse all the most important economies in the world are facing similar problems and in most of them a recession is now expected. But if every one is producing and selling less on the world market next year there is a real danger of the nearest thing to a world slump since the 1930s.

But it might be a slump with a difference. Unlike past slumps when prices fell the signs are that inflation will continue unabated. One reason for this is that the giant companies these days pass on in higher prices the cost to themselves of having plant and machinery lying idle.

They will be even quicker to do this in future because worries about long-term profit trends is making management determined to use every trick in the book to boost profits.

Profits

It is precisely an attempt to prevent an erosion of the vast profits now being reported by industry let alone the banks and other parts of the economy that the government is putting the finishing touches to Phase Three.

That is why under Phase Three real wages—after price increases as well as taxes and other stoppages—

are planned to fall. In that way it is hoped to redistribute a bigger share of total income to profits.

The major snag in the whole operation remains the working people themselves. If they allow their living standards to take a big drop the Tories may be able to buy a little time before they come back to demand even greater sacrifices.

Killings

In the meantime some people need fear no sacrifices. Anyone with a minimum of £50,000 spare can 'earn' a mere £6000 a year merely by placing the sum on the City money markets.

This is just what some of the bright boys are doing, having made killings of 100 per cent or more speculating in commodities, including the foodstuffs you and I depend on. No wonder they reported a record increase in the number of millionaires this year.

The rich and the privileged need a tough Phase Three to stay rich and privileged. The working class need it like a hole in the head.

With every week that passes, and with every new piece of bad economic news, the Phase Three pill is being stripped of its sugar coating.

That observation contained in a stockbroker's economic forecast for his investing clients is not wide of the mark. The nearer we get to Phase Three of the government's 'anti-inflation policy' the clearer becomes the unpalatable nature of the pill.

Even a few months ago it was possible to argue that although Phase Three was obviously going to be tougher on wage earners than Phase Two, there might still be room for some concessions. There were hopes, encouraged by some trade union leaders, that a rise in real living standards, however modest, would be negotiable.

The only real argument going on now is by how much real wages will be depressed in the coming year—and for how long.

The recent National Institute economic report fairly accurately sketches in the background to the Chequers/Downing Street talks. Not only are prices rising by nearly 10 per cent a year but far from that figure falling next year it will continue at least into the second half of 1974. By then the purchasing power of the pound in your pocket will

have been cut by between a fifth and a quarter since the end of 1972.

One reason for the forecast that prices will continue to rise are the forecasts of still higher world commodity prices. These have been driven up further by the action of speculators who reckon it will be more profitable to hold contracts in cocoa, wheat or copper than cash, or shares.

Increases

It is also becoming clear that the world-wide rise in interest rates is also helping to push up prices charged by a wide range of companies.

Of course rocketing interest rates also push up the cost of living directly by forcing up the cost of home loans which now threaten to pass the 11 per cent level. And in spite of the recent—and current—round of rent increases many local authorities are now even deeper in the red to the moneylenders.

In other words tenants can look forward to even steeper rent and

BLACKPOOL

Jones promises tough action — for half a day

THERE WAS one fine sight in Blackpool on Sunday amidst the soaking rain. Thousands upon thousands of pensioners had come by coach and by train to demonstrate their anger, their anguish and their plight. Their placards told a little of their tale, which is in every sense of the word one of atrocity. 'We want bread, milk and meat while we live, not tears and flowers after we die,' read one.

Jack Jones, and Vic Feather were there to show that the trade unions cared, that the unions would take up the cause and fly the banners high. Perhaps

they will take them with them to the next session of Downing Street talks?

Jack Jones showed just how determined a fight the unions would put up when he spoke to the pensioners' rally. The TUC will press and press again for the beginnings of a decent pension, he said. 'And if the Tories will not listen then our campaign will have to go as far as industrial action. I do not know what it will be—one hour, half a day—but if it has to, it will have to be taken.'

GINGER MEN LACK AN AUDIENCE

INSIDE the Labour Party there is believe it or not a ginger group for more radical policies around the paper Tribune. Those in the labour movement who are either household names or are on the threshold of being household names are closely involved in stirring the thin gruel of Tribune's socialism and proclaiming what wholesome stuff it is.

At every TUC, Tribune has its finger on the pulse. It holds a meeting. This year it was regaled with stars.

There was Hugh Scanlon, president of the engineers, and Will Paynter, Spanish Civil War veteran, former secretary of the Mineworkers, member of the Labour government's anti-union Commission on Industrial Relations and now, after being compelled to resign once again, passionate advocate of trade union freedom in Spain.

There was Alec Kitson of the Transport Union and the Labour Party executive, whose star is definitely in the ascendant and believed to be at least faintly red in colour. And then there was a new face, Charlie Grieve of the Tobacco Workers who was recently 'elected' on to the TUC General Council by other members of the General Council and is claimed to be a left winger.

STIRRED

The only thing that was missing was an audience. And maybe it was just as well because the gruel wore very thin indeed.

Hugh Scanlon spoke. At least he has the merit of sounding sincere. The press, he said, had stirred up the splits between the Transport Union and the Engineers after ending the talks with the Tories, which pleased Alec Kitson whose union is not in favour of breaking off the talks.

There was only a difference of opinion between the president and the union, said Hugh. He was in favour of the talks because you only stop talking after you've been beaten, he said. No matter that when you're talking you're actually courting defeat. Scanlon left immediately after he'd finished his speech.

Will Paynter spoke about Spain and then rushed off to a beano organised by the NUM. Charlie Grieve talked about the need to halt the arms race and said he hoped that support would be forthcoming for his union's motion on the subject and presumably for himself in what are laughingly called the elections to the General Council.

Tribune's men are of course passionate believers in democracy. This presumably explains why no questions are allowed at their meetings.



Hallo... goodbye... Vic Feather talking at the TUC while successor Len Murray waits

Flying pickets' tough line with blackleg lorries

HAVANT:—Fitters are into their third week of a strike for union recognition at Tampax. The strike has been made official by the engineering union.

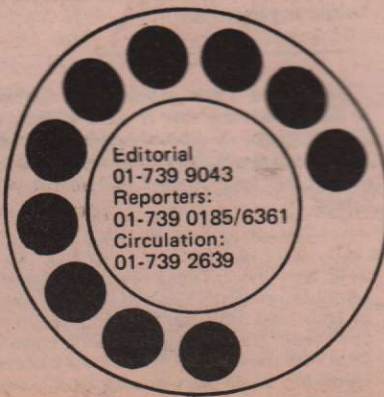
On the first day of the strike engineering and transport union members got the 24-hour picket off to a flying start. It has stopped all but three lorries getting into the factory.

Shopworkers Union members at the Boots central warehouse in Nottingham have agreed to black any lorry loads arriving from the factory. One lorry, belonging to Tolley and Smale at Bideford, Devon, was stopped on its way out of the factory with a smashed windscreen and the driver was found by the police to be strapped into his seat and his door was chained and padlocked.

The women workers at the factory are joining the strike one by one and organised a one-day token stoppage last Wednesday. Unless the women do come out and stop the factory completely the strike is going to be long and bitter. A mass picket is to be organised after the next AUEW district

committee meeting and all trade unionists in the area are asked to support it when the date is announced.

Donations and messages of support are urgently needed and should be sent to E Lewis, 55 Castle Road, Rowlands Castle, Hants.



Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

ARTICLE 125 of the Constitution of the USSR states: 'In conformity with the interests of working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly.'

Just what these constitutional guarantees are worth in practice is shown by the trial and conviction of Yakir and Krassin for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. Their 'crimes' amounted to criticising the government and the set-up in the USSR and to circulating their 'slanders' in typewritten broadsheets. They also committed the horrible offence of talking to foreign newspapermen.

What sort of a society is it that finds it necessary to send men to prison and exile for 'offences' of this sort? Suppose for a moment that everything Yakir and Krassin said was nonsense. Brezhnev and the other rulers of the USSR have at their disposal television, radio and the entire press. Powerful enough weapons to refute the 'slanders', if that is what they are, that appear in obscure, secretly circulated sheets. But of course the fact that Brezhnev and his associates are afraid of a handful of open dissidents is proof enough that what the 'slanderers' are saying is what ordinary citizens of the USSR know to be the truth—namely that the regime is an oppressive tyranny whose bosses will not permit any criticism of their rule.

Three arguments are commonly used by supporters of the 'Stalinism without Stalin' that exists in Russia. They point out that laws like Article 70 of the Penal Code of the USSR (under which Yakir and Krassin were convicted) exist in other countries too. Well, it is true enough that people are sent to prison in Spain for attacking Franco, that people are sent to prison in Greece for attacking Papadopolous and similarly in a host of other reactionary dictatorships.

Are these then the models for an allegedly 'socialist' society? What sort of 'socialism' is it that deprives working people of rights that they enjoy even in openly capitalist countries like Britain and the USA?

It is argued that the USSR has to use these savage laws to protect itself against 'counter-revolutionary elements'. But why should these be a serious threat after half a century of 'Soviet' rule? This argument is really an admission that the mass of the citizens of the USSR would get rid of their rulers if they could—and the rulers know it very well.

But then, we are told, the accused confessed and repented of their 'crimes'. Surely that proves that the government is right to prosecute them? Now, as it happens, we know why political offenders who are put on trial always 'confess' in Russia. We know it from an unimpeachable source—namely, N S Khrushchev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and top boss of the USSR for nearly ten years until 1963. Speaking to the twentieth congress of the party in 1956 he said of the political trials of the Stalin period: 'All their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with hostile activity were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures.' Those who held out under torture, and Khrushchev quoted a number of cases, were simply shot or imprisoned without a public trial. That was and is the reason why no political offender ever pleads not guilty in a Russian court.

This barbaric tyranny has nothing whatever to do with socialism. That it is called socialist has done more damage to the cause of socialism than anything else. But it will not last for ever. The fact that political 'show trials' are being staged again is a sure sign that there is massive discontent underneath the surface of Brezhnev's despotism. One day it will explode.

HOUSING RACKET

WAY BACK in the 1950s the Tories deliberately set out to restrict the development of public housing and so force large numbers of working people to accept the 'benefits' of property ownership by buying their own houses. The Tories figured that house owners would vote Tory.

We now see the results. Last year, when mortgages were fairly easy to come by, house prices soared. Now they are falling a little because it is very hard to get a mortgage. If this difficulty is overcome prices will soar again. Less new houses of all kinds are being built than at any time for a decade. Council tenants are squeezed, by extortionate rent rises. Private 'owners' are squeezed by extortionate interest rates. There will be no solution until housing becomes a publicly provided service.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2



French immigrants fight new storm of racism

AN ALGERIAN immigrant with a history of brain damage went berserk on a Marseilles bus, killing the driver and wounding several passengers, at the end of August.

This incident has unleashed a racialist storm in France and throws light on the position of immigrant workers there. One result has been a series of attacks on

Algerians and other North African immigrants.

On the same evening, for instance, a young Frenchman installed himself in a car outside a cafe used by North Africans in a Paris suburb and opened fire with a rifle, killing one and wounding two others.

In Marseilles a young Algerian was murdered in what appears to be a racialist

attack on the day of the bus-driver's funeral.

The French newspaper Le Monde reports that many North Africans are terrified to leave their homes. A 'Committee for the Defence of the People of Marseilles' operating from the same address as the 'National Front'—a coalition of extreme-right groups—tried to organise a demonstration which was banned by the police.

There are more than three million foreign workers in France, almost half of them from the former French colonies in North Africa. To many of them the racialist incidents of the past few days are only a more extreme version of things they experience every day.

Not long ago a Portuguese worker was seized by a gang of youths and thrown into the river Seine, where he drowned.

Hunted

In the South of France racist incidents are commonplace. The most notorious was two months ago in Grasse where immigrant workers who had gone on a deputation to the town hall were hunted through the streets by police and local right extremists.

These incidents are only the tip of the iceberg. Immigrant workers in France face racism in more everyday ways. As in Britain they have been brought in to fill the dirtiest and worst paid jobs.

Immigrant workers have almost no rights. To get the right to live in France they have to show they have a job and housing. Often this means taking jobs under contracts which, for instance, bar them from joining unions and force them to live in overcrowded company 'hostels'.

Those who escape from these prisons and manage to bring their families are driven out into the tin and cardboard shanty towns which have sprung up around most big French cities. In a country where mass trade unionism is weak and where bosses' unions, run often by extreme right wingers, are still common, as in Chrysler's French subsidiary Simca, immigrant workers are often terrorised into joining these stooge 'unions' in order to get a job.

Decent

Illegal immigration is a business, linked to unscrupulous employers. Desperate and poverty-stricken Africans from former French colonies, such as the countries of the 'Sahel' currently hit by a terrible and murderous drought after years of exploitation by France, are smuggled across the Alps or the Pyrenees, some of them dying of cold on the way.

The traditional left, notably the Communist Party, the biggest, and the main French union, the Communist Party controlled CGT, have done little to help immigrant workers. They have even joined the right in calling for stricter immigration control.

Immigrant workers are fighting back. All over France groups of immigrants have resisted evictions from hostels and have won decent rehousing, often with the support of revolutionary socialists.

Sixty per cent of the North African workforce in the Marseilles area struck for the day on Monday in protest at racist attacks.

Two months demonstrations forced the modification of the notorious 'Fontanet circular' which would have made residence permits entirely dependent on having a job—so making a sacked worker liable to instant deportation.

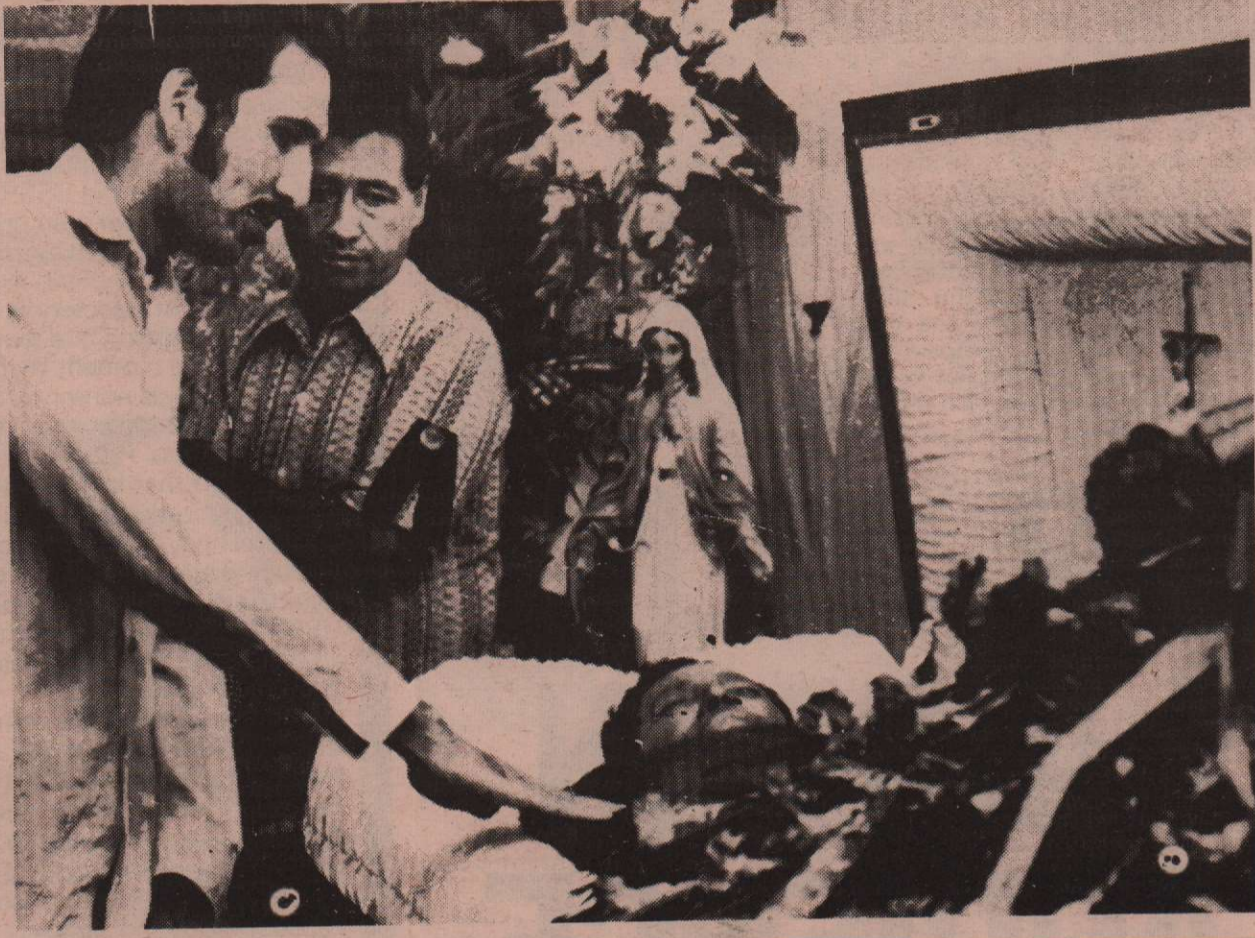
At the same time the government was forced to give an amnesty for illegal immigrants. As in Britain immigrant workers are under attack. As in Britain they are showing that militant struggle is the only defence.

Farm picket murdered by union assassin

JUAN DE LA CRUZ lies in state in California, the victim of an assassin's bullet. Juan was a farmworker, picketing the California vineyards in support of the United Farm Workers Union campaign to renew wage contracts with the growers.

A militant campaign by the UFW won vastly-improved pay and conditions for the workers—most of them Mexican-born—who had been used as virtual slave labour before the union was formed. But the growers decided to fight back and most are refusing to renew the contracts. Instead they are signing deals for less money with the giant Teamsters Union, which was expelled from the American equivalent of the TUC for its links with the Mafia.

The Teamsters have sent squads of armed thugs into California to protect the growers and fight the UFW. A bullet from a Teamster thug's gun killed Juan De La Cruz. UFW leader Cesar Chavez (right in the picture) is appealing to unions throughout the world to boycott California grapes in solidarity with the union's struggle.



CHRYSLER: THUGS RULE DETROIT TOO

from Pat Denny in Detroit

'CHRYSLER'S THUGS' was a recent front-page headline in Socialist Worker. Here in Detroit the same headline is even more accurate. Sadly, however, the thugs involved were full-time officials, members of the United Automobile Workers (UAW).

More than a thousand, with UAW armbands and police-type batons, appeared on Thursday 16 August to break a strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping Plant. They prevented picketing and physically assaulted workers who attempted to picket.

The strike was one of a series of unofficial actions by workers at some of Chrysler's Detroit plants which shook both the company and the UAW bureaucrats.

The first of these was on 24 July at the Jefferson Assembly plant. Two black militants chained themselves into the power control centre and shut off the supply to the track in support of an often-repeated demand for the sacking of racist Superintendent Woolsey.

CONDITIONS

More than a thousand shop-floor workers supported the action. Eventually management signed a written guarantee that Woolsey would be sacked and no disciplinary measures would be taken against those on strike. UAW vice-president Douglas Frazer, who is in charge of the union's Chrysler department, condemned the firm for conceding the demands of the strikers.

Next to be hit by the strike wave was the Detroit Forge Plant, which was closed down for six days. The strike was caused by the appalling health and safety conditions.

Chrysler's Detroit plants are among the oldest and most dangerous in the town. Resentment has built up recently after two serious accidents, in one a black worker had a hand smashed by unguarded machinery.

Frazer, who usually spends his time trying to smash rank and file militancy, was forced by the extent of the dangers to life and limb into threatening official strike action. But this threat did not prevent him from rigging the result of a union meeting and forcing a return to work. The next Monday Chrysler, jubilant at having won out, sacked seven militant strike leaders.

TROUBLE

Meanwhile trouble was brewing at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant. William Gilbreath, a militant, had been sacked on a number of charges.

On Tuesday 14 August, he returned to the plant to inquire about reinstatement. He took direct action, attempting to stop the line by sitting on it. At this he was assaulted by security guards. Clinton Smith and other workers sprang to his assistance and the guards had to beat a hasty retreat.

Chrysler retaliated by closing the plant and ordering everyone home, instructing them not to return to work until further notice. Two hundred workers decided to remain in the plant, others went home having heard nothing of the trouble.

The sit-in continued until Wednesday morning. Then the police, assured of UAW support, entered the plant and arrested Gilbreath and Smith and all who refused to leave. An impromptu meeting outside the plant decided to continue the strike and picket the following morning.

Then came events which can only be described as a disgrace to trade unionism.

Frazer organised all the full-time officials and racists available, gave them arm-bands and armed many with clubs and sticks. He took them to the Mack Avenue Plant where they proceeded to assault Gilbreath, who was out on bail, and anyone else who tried to picket. So the main elements in physically smashing the strike were

UAW support for police action, and then thuggery by the UAW itself against striking workers.

The 1000 thugs who stopped the strike were all white, while the strike was almost totally black, the proportion of black production workers at Chrysler being high.

Militant workers are now contrasting the results of the various strikes. The tremendous success at the Jefferson Plant was won after throwing the UAW negotiations out and in spite of the union. The defeats at Detroit Forge and Mack Avenue were directly caused by the UAW.

BRIEFING

A STRIKE of 6000 Ford workers in Cologne, West Germany, ended last Thursday after police, brought in to protect scabs, attacked pickets and made several arrests.

The strike began when 300 Turkish workers were sacked for returning late from their holidays. A strike committee set up to fight the issue also demanded an hourly increase of 18.5p and a cut in line speeds. The strikers did succeed in winning a cost of living bonus of £46 for all workers. The metal workers' union showed its solidarity by issuing a statement denouncing 'extremists' from outside the factory for preventing the workers from returning to work.

THE United States government has made it clear just how low it rates Asian lives. The navigator of a bomber which bombed a Cambodian village by mistake, killing 137 people, has been fined £143—just over £1 a head.

THE New York Times recently splashed a headline reading: 'Cost of feeding family of four here increases 3.9 per cent in just one week.' In the US prices are shooting up across the board. Chicken has increased from 62 cents per pound to 92 cents,

bacon from one dollar 43 to one dollar 77, pork chops from a dollar 67 to two dollars 06, and eggs from 81 cents per dozen to a dollar 04. (One dollar equals about 41p).

Many cafes have price lists that have been changed three times—the old printed prices are crossed out and the new ones pencilled in; then across the menu in bold ink—'all prices plus 10 per cent'. Some columnists are speculating that inflation might take the sting out of Watergate for Nixon, but in the present climate it will be like moving from the frying pan to the fire for him.

A HUNDRED and fifty of the 417 black students at the University of Rhodesia have been in jail for a month following mass arrests on the campus. On 3 August students demonstrated in support of appallingly paid workers at the university and in protest against racism and the submission of the supposed 'multi-racial' university to the pressures of the racist state. Police were brought in and have remained: the university is virtually at a standstill.

Most of the students are being tried under the Law and Order Maintenance Act—the main weapon of the police state—and some leaders are being expelled. Some of them were not present at the demonstra-

tions but are being victimised for their left-wing views. All this is part of the ruling regime's strategy for trying to suppress political activity among black and some white students and for ultimately making it an all-white university.

THIS WEEK Algeria is host to a massive conference of 'non-aligned nations'. For weeks the Algerian press has been full of praise for the country's diplomats in getting to the conference such well-known 'progressive' and 'non-aligned' figures as King Faisal of Arabia and the President of Indonesia.

For years Algeria has been host to large numbers of political refugees, many of them left-wing opponents of just such 'non-aligned' dictatorships. A less-publicised diplomatic effort of the Algerian government has been its treatment of the refugees.

It would be most embarrassing, after all, for the King of Morocco, who has just passed death sentences on 16 of his political opponents, to be confronted by some of the ones that have got away. So in the past couple of weeks the refugee community in Algiers has watched its numbers being steadily depleted as Moroccans, Tunisians, Ethiopians and others have been rounded up by the police and removed.

FOOT

PRINTS

AYE AYE, SARGE!

A FEW weeks ago there was a row in Fleet Street after the Sunday Times revealed that the city editor of the News of the World had been boosting the shares of the Hodge Group, the massive Welsh financial combine run by Sir Julian Hodge.

The city editor and his wife, it seemed, had, at the same time, been buying up shares in the Hodge empire.

There were the usual shouts of hypocrisy as the newspapers assured their readers that such practices were entirely exceptional.

One city editor who kept rather quiet was Patrick Sergeant, city editor of the Daily Mail, whose handsome features are perhaps the best known in Fleet Street financial journalism. Mr Sergeant has been writing about Sir Julian Hodge and his financial empire for many years.

In 1965, for example, when the Hodge Group was in danger of total collapse, the Daily Mail leapt to its assistance. 'Some big stock market gamblers seem to be trying to shake the Hodge empire to bits,' wrote Mr Sergeant.

In fact, he wrote, 'Hodge companies have done very well indeed.' He then handed over most of the Mail's city page to Julian Hodge himself to answer the criticisms made of him in the City. 'All my companies are doing well,' wrote Hodge modestly, 'and who is better than I to tell.'

The Hodge Group squeezed through the crisis, but the following year there were more rumours.

'Interest'

Mr Sergeant travelled down to Cardiff and put some more questions to Mr Hodge. Hodge's answers were carefully recorded, and the Daily Mail pooh-poohed the most persistent of the rumours about the Hodge unit trusts—that all the money was being ploughed back into Hodge companies. No one need worry about this, wrote Mr Sergeant, since the 'big banks' had satisfied themselves as to security for all unit trusts.

In 1968, Sergeant reported glowingly on a lunch he had had with a director of Avana Sausage, of which Hodge was a director. In 1969, he defended the take-over by the Hodge Group of Anglo Auto. In 1970, Julian Hodge was once more writing in the city pages of the Daily Mail—this time defending the financiers like himself who were making millions out of high interest rates for second mortgages.

'Are operators of second mortgages the villains publicity would have us believe?' Hodge asked.

'Certainly we are not,' he answered.

The article went on to explain how the financiers who granted second mortgages were fulfilling a vital public service.

In 1971, Sir Julian—for Mr Hodge had by then been knighted—was attending the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund—and so, of course, was Patrick Sergeant of the Daily Mail. 'Jim Callaghan and his friend Sir Julian Hodge are excited about the prospect of a new Commercial Bank for Wales which

they hope to launch soon,' wrote Sergeant in the Mail.

The following year all three men—Callaghan, Hodge and Sergeant—were back at the IMF again, and Sergeant reported that Callaghan and Hodge were in the running for the chairmanship of the IMF, no less. Once again, Sergeant referred to the Commercial Bank for Wales and the Hodge/Callaghan plans for it. 'The hope is to build up deposits quickly and a target of £50 million could be reached which would make the bank profitable quickly.'

A month later, he wrote in glowing terms about the flotation of the new bank. It was, he wrote, 'a dream come true.'

Glowing

So enthusiastic was Mr Sergeant about the new bank that he forgot to tell his readers that he himself had taken out 2000 of its shares and so stood to gain considerably in dividends if the shares did well. Even more interesting—although again Mr Sergeant did not tell this to his readers—was the purchase of 50,000 shares in the new bank by the Harmsworth Pension Fund, which has at its disposal the pension money of most older Daily Mail employees'. Perhaps the most influential director of the Harmsworth Pension Fund is and was Patrick Sergeant.

In January this year, when the Hodge annual results were published, the Daily Mail city page had another glowing report which amounted to a straight share tip for the Hodge Group. But the following month there was some strain between the Daily Mail's news office, which was conducting a 'campaign' against the high costs of second mortgages, and the city office.

On 16 February, for instance, the Daily Mail highlighted the plight of Mrs Ada Kitchener, a widow of slender means, who had borrowed £400 on a second mortgage and had had been forced to pay back £900.55 to the lenders—Julian S Hodge Ltd, of Cardiff. The exposure, I have been assured, has done nothing to upset the stable relationship which exists between Sir Julian Hodge and Mr Patrick Sergeant.

Labour Party's Hodge podge

JULIAN HODGE is a member of the Labour Party. He has always tried to combine his successful business with a devotion to Labour Party causes.

One life-long friend and business associate is the Treasurer of the Labour Party and former Chancellor, James Callaghan, who is now a director of the Commercial Bank of Wales, in which Mrs Callaghan has 4000 shares. Another director, with 4000 shares, is George Thomas, a Cardiff Labour MP and former Labour Minister. Mr Thomas used to be a fiery lay preacher who used to warn his fellow socialists against the temptations of the devil, such as money. He is now altogether more reasonable.

Last March I printed in this column a list of seven other Welsh Labour MPs who have taken shares in Sir Julian's new bank: Leo Abse, Pontypool (4000); E Davies, Rhondda East (500); T A Jones, Rhondda West (500); Will Edwards, Merioneth (500); Alfred Evans, Caerphilly (1000); Cledwyn Hughes, Anglesey (1000) and A R Probert, Aberdare (1000). I must have left out Gwynoro Jones, Carmarthen, who also has 1000.

A closer look at the latest shareholders' list, however, shows that other doyens of the Labour Party have shares, but have made some attempt to hide this. Who, for instance, has ever heard of Sir Fred E Jones, who is listed as the owner of 1500 shares in Hodge's bank? He is none other than the well-known Sir Elwyn Jones, former Attorney-General in the last Labour government.

VILLAINS

And who is Mrs Jennie Short, who owns 1000 Hodge shares and lives at 4 Patterdale Gardens, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which happens to be the address of the deputy leader of the Labour Party, Edward Short?

The truth is that Sir Julian and his advisers have managed in one way or another to entice six senior ministers in the last Labour government into holding an 'interest' in his bank—Callaghan, Thomas, Hughes, Jones, Short, and the inevitable Ray Gunter, who left Wilson's Cabinet to return to 'the folk from whence he came' (the directors of

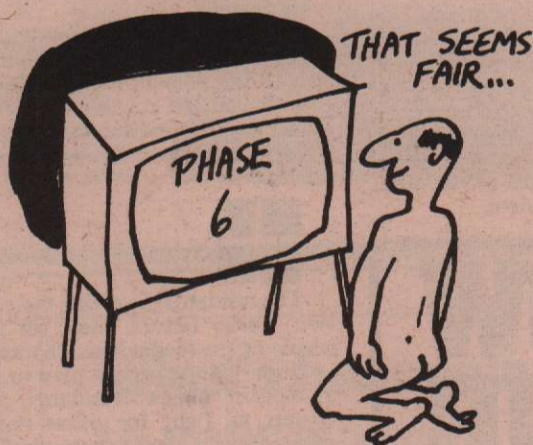
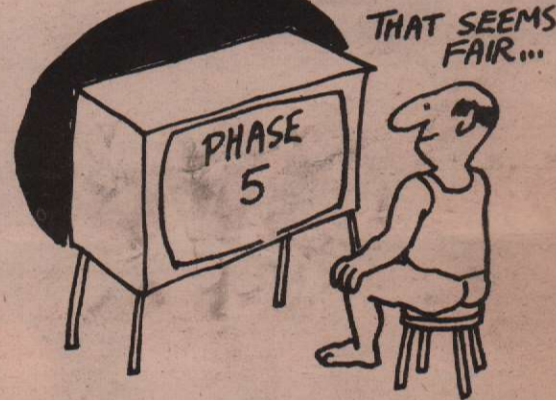
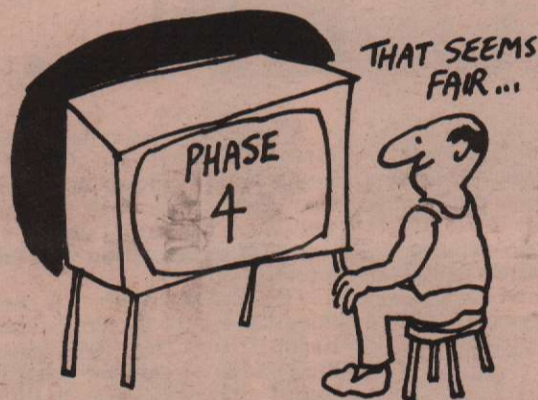
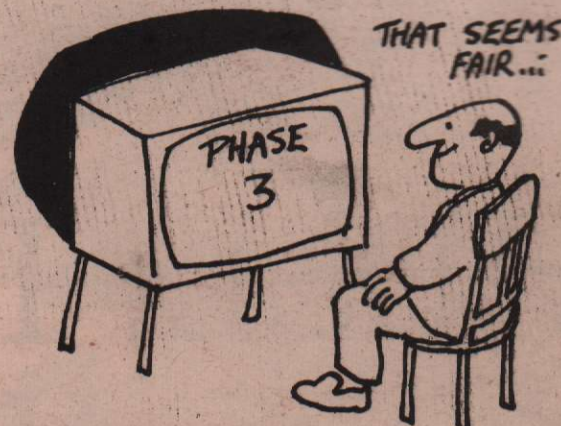
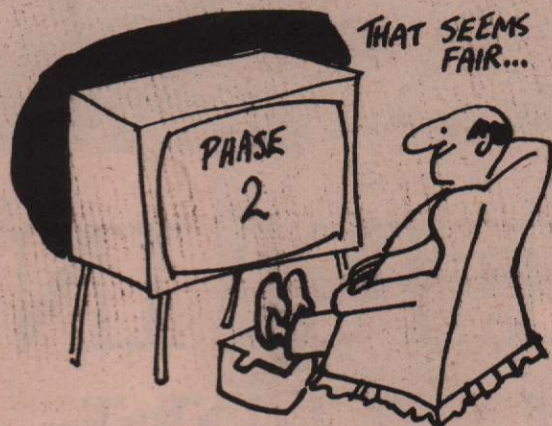
Securicor and the shareholders of Sir Julian Hodge's bank).

The shareholders' list of the Commercial Bank of Wales reads like a roll-call of the Welsh establishment. There are senior army officers, leading councillors, even judges—such as Edmund Davies, the 'train robbers' judge', who has recently distinguished himself by refusing Noel Jenkinson leave to appeal against a 30-year prison sentence and who has 1000 shares. His wife has another 2000.

All these have held on to their shares in the bank's second year of operation, although on 12 December last year the Harmsworth Pension Fund sold all its 50,000 shares. The only other main sellers were the McAlpine Staff Pension Fund and the Robert McAlpine Foundation, which sold 20,000 shares last New Year's Day.

As Patrick Sergeant might put it: With the Daily Mail, half the Welsh Parliamentary Labour Party, nearly half the last Labour Cabinet, Mr Justice Edmund Davies and the McAlpine family rooting for him, how can Sir Julian ever go wrong?

Evans





The feeder canal blocked with wood and the pleasant surroundings at Winson Green

HELL: HERE IN WINSON GREEN...

WINSON GREEN in Birmingham hit the headlines a few months ago when children were found raiding dustbins for food at a local school.

It is back in the headlines again with another grim story. A four-year-old boy, Leslie Follows, has been drowned in a canal.

Handsworth is usually known as the slum area of Birmingham, but Winson Green is worse.

In a street of more than a mile in length, with alleys leading off, only two houses have baths and a few more inside toilets. Imagine if you can a hell of derelict and semi-demolished buildings along with houses lived in by people but infested with rats and ants.

There is a 40-foot walk to the toilet and a road that is the main feeder from the biggest GKN factory in the Midlands.

Heavy articulated lorries rumble along the road from six in the morning until 10 at night. Parallel to the road is a feeder canal, the main canal and the main north-bound railway from Birmingham New Street.

Christine O'Rourke, a young resident in the area, says: 'There are no activities other than one pub in the area which has a disco twice a week and you have to be 18 to get in there. The other nights all we can do is watch the box or wander around the streets.'

'I'm still at school and all I do in the day is hang around the streets or

cafes. I don't know what I shall do when I leave school, I probably shan't get a job. Winson Green has one of the highest unemployment rates for 16-18 year-olds in Brum.

'Mother can't wait to get out of here and I reckon after living in Leamington, Hockley and Ladywood that this is the worst area I know.'



Commenting on the drowning of the small boy, Labour councillor Albert Jackson told a local paper: 'What concerns me is that such a tragedy could happen again.' What the paper's report did not say was that in the last 13 years, seven other children have drowned in the same canal feeder, two of them in one day.

Mr Jackson's office overlooks the scene of the drowning and it can be plainly seen that the flimsy fencing that shuts off 100 yards of the canal is frequently broken down.

A further half-mile stretch is totally unfenced—and that is how Leslie Follows's death occurred. The water is five feet deep and covered with green slime. It almost proved lethal for a grown man who fell into it recently.

This latest death has brought things to a head for the residents of Heath Street. They have petitioned the council to have the canal feeder fenced off every time a child has died.

This time they are taking action themselves. Within two days the residents carried out their threat to block up the feeder with scrap wood and bricks, of which there is plenty lying around.

A mass meeting of residents was called in a local pub and a deputation sent to the council to get action. The council said that it could not put up a fence without permission from the Water Board but it has promised action.



The residents are giving the council two weeks before they fill in the whole of the feeder canal themselves.

Some of the people plan to set up a Winson Green Residents Action Group to fight for other improvements in the area, particularly safe play areas for children and drastic improvements in housing.

Bad and shocking though Winson Green is, it is not unique. All big cities have their own versions. More than a million houses in Britain are without inside toilets and baths. Close on four million people live in slums while thousands of millions of pounds are spent on Concorde and armaments.

Office blocks by the score rise in the city of Birmingham, some no doubt to stand half empty. No matter what promises mealy-mouthed Labour or Tory hacks may make concerning slums, it is only when the workers who produce the wealth decide what to do with that wealth that the slums will be wiped out and everyone decently housed.

Story & pictures
by Bob
Whitehead and
Larry Blewitt

IMPORTANT NEW SERIES STARTS THIS WEEK

Men of

'Every constitution rests upon a revolution.' The British constitution is no exception. It was the English and Scottish revolutions of the 17th century that swept away the political obstacles to the development of capitalism in Britain. They laid the basis for the whole set of laws, conventions and political institutions needed for the running of capitalism and which together make up the 'constitution'.

It could not have happened in any other way. For centuries the old feudal order had been decaying and money, trade and manufactures (not yet in factories) had been becoming more and more important. So too had the merchants and capitalist landlords who controlled them.

But these classes could not remould society in their own interests without smashing the old constitution. Like a chicken growing inside an egg, they could and did develop a long way under the old order but eventually they had to smash the shell or be choked.

It took a civil war, a military dictatorship, a 'restoration' and a second revolution to finish the job.

Everybody knows that the revolution took the form, at the beginning, of a conflict between King Charles and parliament, especially the House of Commons. The Commons had become by the early years of the century a stronghold of the new rich, the growing capitalist class.

'We could buy the Upper House, His Majesty only excepted, thrice over,' boasted an MP in 1628.

The MPs were elected by a very restricted body of property-owning voters who shared their outlook and their aims.

Militia

These men had other sources of power as well as wealth. There was then no local government as we know it today, no police force and no regular army. In the cities the rich merchants ruled through 'corporations' that were generally speaking confined to members of their class.

In the countryside the squires ruled as Justices of the Peace with vastly greater powers than JPs have today. The only permanent armed forces (apart from the navy) were the 'train bands' or militia who were officered for the most part by men of the same classes.

The men who sat in the Commons together with their friends and relatives were, to a large extent, already administering the economically advanced part of the country before the revolution.

But they were not ruling it. The Stuart Kings James and Charles were determined to maintain the old order and to curb the growing power of the new rich.

They were supported by all the most conservative forces in the country, the nobility in its great majority and the smaller landowners of the economically backward parts of the country, the north and the west, where capitalism was still very weak.

In 1629 Charles had told parliament, 'If you do not do your duty, mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into my hand.' The parliament did not do its 'duty'—that is, it refused to vote the King the large revenues he demanded. It was dismissed after a few weeks.

Charles resorted to his 'other means'. During the 11 years' tyranny that followed, he imprisoned some of the opposition leaders, levied taxes on his own authority and punished those who refused to pay. He compelled rich men to 'loan' him money and secured decisions from the judges (whom he appointed and dismissed at his pleasure) that all these things

by DUNCAN HALLAS

were allowed by 'the common law and fundamental policy of the kingdom', as Chief Justice Finch put it.

Finch went on to say, 'They are void Acts of parliament [which] bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons and goods and I say their money too, for no Acts of parliament make any difference.'

This blow to the pocket put the merchants and capitalist landowners firmly on the road to revolution.

The crisis came in 1640. Charles had provoked a rebellion in Scotland. He had earlier 'by an Act of revocation annulling grants of property made for more than 80 years' lost the support of the Scottish nobles.

When he attempted to reconstruct the Scottish church on the English model, virtually the entire propertied class revolted and raised an army which made short work of the handful of Royalist supporters in the country.

It may seem strange that a revolution should be triggered off by an attempt to change the management and ritual of a church but it has to be remembered that the church was then a very important instrument of the government.

The English church was a combined civil service, propaganda ministry and political police. Church attendance was compulsory (non-attenders could be fined) and parsons were required to preach regularly against 'disobedience and wilful rebellion'.

Ritual

Obstinate dissenters were liable to be pilloried, whipped or have their noses split or their ears lopped off. The church defended the existing society in religious terms and so, since practically everybody thought in such terms in those days, the opponents of the old order became religious dissenters.

The Scots church—the kirk—organised on a Presbyterian basis (without bishops, deans and so on) was rather more democratic than the Church of England. James I had said, 'A Scotch Presbytery as well fitteth with monarchy as God with the Devil. No bishop, no king.'

Charles was determined to force bishops on the Scots more effectively than his father had done and to throw in the English ritual for good measure. The Scots, or rather the property owners among them, associated bishops and English church ritual

NEXT
of the

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Social Security for Strikers



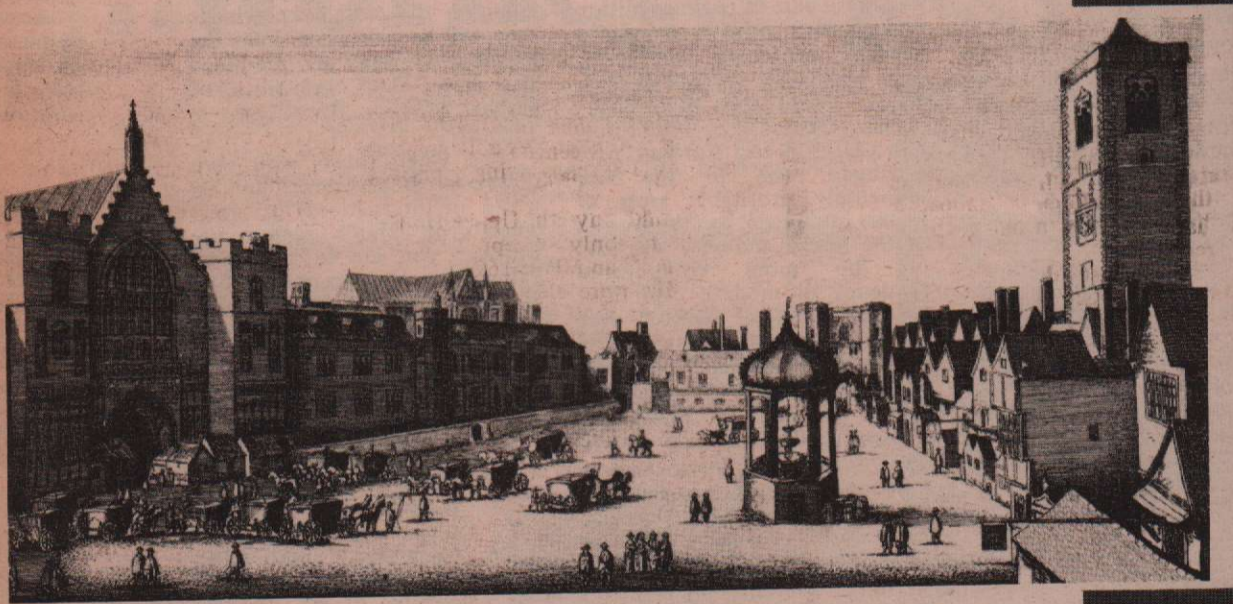
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THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS



property against the King



King Charles I and (inset) Palace Yard, Westminster, scene of demonstrations in the 1640s

with royal tyranny and they were right.

To force the King to come to terms they sent their army south across the border, defeated a small royalist force at Newburn and occupied Northumberland and Durham.

The English opposition now had its chance. For all his arbitrary taxes and forced 'loans', Charles was desperately short of money. It was an age of inflation and the traditional sources of royal income were yielding less and less in real terms.

Dismissed

The new rich were more and more evading and even openly resisting the royal demands. To raise an army big enough to deal with the Scots, the King needed their co-operation. He was driven to call a parliament and demand from it the then enormous sum of £840,000.

When it proved unco-operative, he dismissed it after three weeks but his situation grew even worse and in November 1640 he summoned another, the famous Long Parliament. The first of Lenin's three requirements for a real revolution—that the old ruling class cannot go on in the old way—had been met.

So had the second—that the rising class will not go on in the old way. 'Both their ultimate aims and their

immediate programme were in fact revolutionary. The parliamentary leaders, Pym, Elliott, Rouse and the rest, forged the Commons into a revolutionary weapon.'

Charles hoped to appeal to their patriotism. England and Scotland were then separate kingdoms united only by having the same king. There was no love lost between the English and the Scots, they had been fighting each other for centuries. Moreover, the Scots were negotiating with France for an alliance against the English.

The parliamentary leaders taught King Charles a lesson from which we can profit. They would be patriotic when the class they represented was in power. Meanwhile they would rather see the Scots in London than trust the King with an army.

Appointed

Even when the Catholic Irish broke out in a great rebellion, destroying a good deal of capitalist property and cutting a great many throats, the parliamentary leaders did not falter. They would indeed agree to pay for an army for Ireland—provided that they and they alone appointed its officers and directed its operations.

'By God, not for an hour,' was the King's reply. After an unsuccessful attempt to seize the best known of his opponents by force, he fled north and called on his supporters to join him in arms.

The parliament elected a Committee of Public Safety, effectively a war ministry, and raised its own troops. The civil war had begun.

What's happening to your wages?

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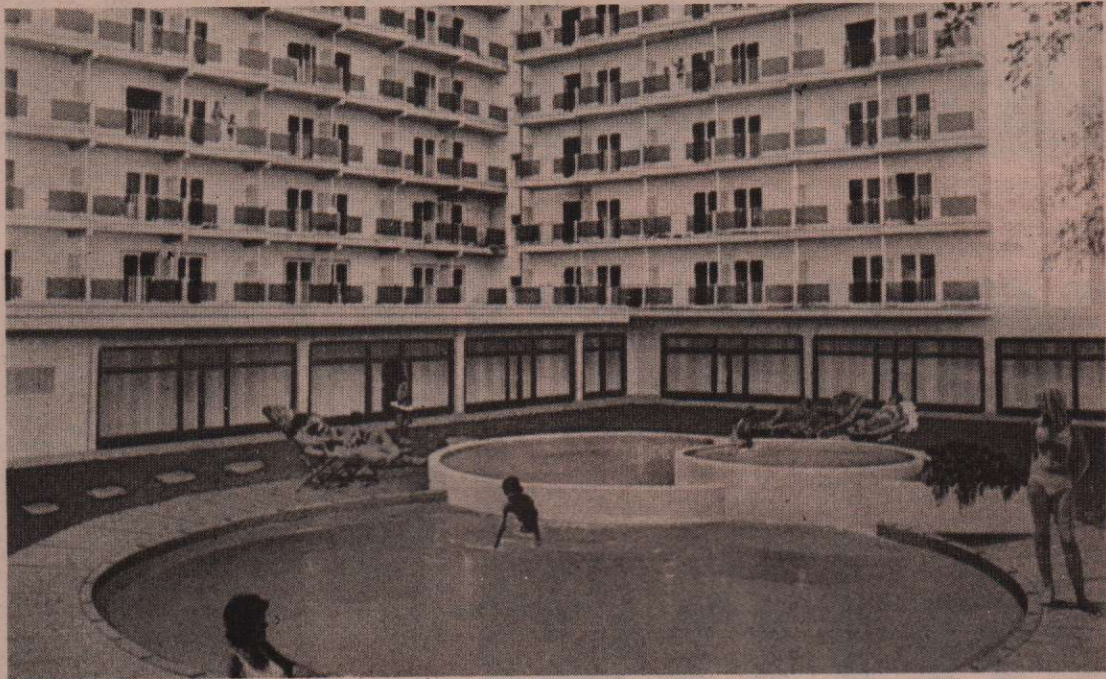
WEEK: fear
'small people'

Two weeks 'rest'—then 50 weeks of toil

Getting

away

from it all?



The Hotel Americana is due to open in April 1973. The main picture on this page is an actual photograph taken in November 1972. An artist has removed construction debris from around the swimming pools and has added water to the pools. He has also projected on to the photograph a number of people to help show the hotel as it will be when completed.

*'August is nearly over, the people
Back from holidays are tanned
With blistered thumbs and a wallet
of snaps and a little
Joie de vivre which is contraband;
Whose stamina is enough to face the
annual
Wait for the annual spree,
Whose memories are stamped with
specks of sunshine
Like faded fleurs-de-lys'
—Louis MacNeice from Autumn
Journal 1939*

HOLIDAYS, the organised kind, aren't really as good as people make out. For the entire year, life is made bearable by the promise of a holiday, planned beforehand and remembered afterwards. All the right ingredients are there—the sun and the ocean and the sky and at last some time to enjoy them. The postcards to the less fortunate back home and the colour photos seek to prove what a good time was had by one and all.

But the acres of golden, un-

marked flesh in the posters, the brochures of phrases, the 'bustling international nightspots' nestling beside the 'tiny unspoiled villages' and 'sophisticated four course meals' are simply the best kind of fantasy, one which is half true and which we desperately want to believe in.

But look just below the surface and pleasure island turns into an Eggbox-on-Sea whose currency earnings prop up tawdry police cities and teach a workforce of ill-paid pleasure dispensers the iron law that a big smile gets big tips.

The fine print in my Thomson's Winter Sun booklet actually says under one photo of sexy couples frolicking in the pool: 'An artist has removed construction debris from around the swimming pools and has added water to the pool. He has also projected on to the photograph a number of people.'

For even capitalism's best fantasies are coming apart at the seams. There's cyanide on the beach and the gerrybuilt

Leisuredome has burnt to the ground.

Holidays used to be when work stopped or when the Gods ordained. They were full of ale and song and dancing and sexual goings-on, spontaneous times of riot and intoxication when people who worked together celebrated together.

When the best-organised 19th century workers won from their employers the right to an annual holiday, it was usually a single week when the whole works went to the newly-constructed Victorian working-class seaside resorts on excursion rail tickets, visited the summer show at the end of the pier, joined in the beach concert parties and even dared to swim a little.

Holidays were still the time when the system left you alone and you could get away from it all. The boozy charabanc rides with sing-songs, the outings into the countryside where relatives and memories still dwelt, even the simple freedom of a pair of bicycle wheels were a complete release from work.

But as paid holidays were extracted as a right, first as a part of the 1936 reforms in France and then with the Holidays With Pay Act in 1938 in Britain, the employers set about the industrialisation of leisure. The first commercial holiday camp was opened by Butlins at Skegness in 1937 and within two years half a million people were going to them.

Healthy

It was still only a minority of workers who took a holiday away from home and the wartime 'Holidays at Home' propaganda sought to keep it that way. But by the 1950s, charter air transport and the Mediterranean hotel building boom made overseas holidays increasingly popular until charters operate throughout the year from all the British industrial towns. About £990 million are spent each year, with a third of it going to Spain and a third of that focused on Majorca.

Capitalism's new-found concern with sun tans was simple self-interest. Paid holidays, like so many of the reforms rendered up to the working class's

industrial strength during the war, were part of the recognition that modern industry requires a healthy, contented workforce, with people on prodigious overtime to afford to go on holiday.

The pioneers of package tours, like Clarkson and Horizon, now dominate one of the few immensely profitable areas of British capitalism. But the growth of the leisure industry was part of the more complicated tendency of modern capitalism to take political control over previous private spheres of life.

The more advanced capitalism becomes the earlier and the deeper it seeks to invade all human expression, not simply disciplining and defining them at work and school but in front of the television and on the beach.

The idea of holidaying is one of the system's most important safety valves, the idea that you can 'get away from it all' ('it' being capitalism). The brochures have on offer precisely what we are prevented from having in the rest of the year.

Choice: will it be either the sun-terrace or the indoor bar or the lady's hairdressing salon,



Lord Thomson: press tycoon and holiday magnate

either the sun-soaked expanse of one hotel or the sun-drenched sands of the next.

Servants: people who will bow and scrape and wash up after us for a change. You will note the pictures of bow-tied waiters bowing gravely.

Sun: there's a book to be written about the British attitude to sun and that particularly pointless pursuit of sunbathing which turns enjoying the weather into an uncomfortable, greasy effort to acquire an even cook to impress the neighbours.

The meaningful smiles and the sunsets and the promise of

holiday romance are only undertaken in the certain knowledge they will be over soon. Even the leisure-wear jeans are pre-faded and have their individualised patches sewn on by machine in a factory.

For what those who own these companies want is a holiday world of international products when you aren't really sure whether you are in the Hotel Palma Nova, Majorca or the Hotel Majorca, Palma Nova, but you still buy plenty of Coca Cola and Esso and Ambre Solaire and Kwells.

Devours

But instead of seeing the world, it is actually screened away from us by couriers and coach windows and the mechanical pillaging for sights and souvenirs. As we clamber back on the plane, we don't notice quite how our tourism devours the countries whose natural beauties are sold to us, turning the Mediterranean coast of Spain into a tarmaced seaside Manhattan with a morality to match and making Northern Scotland an empty backdrop of oil derricks and heather for American tourists to photograph each other against.

In such circumstances no real holiday is possible. When you get away from it all, you actually take it all with you.

We have been made into people who find it hard to express ourselves, are unused to joy and almost prefer looking in the brochures to going there. And there is no holiday in Cambodia or Chryslers because our society which so wants to pretend its one big holiday camp is actually at war with itself.

Those who run it can afford to smile at how pathetically we are satisfied with two weeks' travesty of freedom. Those who take away the meat from the table, wrote Brecht:

*'teach contentment
Those for whom the taxes are destined
Demand Sacrifice,
Those who eat their fill speak to the
hungry
Of wonderful times to come.
Those who lead the country into the
abyss
Call ruling too difficult
For ordinary men.'*

LONDON'S...
of modern...
average every...
make use of it

But, just...
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airport funct...
most sophisti...
unworkable.

The last few...
significant port...
workers employ...
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DAY/MALE

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Grade II 45½p per h...
Grade III 44p per h...
Grade IV 41p per h...

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38p per hour du...
49½p per h...
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for paid meal bre...
graciously giv...
once every four...
unpaid.

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GROUP	NUMBER	TAX CODE	GRADE	PERIOD	START DATE	END DATE	STATUS
GROUP 1	15	00594	260				
GROUP 2	46	200	307				
GROUP 3	25	02.73	0884				
GROUP 4	41	0.200	274				
GROUP 5	25	02.73	0884				
GROUP 6	41	0.200	274				
GROUP 7	25	02.73	0884				

Sky-jacked!

HEATHROW AIRPORT is one of the marvels of modern technology. One plane takes off on the average of the day and millions of passengers use its facilities every year.

As with any other large-scale industrial enterprise, it is human labour that keeps Heathrow running. And without that labour even the most advanced technology becomes meaningless and worthless.

In recent years there has been a marked change in the nature of a large part of Heathrow's labour force. Virtually all of the workers in the catering and cleaning departments of the airport are now Asians. Swift to recognise the possibilities of cheap labour, both the nationalised British Airports Board and their private sub-contractors like Acme Industrial Cleaners Ltd now use almost exclusively Asian labour, a high percentage of whom are women.

Every day, workers go out from Heathrow to the neighbouring localities of Uxbridge and Hounslow at three in the morning to collect the buses and bring them to work. New workers are normally first-time members of the workforce and very often a new recruit for each new worker introduced.

Very few of the Asian women workers were members of the union and even those who were did not have cards or contracts. In May 1973 Acme Industrial Cleaners, the chief contractor at the airport, agreed to improve the pay and conditions of the cleaners and the General and Overseas Workers Union and the General Cleaning Union.

to recognise both male and female workers, to create the 'check-off' system for collecting dues, to give union dues in wage packets.

paid wages, the agreement was for a full-time male worker. The male worker was paid from Grade I to Grade 4 at the rates of pay shown below:

NIGHT/MALE
Grade 1: 61p per hour
Grade 2: 59p per hour
Grade 3: 56p per hour
Grade 4: 53p per hour

At night, workers receive a 25% night allowance. There is no provision for overtime. Workers are given a meal break for 15 minutes but this is not paid.

Workers are expected to work 40 hours a week. Any time worked above this is paid at a half. In the past, workers employed by Acme Industrial Cleaners Ltd were employed by such agreements, but the company has decided to employ workers for more than 40 hours a week. In addition, their wages may be reduced on the condition of their working a reasonable time in order to meet the requirements of the airport. This means the workers have no control over their overtime as and when the workers want it.

Wage slips of Asian cleaners at Heathrow

EMPLOYEE NO.	DATE	GRADE	PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT	HOLIDAY CREDITS	EMPLOYER'S CONTRIBUTION	ADVAL PAYMENTS	ANNUAL CODES	EMP.	
1234	22.09	3.96	0.00	0.00	0.89	0.00	0.00	01 00 1	
GROSS PAY		20.00		TOTAL GROSS PAY		20.00		20.00	
DEDUCTIONS		0.00		TOTAL DEDUCTIONS		0.00		3.16	
NET PAY		16.84		TOTAL NET PAY		16.84		16.84	



Workers' pay at Heathrow

After 12 months' employment, workers are granted two weeks holiday and after two years, three weeks. Workers are employed initially for a three-month probationary period after which their contracts may or may not be renewed.

As a result of this magnificent agreement, many Asian women are taking home just over £13-£14 for a 40-hour week, much of it night work. Typical pay slips are illustrated.

Similar pay rates prevail at the other cleaning firms and also at the catering firms such as Forte. Last year, Trust Houses-Forte had an overall turnover of £212 million on which they made profits of £22 million.

Catering contributed £91 million of the turnover and £6 million of the profits. All of which is very nice for the gentlemen who make up Forte's directors. These include Sir Charles Forte who, with his family, owns a mere 10,866,955 shares in Trust Houses-Forte, Lord Robens of Aberfan and mining machinery fame who has 4400 shares and ex-Minister of Defence, Peter (now Lord) Thorneycroft who is chairman of the directors.

The agreement of May 1973 is a small step forward in that Asian workers are now unionised but it is in no way good enough. The next step is for the trade unions to make the Asians' membership meaningful. Wages must be boosted, arrangements for

English classes to be held in company time, paid meal breaks and increased sickness benefits are merely the most obvious demands.

For too long the trade unions have pussyfooted around on the claims and needs of Asian workers at Heathrow. At a time when state and police repression of Asians is growing, it is imperative that the unions show their solidarity with their Asian fellow-workers by helping them to organise in an effective manner.



Asian workers: Keeping the giant airport clean—at starvation rates. Pictures: MIKE COHEN

International Socialists pamphlet 10p

PAUL FOOT

WORKERS AGAINST RACISM

Today socialists need to be ever more prepared to combat the increasing racism that is riding in on the Tories' tide of laws against immigrants. This new pamphlet examines and demolishes all the racist arguments and is essential reading for every socialist militant.

10p plus 3p postage from IS Books, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Please send _____ copies of Workers Against Racism

I enclose £___ at 10p a copy plus 3p postage. 12 copies or more post free.

Name _____

Address _____

Organisation _____



YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

ONE of the most popular arguments against socialism is that people are just too selfish for it to work. It is claimed that socialists are unrealistic dreamers for imagining that somehow things will change overnight and people work together for the common good without coercion.

Certainly, if you look at society as it is at present, the argument seems justified. Many people do see life as a rat race, in which the key thing is to get what you can for yourself, regardless of others. Big businessmen turn out drugs such as thalidomide or building materials such as Oroglass without worrying about the consequences.

And workers are not immune to the poison either—for instance, many work as much overtime as they can although by doing so they are depriving others of work.

But such selfishness is not a result of some unchangeable inner nature of man. With the best will in the world, people are compelled to act in such ways by the structure of capitalist society.

Businessmen can only survive if they are more competitive than other businessmen. That means they have to be trying to get as much as possible out of their workers all the time, and it's an added bonus for them if they can find some legal way of doing down another businessman or fiddling the consumer.

To boost their profits, industrialists have to do their utmost to prevent their workers fighting back. So all the resources of human ingenuity are employed to turn one worker against another, to inflict the mass of the population with the same blind, vicious competitive spirit that prevails among the rival capitalists at the top.

In the schools, children are brought up to compete with one another from the age of five or six onwards, continually being put through races called exams, so that each child is supposed to worry about how he compares with other children rather than developing his own capacities as best he can.

OPPOSITE

Where possible the same system is imposed in industry, with the repeated grading and regrading of workers, as if they were material objects rather than human beings.

Such a system can turn a man's concern for his fellow human beings into the opposite.

A worker who is deeply concerned about the plight of old people or children can do little about it. He can vote Labour at the elections, but whether Labour or Tories win, the welfare services will continue to get worse.

But he can do something about the situation of his own family if he can somehow get more money. And

EVERY MAN FOR THE BOSS

the easiest way to get more money often seems to be at the expense of some other worker, by getting overtime or a productivity bonus while he is made redundant.

If that were all there was to say, the outlook would be grim. It would be difficult to see how things could change quickly enough for socialism ever to come about.

But even within capitalist society there is another side to human behaviour. For capitalism not only involves people in competing with each other. It also involves them working alongside one another on a scale never dreamt of before in human history.

In the modern factory or office hundreds or even thousands of people work together in producing goods. Without an element of genuine co-operation, without people often doing more than the minimum necessary to keep within the rules, the factory system would hardly work.

This is shown by the way production suffers whenever there is a work to rule. The co-operative action and initiative of workers is something even capitalism cannot do without.

Workers give such co-operation even when it is against their interests individually and as a class to do so. The most blatant example of this is in wartime. In the first World War millions of workers marched off to sacrifice themselves for what they regarded as a 'higher ideal'—though in fact it was only to help 'their' capitalists outdo rival foreign capitalists.

Such misguided heroism shows that people are far from always being selfish. In the case of the First World War, in fact, it would have been better for humanity if workers had been more selfish. Then they would have been less willing to risk their lives killing other workers.

At times workers show the same spirit of co-operation in acting in their own interests. The results can be impressive. Look, for example, at the selfless bravery with which hundreds of miners have attempted to rescue their workmates in recent pit disasters.

COMPETE

The most important way in which the present system makes people co-operate is when it drives them to fight back against it.

Some 40 years ago industrial sociologists did some experiments in electrical factories in America. They made what was, to the big business interests backing them, a horrifying discovery. Even in completely unorganised factories, workers instinctively co-operated to resist efforts of management to make one worker compete with another.

Strikes such as that of the miners last year or the three-year battle at Fine Tubes show that workers in fighting against the employing class can display the same co-operative enthusiasm and selflessness which they have misguidedly put at the disposal of their own bosses in wartime. What is needed is the organisation and leadership which shows them where their own true interests lie.

BOOKS

REVIEW

All the news that's fit to profit

CITY POLITICS AND THE PRESS, by Harvey Cox and David Morgan, Cambridge University Press, £2.80.

WHAT IS the influence of the press on local politics? Two university lecturers have tried to answer the question by studying six local papers on Merseyside.

Their sample includes a morning paper, the Daily Post, an evening, the Liverpool Echo, and four weeklies. With one exception, all the papers are owned by the same firm—the Liverpool Daily Post and Echo Ltd.

The authors have counted the number of stories published during the 1960s on various subjects, such as housing, police and education, and fitted them into sociological categories. Much of this is pretty tedious and futile.

The important questions—what the stories said, and how the papers handled them—are dealt with rather superficially, though some of the political pressures on journalists are explained. By 'city politics' the authors mean town hall politics rather than the whole political life of a city, there is not much on the papers' handling of industrial affairs.

Later there are polite interviews with local editors, and a survey of what councillors think of the press. The Daily Post and Echo company emerges with little credit. But really the book only skims the surface of some very murky waters.

In one section the Post and Echo news editor glibly dismisses the idea that various local firms are the real editors of his paper. But a look at the Post and Echo directors reveals some interesting connections. Chairman is Bertram Nelson, a director of two property companies and a former chairman of the local chamber of commerce. Since he joined the board the Daily Post has started a monthly supplement designed to show what a wonderful thing the chamber of commerce is. Sheer coincidence?

Then there's Mr Chrimes (sic), who lists five shipping companies among his 10 directorships. No wonder the Echo is always telling the dockers to behave themselves.

Recently the Post and Echo had a bright idea to deal with the growth of trade unions among office workers. They've set up an employment agency to provide cheap casual labour for offices—including their own. So it's hardly surprising if this white-collar version of the 'lump' is never criticised in their papers.

The Post and Echo is not just a group of newspapers. It's a large and profitable business that made £2.8 million last year—and it has the same political interests as any other business.

Another point which should have been examined is the company's influence on local planning decisions. Two expensive and controversial schemes proposed by the council have dominated Liverpool city centre for years. One is a motorway ring costing more than £20 million a mile, the other a Civic Centre costing £17 million. The Post and Echo have had a vested interest in them both.

Traffic jams in the city were hampering deliveries of the Echo, so the company decided to move to a new building—and chose a site next to the proposed motorway so that deliveries could be speeded up.

When the council realised they couldn't afford the motorway, the Daily Post launched a campaign to save it. The money must be found, said the paper, even if the council had to cut back other spending. In other words, housing, education and social services could suffer—as long as the company had a fast road for its delivery vans.

The company's other problem was getting a good price for its old building, valuable only for the land it stood on. By chance, the building stood close to the site chosen for the new Civic Centre. The council was persuaded to include the Post and Echo building in the compulsory purchases connected with the Civic Centre.

This ensured the company would be well paid for its old building because 'disturbance money' would be included in the final price—a cool £750,000. It also ensured the Post and Echo would be keen on the Civic Centre scheme going ahead.

The book mentions none of this. In the final chapter the authors suggest local government would be improved if the press kept people better informed. They suggest papers ought to employ more specialist writers, and think a tax incentive might be used to encourage this.

But the real problem is not a lack of tax incentives. It is the businessmen who run the press for their own ends.

BRIAN WHITAKER

Sweden's road to nowhere

SWEDEN: THE MYTH OF SOCIALISM, by Larry Hufford, Young Fabians, 40p.

AMONG liberals Sweden has a reputation for 'socialism'. This pamphlet gives the lie. The political left in Sweden, the Social Democratic Party, in power continuously for 40 years, has done a tacit deal with big business—building an advanced welfare state while leaving big business's power and wealth untouched.

Sweden has probably the greatest concentration of inherited wealth in Europe, 94 per cent of industry is privately-owned, and the gap between high-paid and low-paid is widening.

Here is a copybook example of the failure of the 'parliamentary road to socialism' and a picture of a trade union movement that co-operated with an anti-trade union law 'to assure that the laws were not manipulated by the employers' and ended up hamstrung by those laws.

The lesson is clear: you can't use capitalism's framework of parliament and law to change it—though the Fabians don't draw that conclusion, naturally.

PETER MARSDEN

MEMOS INSTEAD OF BLOOD

INDUSTRIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL MAN, by Kerr, Harbison, Dunlop and Myers, Pelican, 45p.

PENGUIN have presumably republished this book, written in 1960, for modern students of industrial relations who wish to investigate further that illusive character 'Industrial Man'. Clark Kerr and his colleagues progressed from the brilliant research discoveries in America in the 1930s and 1940s that found workers were not just appendages of machines as F W Taylor had said, but were also human beings.

Kerr, writing in the middle of the post-war boom when American social science was heralding a future of industrial and social harmony (if nations would only bow down to the American system) argued that in future 'conflict will take less the form of open strife or the revolt and more the form of the bureaucratic contest... The battles will be in the corridors instead of the streets, and memos will flow instead of blood.'

We might begin to assume that Vic Feather and his cronies have been reading this, and further reading would almost convince us.

The logic of industrialisation is discussed with only vague reference to capital accumulation and the central role of profit. Kerr continues to peddle the myth of the managerial revolution in which industry is no longer run by profit-lusting political parasites, but by

clean-living all-American professionals guided by technological sense and a Harvard education.

This edition contains a 1971 postscript by the authors which apologises for some of the optimism that harmonious exploitation would continue, but which maintains the basic beliefs, grasping at straws as the 'American system' takes another blow.

They state that 'the central problem of industrial relations around the world is not capital versus labour, but rather the structuring of the labour force—how it gets recruited, developed, and maintained'. With blind reasoning they hope that today, 'Workers tend to become more moderate and even conservative members of the body politic than we once envisaged.'

The introduction of the factory system, from Manchester in the 18th century to the Third World countries today, is discussed with no knowledge of the harsh reality of the managerial discipline they so heartily applaud. They blandly assume that industrialisation in Africa, Latin America and Southern Asia today is progressing for the benefit of all and not huge international companies dealing in oil, gold, copper, rubber and cocoa.

No doubt, after the revolution, an odd eccentric historian might turn to this volume and wonder at the extraordinary naivety of its authors.

ALASTAIR HATCHETT



The people's mecca?

NIGEL FOUNTAIN INTERVIEWS JOAN LITTLEWOOD

OUT on the east side of London is Stratford. Shakespeare wasn't born there. What this Stratford is giving birth to is high-rise blocks, underpasses, overpasses, dual carriage ways—all the symbols of soul-less modern cities.

In the middle of the motorways is an old Edwardian building, the Theatre Royal. And in the Theatre Royal is Joan Littlewood.

'Out of that window,' she said, pointing out of her office, 'they had one of those concrete balls they knock down houses with. It was banging away until yesterday. I couldn't hear myself think.'

Joan Littlewood has been at the Theatre Royal on and off for about 20 years. Many of her productions have moved from Stratford to the West End. Oh What A Lovely War made it to the cinema as a wide-screen spectacular. Since her youth she has been, and remains, a revolutionary socialist.

In the 1930s she worked with Ewan McColl in theatre groups which toured the streets of the depressed areas of the North performing with and for the working class. She was then in the Communist Party, but left rather than be slung out. 'The Communist Party accused me of dancing to the revolution,' she said.

She hadn't been, and still isn't enthusiastic about some left theatre groups who preach to the working class. 'What we did had to be brilliantly done,' she said.

Later at Stratford she became well known. She was responsible for productions of Brendan Behan's *The Hothouse* and Shelagh Delaney's *Taste of Honey*, which were to go up west for the big money. Not something which makes her happy.

Shabby

'I'm reduced to bowdlerising my productions for the West End, for the money, like *Oh What A Lovely War*. When we did it here we got the props from the community. Like there was an old lady whose sweetheart had died in the trenches who provided her mementoes.'

The production had started off as a bitter comment on the bloodbath of the 1914-18 war, using contemporary songs and accounts. On the screen it wound up as a shabby liberal song-and-dance act. Joan Littlewood wasn't surprised by this, but has never bothered to go to see it herself.

Despite a string of 'Battling Joan, the little lady with guts' stories in the Fleet Street press, and a continuous string of stars who emerged from her productions, the Theatre Royal has always existed hand-to-mouth.

'I don't want a fraction of the

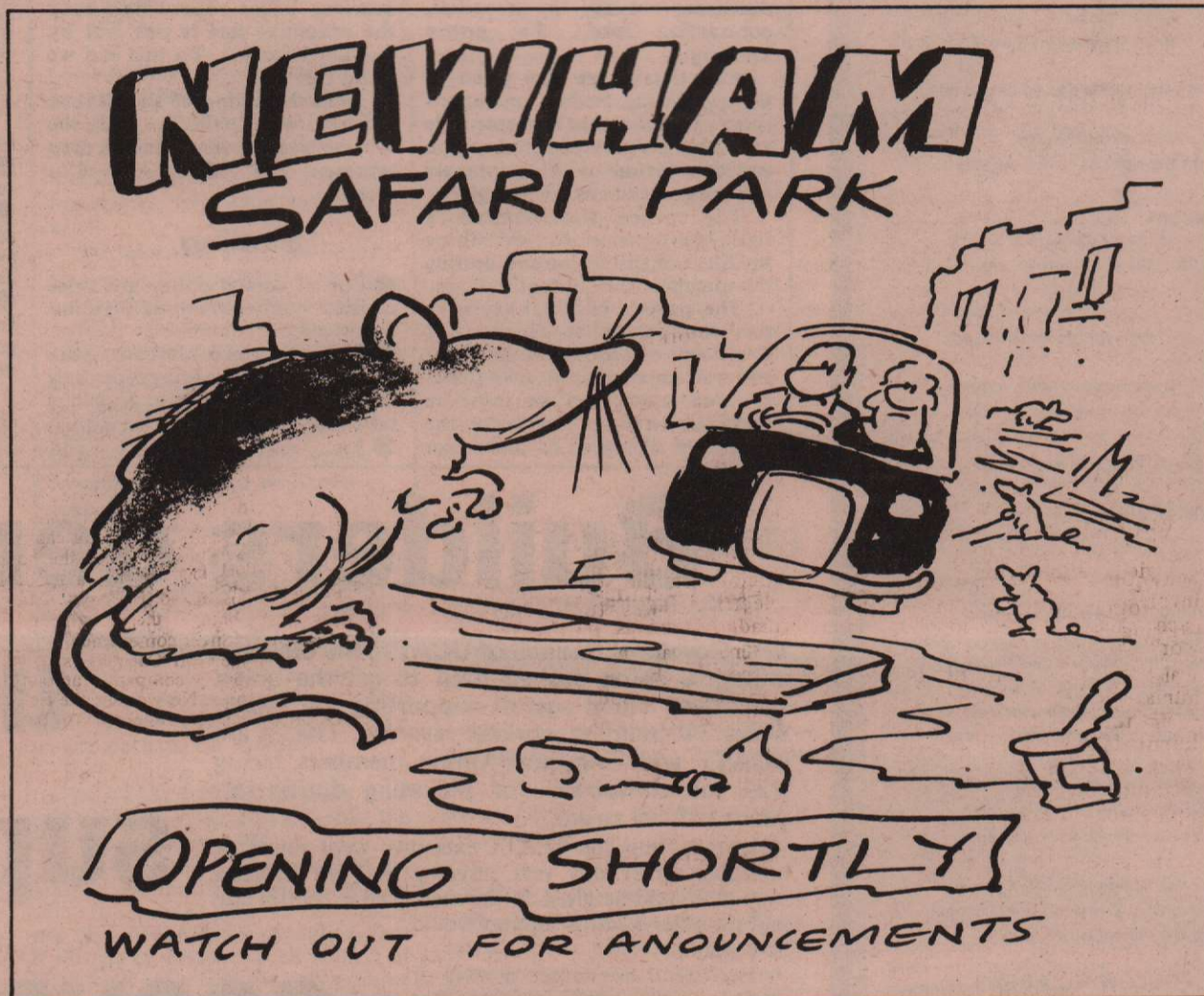
Movies, accountants and cornflakes

THE film and television technicians' union, ACTT, held a press conference last week to launch its report on Nationalising the Film Industry.

The British film industry is in a shambles. In the recent past much of it has depended on money from America, yet in 1971 American investment in British feature films was halved and the drop continues.

'For too long have we stood for a situation where the MGM studios in England can be closed by a mark in an accountant's book somewhere in America,' said Alan Sapper, ACTT's general secretary.

The report, following union policy, argues for 'the nationalisation of the film industry, which is plagued by massive under-employment of talents, not just under-employment but unemployment. Without people there is no industry.'



Cartoonist Larry's view of Joan Littlewood's territory in East London

money thrown away by the Arts Council,' she says—but she hasn't even got the fraction. Apart from putting on plays, the theatre has always been scrabbling on in continuous conflict with both national sponsors and the local authority.

Any faith she might ever have had in the Labour Party has been snuffed out as the rape of East London has continued. One of her projects has been using temporary structures with children for play/education. The week before I met her the council had taken over the area for use as a car park. A school the kids used has been knocked down.

The council had approached her to help with the Lea Valley Project, which had been planned to develop leisure facilities in the area. It had come to nothing.

'Kids come here, people come here because there is nowhere else. "Where do we go to? Who do we protest to?" they ask. The local authority might as well not exist. A civil war is going on and people don't realise it. The council won't accept responsibility—and they are building high rise blocks that even *Conservative* architects say aren't fit for human habitation.'

'As for us—we're worse off for premises than ever. They're trying to

pull down parts of the building. Sometimes it's impossible to operate with the rats coming out of the drains.'

After her failure with the Lea Valley project she went off to Tunisia for a couple of years, and got into the kind of theatre she is totally committed to.

'We had everyone there, Tunisians, Arabs, Jews, French. They all worked together. What I want is a theatre of life, learning through action.'

'This place for me is a last chance to get people into their own mecca, to give people their own identity. When some of the people who made it on stage, screen and dope parties from the Theatre Royal come back



Picture: Alan Vines (Report)

and have a drink at the bar the kids look at them and see this kind of "aura"—of being stars. They don't realise that they can have the aura themselves.

'Last week the kids were doing a thing on villains and they cottoned on to the fact that the villain's world was the real world. They competed to see who could be the most villainous.'

'One little girl said she hadn't done anything bad in the previous week. "Oh well," they said, "you must be too rich to need to be villainous so you must be down here to 'do good'." I sometimes wonder why we bother to put on plays with the smashing chat you get . . .'

'When the dustmen were on strike this was the one Labour borough which didn't give the increase. They were really demoralised about it. We got them down here on a Saturday morning with their wives. They did this play about it, wearing crazy clothes, top-hat, clown outfits, we even had a jazz band. It really gives you heart.'

Mixture

'People round here are neither with each other nor alone. We need a composite mind which this place has attempted to provide. If one could use the power of the working class round here.'

The most recent Littlewood production at the theatre was *Nuts*—a mixture of songs, recitations, and contributions from local political and community groups—and just people from the audience. It got a mixed reception from the critics—I had a good time the night I went.

'You can't invite critics to a thing like *Nuts*,' she said. 'It's like inviting them to a party, or a love-making.'

'*Nuts* was an experiment and it was fantastic in the last 10 days. We had a woman who got up and sang "Velia" from the Merry Widow in a gossamer dress, beautiful she was, and then a young fellow got up and said: "What about Vietnam?" and spoke effectively for two minutes.'

Control

'A bloke from *The Dockworker* paper came—in fact several, and I had to say to them what we want is five-star messages, not speeches, and we got them. One didn't know at six what would be going on that night.'

In the middle of that wasteland, in an old building Joan Littlewood attempts to create the feeling of a revolution, of people taking control of their own lives. It isn't easy, and very often it fails.

Some socialists say it is bound to fail, that unless she takes it out of Stratford on to the road again, or puts her work into the context of a revolutionary organisation such as the International Socialists she is going to go on banging her head against a brick wall.

Rightly or wrongly Joan Littlewood doesn't agree. She reads and likes *Socialist Worker*, but hesitates to go further.

'You can't work within a political organisation in my position. You have to knock everyone, including yourself. But there is a war on, and the artist must recognise that unless her or his work is applied to an object it is a masturbatory process. The revolution is overdue . . .'

'For too long we've suffered from a situation where middlemen can cripple production. A film costing £1 million won't go into profit until £5 million has been made. The distributors take 25 per cent plus expenses before anyone else gets anything.'

The 60-page report gives a comprehensive picture of an industry on the skids—skids which have been put under it by the big companies that have more interest in 'oil, breakfast cereals and accountant's figures than the film industry itself', as one union member put it.

Shocked

Unhappily and unwillingly the TUC General Council have had to accept the union's policy, which was adopted by the 1971 TUC conference. Vic Feather may wriggle to avoid it, but it is official TUC

policy.

What would the bosses of industry think of the report? 'They'll be shocked, I think,' said Sapper. One comment from a supporter was that it failed to deal with the content of the films produced. 'There's a tendency to hark back to the golden age of the cinema and imagine that they can just churn out the movies, with or without an audience. Times have changed, the technology of films has made possible a different kind of cinema,' he said.

The point was countered by Roger Smith, who was involved in drafting the report. 'If the industry was nationalised then the possibilities for the use of new equipment would grow with the security which could be given to people in the industry. It would not threaten their livelihoods, and large studios would still be needed for big productions.'

'So would you still make James Bond

films?' asked a questioner.

'If people want them then James Bond films will still be made,' Smith replied.

Bizarre

Wherein lies the problem. For if the union succeeds in getting the Labour Party to accept its proposals, as it hopes to at this month's party conference, and if the Labour Party by some bizarre accident was actually to nationalise the industry, what would we have? An industry producing a lot of good material interspersed with red James Bonds?

The answer lies outside the industry. For the excellent proposals to make sense they have to relate to the broader struggle of the working class against this system. It's not just the Odeon on the high street we need under the control of the workers . . .

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

- SCOTLAND**
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dumfries
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Greenock
Paisley
Stirling
- NORTH EAST**
Bishop Auckland
Durham
Hartlepool
Newcastle upon Tyne
South Shields
Sunderland
Teesside
- NORTH**
Barnsley
Bradford
Dewsbury
Doncaster
Grimsby
Halifax
Huddersfield
Hull
Leeds
Ponterfract/
Knottingley
Scarborough
Sheffield
York

- NORTH WEST**
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Burnley
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Middleton
Oldham
Preston
Rochdale
Salford
St Helens
Stoke-on-Trent
Stockport
Stretford
Wigan
Wrexham

- WALES and SOUTH WEST**
Aberystwyth
Bath
Bristol
Cambourne
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Llanelli
Mid-Devon
Neath
Plymouth
Swansea
Swansea Valley

- GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES**
Barnet
Bexley
Camden
Chertsey
Colindale
Croydon
Ealing
Enfield
Fleet Street
Fulham and Hammersmith
Hackney
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
High Wycombe
Hillingdon
Holborn
Hounslow
Ilford
Islington
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Mid-Herts
Newham
Paddington
Reading
Slough
Tottenham
Tower Hamlets
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Wood Green
Woolwich

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

THE UNIONS

Sparks' paper hammers union leaders

MEMBERS of the Electricians' Union who are also sympathetic to serious socialist policies, some of them members of the International Socialists, published the first issue of a Socialist Worker special issue for workers in the electrical industries this week.

The paper shows how the union's leaders have collaborated with government and employers in industry after industry, with particular emphasis on the disastrous results in hospitals, contracting and the power industry.

Full details are also given of the right-wing leaders' manoeuvring to get the recent bitter struggle at St Thomas's Hospital in London ended in favour of the employers and the government are also given.

The paper also outlines a fighting programme for revitalising the Electricians' Union and uniting the members for militant policies.

The paper's editorial says: 'In this situation what can we do? Certainly we shouldn't sit back and wait for changes to take place. It's our union and we must be prepared to work to make the necessary changes, to allow our

union to take its rightful place in the vanguard of the working-class movement.

'Over the years, the union has steadily become a one-man band with general secretary/general president Frank Chapple ruling with a rod of iron, with anyone daring to voice opposition quickly "put down".

'We have to make sure that the union is brought under the control of the membership, not by spurious ballot votes where only the executive line is put, but by real participation. To this end we stand for:

- Annual election of all full-time officials who will be paid the average wage of the members they represent and will be subject to recall.

Binding

- For an annual policy and rules revision conference binding upon the executive council.
- The industrial conference of the union to determine policy for their industry and that the decisions taken are binding on the executive.
- An end to bans and

Socialist Worker

ELECTRICIANS SPECIAL

END CHAPPLE'S TEA PARTY WITH THE TORIES



EETPTU... Which way now?

- proscriptions.
- Agreements to be ratified or rejected by the rank and file.
 - No victimisation, no redundancies, no incomes policy, no productivity deals or job evaluation.
 - Total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and all government interference in negotiations.

Copies of the paper can be obtained from SPARK, c/o 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

Builders demand

union supports accused 24

THE Governing Council of UCATT, the builders' union, is being pushed hard to get the union executive's stand against supporting the 'North Wales 24' building workers reversed. The 24 are UCATT and Transport Union members facing trial for conspiracy for picketing during last year's official strike.

Letters from the UCATT executive went round all branches earlier this year insisting that no financial support should be given to the men. The executive also said no other kind of support would be legitimate.

This stand has caused a wave of disgust in the union and branches have been petitioning for it to be reversed.

Under rule, 40 branches have to send in appeals before the Governing Council will intervene. More than 70 branches have sent in such appeals and the council has begun to push the executive. A decision is expected soon.

After last month's council decision that the executive should reconsider there has been a flurry of manoeuvring in the executive. General secretary George Smith—already famed for his statement 'If these lads are innocent then, British justice being what it is, they will be found not guilty'—has been screaming that it is not possible for any further discussion to take place. Comment on the whole case is, he insists, ruled out because the matter is before the courts.

Crucial

But Smith's shameful line has been taking a bit of a battering. Governing Council members have pointed out that the executive decision only referred to financial support from the hardship fund. This, they have been arguing persuasively, has been represented as a decision against any kind of support—when in fact it is not.

As a result of this it is thought that the executive will have to reverse its stand and grant payments from the hardship fund. This will bring the union into line with the Transport and General Workers Union, some of whose members are also facing trial. The TGWU has given legal assistance. But neither union is giving any real fighting lead on this crucial matter.

The UCATT leaders are very much caught up in horsetrading with the



George Smith: Looking for a trade-off with the bosses

employers. What Smith and co are looking for is a trade-off, with UCATT offering 'responsible' trade unionism and the employers granting membership rights in return. This deal, where the union leaders would become the employers' fire brigade, has become more of a possibility over recent months. For the lump has now caught up with many of the employers.

They had spread the lump with a view to busting the union. But with the boom in the construction industry, lump workers have been extracting high rates of pay and moving on so fast from site to site that the employers are having great difficulty getting finishing work done.

The employers are also under pressure from the Tory government, because construction is one of the few industries where the wage freeze has not been hitting.

In this situation, where a deal looks a real possibility, the UCATT leaders will want to do as little as possible to antagonise the big employers. They may be forced to change their line on the North Wales 24 case and that will be a formal step forward, but they will give no real fighting lead against the conspiracy trials.

Attack

The protection of the threatened building workers is squarely down to the rank and file. On Tuesday Edinburgh Trades Council held a special meeting to mobilise support for the North Wales 24, explaining the issue to workers and preparing the ground for industrial action against the trials and against any penalties.

Similarly, Liverpool Trades Council has called a national conference of rank and file trade unionists on Saturday 22 September. This too will be a focus for organising opposition to the latest Tory attack on pickets.

But the crucial aspect of the struggle is to organise the men's defence on the shop floor. The Tories and their courts have got to be forced to retreat and abandon their attack on workers' rights to picket. Only widespread agitation can achieve this.

Bombs damage

IT IS too early yet to say whether or not any section of the Irish republican movement was responsible for the bombs in London and other centres. Socialist Worker is right to draw attention to the possibility that British security forces may have had a hand in this as they have had in other violent activities in both the north and south of Ireland.

But assuming that a section of the republican movement was responsible it is necessary to go further than just to say that the bombing was 'misguided'. The whole campaign of indiscriminate terror bombing is profoundly reactionary and highlights the crisis of leadership in the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland.

The fact is that every bomb let off in the offices or streets is a boost to the morale and self-confidence of the Tories and a setback for the movement to free Ireland.

Specifically the campaign hits at the solidarity movement among British repression in the north of Ireland. A one-hour token strike in even a few British factories demanding an end to internment and the withdrawal of the troops would be infinitely more damaging to the Tories than a rain of fire bombs. Some leaders of the republican movement do not see this and in their rejection of a political campaign in the British labour movement express their lack of confidence in—some would argue their contempt for—the mass of both Irish and British workers.

The crisis—indeed the signs of disintegration—in the republican movement highlights the need to recruit every heroic republican worker militant to the banner of revolutionary socialism, and the cause of the workers' republic. In Ireland this means building the Socialist Workers' Movement, in Britain joining the International Socialists.

We in IS have to show the misguided militants in the republican movement that the way out of their desperation lies not in isolated acts of protest but in building a workers' movement to smash capitalism in Britain and imperialism in Ireland.—SEAN TREACY, London SW19.

Sex and the left

THE reviewer of Don Milligan's pamphlet on Homosexuality (25 August) suggests that many revolutionaries have ideas about sexuality and the family equivalent to the Mothers Union or Guardian editorials. In our view the confusion is the reviewer's, since IS can have a perfectly clear conscience that it is neither reactionary nor liberal on this issue.

The only actual politics referred to in the article are that 'the system . . . maintains . . . sexual

Irish cause

LETTERS



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

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

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

moralties which fit its own overall values and systematically persecutes all who deviate'. However it is hard to see that this has any wider relevance since many other kinds of deviancy, not just sexual, are persecuted under capitalism often with far more horrifying results—mental patients for example.

Jock Young also says that 'the realists of the left' fail to grasp 'how capitalist values reach right into the heart of human sexuality.'

But capitalist values tarnish all human relationships. Sexual oppression is just a part of the daily brutality of life under capitalism, but it should be evident to all readers of Socialist Worker that the only genuine opposition to this can come from the organisation of the working class and the politics of the class struggle. The politics of sexuality are simply an academic fancy.

Another red herring is the 'fight against sexism in the socialist movement itself'. Revolutionaries should be conscious enough anyway to avoid discrimination in the movement. But to raise this 'fight' as a specific issue indicates an inward-looking and moralising idea of the party in supposing that it is to free its members from sexist prejudices which are common in the movement and the working class at large.

This kind of enlightened purism leads straight to a divorce of the party from the class it has to lead. The job of a party is to be a combat organisation of and from the working class, and the task of combat requires a different frame of mind to querulously warning revolutionaries about their prejudices.—JIM CLARK and KEVIN SCHIRN, Bradford.

Trade unionists against racism

I HAVE been asked by my branch to convey to yourself and your staff their congratulations on your recent enlightening and splendid articles on the immigration laws.—F BANTON, 6/612 Branch Secretary, Transport and General Workers Union, Liverpool 19.

I SHOULD like to associate myself with the condemnation of the retrospective aspect of the 1971 Immigration Act in recent issues of Socialist Worker.—TONY AYLAND (member of NALGO, National Executive Council), Gloucester.

Lump officials

RECENTLY I had a visit from an officer of the Department of Health and Social Security in response to a claim. After noting all the details the officer told me that this claim would be stopped at the start of the potato harvest, and that I would be expected to find employment there.

He then went on to say that it would be beneficial to me to stamp my insurance card with a self-employment stamp, informing me that this would be cheaper for myself.

I asked the officer what would happen if I took my card along to the employer, and he replied that he would not employ me for very long if at all.

It was apparent to me from the conversation that the Social Security office was working hand in hand with the potato farmers in the surrounding area in an effort to coerce people into work on the 'lump' system.

Since deciding not to accept this employment, it is necessary that I fill out another B1 claim form and wait until I have been specially visited before I can receive any more money. This can take about a week.

Meantime I have to rely financially on my invalid mother who does not work but receives £8 alimony a week, which according to Social Security 'is a living wage'. My sister, who is waiting to go to university, also has to rely on my mother because Social Security is still deliberating on her claim.—DUNDEE READER (name and address supplied).

KINGS OF GRAB WARN OFF THE UNIONS

IT IS A DAUNTING THOUGHT that most of the journalists pouring boiling oil on the 'militants' at the TUC this week are themselves trade unionists. At times like this, the journalists become 'us', the unions 'them' and ne'er the twain shall meet.

The Daily Mirror, that great spokesman of working folk, led the field in the run-up to Congress on Monday with a promising headline: When the bashing has to stop. But it was government and employer bashing that worried the Mirror, not union bashing.

'Confrontation,' it burred, 'is a dead end. Bad for the unions. Bad for the government. Fatal for the country.'

'Even if negotiations do not reach agreement they could at least narrow the area of disagreement. An open, bitter and mutually damaging conflict might be avoided.'

And later the Mirror warned: 'What the unions cannot hope for is a return to free wage bargaining—unless the TUC can guarantee that their demands will be reasonable.'

The lesson the Mirror still hasn't learned is that any demand is reasonable—as long as someone else is getting more than you are.

The authors of this plea for peace—and most of the other nationals carried similar leaders—were the employers of Fleet Street, the people who take money out of running so-called independent newspapers.

Against

And the employers used this opportunity to issue a warning to those who work for them—the print unions, who again are threatening the confrontation that the Mirror finds so distasteful. Pay talks over the threshold agreement which the newspaper owners are refusing to honour have broken down.

They broke down before, of course, with the employers saying they couldn't pay the money due because it was against the pay code and the unions saying they had signed an agreement.

So why did the two sides start talking again? The answer is simple and all trade unionists should learn it by heart: the longer the bosses keep the unions talking and the longer the unions agree to talk, the closer we get to October when money due under such threshold agreements can be paid—minus wages lost during the preceding months.

And the bosses hope that with a few extra pennies in the workers' pockets come October, the fire in the unions' belly will be doused and they'll forget all about the back pay and past grievances.

The Sun had a similar message for its printers who last week passed a resolution declaring war on the management if it con-

Another important aspect of the forecast of Swire is the way it highlights the need for the merged company to buy up UK assets. Only £4.7 million is expected to be available out of a pre-tax profit of £10.2 million and while this includes an un- known amount for minority interests, the ruling UK tax rate is 40 per cent.

So expect an important UK acquisition before the end of this year. No one is giving out clues as to what sectors the company will diversify into, and indeed whether profits or that some of its assets will be sold.

Finally, the document gives a forecast of the company's performance in 1973. It is expected that the company will have a net profit of £10.2 million, a 15 per cent increase on the £8.8 million of 1972. This arises because of a different treatment of certain items. French directors, for instance, are usually entitled to a proportion of the dividend. In 1972 this was £1.5 million, but in 1973 it is £1.5 million less, as the directors' remuneration is included in the operating profit in 1973. This sum is paid in fact, but the directors' remuneration is not included in the operating profit. This gives a net profit of £8.8 million, a 15 per cent increase on the £7.7 million of 1972.

continued to refuse to pass over the money.

Giving its readers the choice of calling the TUC either Feathers Follies or Scanton's Scandals, the Sun spat in the face of its printers by saying: 'It is certain that the country won't accept a simple, un-planned free-for-all again. This is crossroads week for the whole union movement. It must say something more than No.'

Who, in heavens name, is 'the country' that the papers keep saying won't accept this and that, it isn't the workers who make up 95 per cent of the adult population?

Unfair

Meanwhile the Sun might look to the stark stupidity of its management before starting on the irresponsibility of the unions. Two weeks ago, the management signed contracts with two new copytakers, employing them on the News of the World at £65 a week basic for two days' work.

When the Sun copytakers, members of NATSOPA, heard about it, they couldn't believe their ears. Their basic pay is £45 for a full week's work.

The management can't sack the two copytakers—that would be unfair dismissal. They can't cut their pay now the contracts are signed. They can't bring the Sun boys up to parity—that's against the pay code.

The Sun copytakers are out, with the exception of one scab, and the management men keep asking themselves over expensive account lunches how to get themselves out of this one.

Leonard Hill

Candidate hits out at anti-IS ruling

I WAS dismayed to read in Socialist Worker of Reg Underhill's ruling that members of the International Socialists were not eligible for membership of the Labour Party.

Like so many of his ilk Mr Underhill bases his case on an excessive amount of legal pedantry. He is apparently concerned that IS might be an organisation which has its own 'programme, separate propaganda, or which possesses branches', this making it an organisation 'ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party'.

Perhaps I am naive, but I believe the Fabian Society should be proscribed on all these counts, I am therefore writing to Reg Underhill to demand an urgent and searching inquiry into the affairs of this group. I have long regarded it as a pernicious organisation which has been the chief culprit in spreading the disastrous philosophy of gradualism within the Labour Party.

Then he could do worse than investigating the affairs of the 69 Labour MPs who actually voted with the Conservatives in the House of Commons when it was discussing our entry into the Common Market.

Had they carried out the wishes of the people who put them there, we would have had a general election and the almost certain return of a Labour government.

To the best of my knowledge not even Dick Taverne has been expelled from the party.

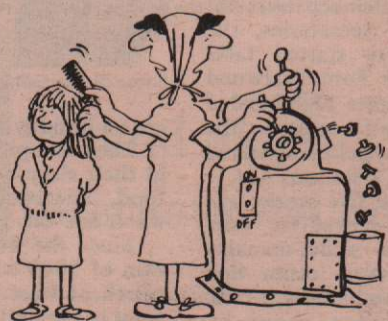
And if he's still short of something to do, he could follow the well-worn footsteps of some of our parliamentary leaders to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There he will soon discover that some students who are members of the Labour Club also hold membership of the Conservative and Liberal Clubs.

But of course I need hardly point out Mr Underhill will not be following my advice. He's so busy hunting Trotskyists that he's forgotten who are the real enemies of the Labour Movement.

If he was serious about advancing the struggle for socialism in Britain, he would be bringing forward proposals for amending sub-paragraph (d) of section 4 of clause II of the party constitution.

But he's not.—BRUCE TIDY, prospective parliamentary Labour candidate for St Ives, Cornwall.

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FACTORY BRANCHES MEETING A SUCCESS

MORE THAN 120 delegates attended a meeting in Birmingham last Saturday to discuss the work of the International Socialists' factory branches.

There were delegates from branches in a broad range of industries—carworkers, engineers, hospital workers, builders, busmen. Tony Cliff, of the IS executive committee, led off the discussion.

He argued that IS has had considerable success in building factory branches over the past six months, doing much better than expected at the annual conference in March, but that IS faced a lack of experience in dealing with the problems that inevitably arose.

The aim of the factory branch should be to fight for workers' leadership in the factory. Success in this would also help the local IS organisations and the spreading of the influence of socialists in other factories.

To do this effectively, the factory branch has also to ensure that its members take initiatives in trade union branches, district committees and trades councils.

Although such bodies are often almost dead at present, they can become very important, particularly where there is more than one strike in an area at the same time. For that reason IS members have to take seriously the question of rejuvenating and building them.

Another central task of the factory branch was to ensure that its members not only sold Socialist Worker but also wrote for it, sending in letters and articles about their own conditions and experiences, said Cliff. And by collecting money for the paper they could get many more workers to identify with the paper and its fight for socialist politics.

In the discussion that followed, delegates from the factory branches discussed the problems of building branches and their intervention in

particular struggles.

Speakers from Edinburgh building workers, Chrysler carworkers and York busmen spoke of the problems of socialist education in their branches and how they had tried to overcome them.

A delegate from Oxford carworkers stressed that one key in building the factory branch was that all members had to become experts on their place of work, knowing every detail about the directors, the procedure agreements, the union rules, questions of safety and so on.

ACTIVITIES

Speakers from Coventry carworkers and from Hull told how in building their factory branches they had been able to draw into IS workers who had previously been friendly but had not been prepared to join.

The meeting also discussed the activities of the factory branches in relation to the Chrysler electricians' strike and the attempts being made to jail the 'Shrewsbury 24' building workers for picketing.

A delegate from Coventry told how Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport Workers Union, and Hugh Scanlon, of the Engineering Union, had attempted to redefine what 'blacklegging' meant. They had told their Coventry Chrysler members that although it would be scabbing to do the work of striking electricians themselves, it would not be scabbing to work on machines repaired by non-union, strike-breaking labour.

Delegates at the meeting were urged to raise the question of a fight

against this betrayal of trade union principles with other militants in as many shop stewards committees and trade union branches as possible.

Finally, delegates discussed the Shrewsbury trial. An Edinburgh delegate told how IS had taken the initiative in pressing the city's trades council to hold a big and impressive meeting on the subject, and how they had also been able to organise meetings on several building sites. A carworker from Liverpool hammered home the point that IS needs to work for industrial stoppages if the Shrewsbury workers are jailed and also, if possible, on the day they come up for trial.

The meeting was a considerable success. Although delegates pointed to many problems, the problems were those that arose with the success of building factory branches, enabling IS to begin to intervene in the class struggle as revolutionaries have not been able to for more than 40 years. Delegates went away determined to strengthen their branches even more in preparation for the struggles coming in the months ahead.

New estate branch

MANCHESTER:—At the first public meeting of Partington IS Wally Preston, one-time organiser and convenor of the nearby mammoth Shell Chemicals site, spoke on unemployment, the millionaire press and old age pensioners. This has begun the work of this new branch on an overspill estate just outside Manchester. Six people joined at the meeting and 57 copies of Socialist Worker were taken to be sold to neighbours and workmates.

40 at Cornish meeting

CORNWALL:—More than 40 people, most of them industrial workers attended an International Socialist meeting in Camborne, where Paul Foot spoke on the need for rank and file organisation.

At the meeting were several shop stewards from Heathcoates engineering factory, including Rob Pattison, one of the militants recently sacked by the management but reinstated after instant and unprecedented strike action by the shop floor. Much of the discussion revolved around the possibilities of successful factory organisation, and how a strong socialist organisation in a factory can

decide what happens in a dispute.

The chairman of the meeting, Jimmy Rule, who is a senior shop steward at Holmans, the town's main engineering factory, announced the formation of a Housing Action group in Camborne to fight homelessness and landlordism in the area.

The Camborne branch of IS is composed almost entirely of industrial workers and has already made a deep impression in the town. The branch has 15 members and sells each week 200 copies of Socialist Worker—almost all of them in the town's factories.

Watch sit-in brings victory

KILBURN:—Fifteen men and women workers in the Seiko watch repair and distribution factory have won a resounding victory. They barricaded themselves in after a five-week strike failed to win their demands for management recognition of their union, the AUEW, and their jobs back.

Soon after the doors were locked by the strikers, including clerical staff and watch repairers but without temporary secretaries, the Japanese-owned firm started talks with union officials Tom Eastwood and Vic Swift, despite high-handed talk that they didn't recognise the union because it wasn't registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

The strike broke five weeks ago when a worker was sacked for 'non-co-operation' with under-manager Steels. In fact workers claim that Steels, in whom Seiko have kept faith despite private doubts about his strong-arm methods, talked to the man 'like a pig'.

The sit-in vote was taken last Thursday after management heard the workers' complaints and then blandly said they could not promise to take the strikers back after sacking them.

About 15 of the original workers occupied the ground floor. Some of the others left for new jobs, some



Some of the Seiko strikers in the firm's offices during the occupation

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

are on holiday and a few scabbed.

They occupied the manager's office in their sleeping bags, with plenty of food, television and hot and cold water laid on.

Since the workers were in possession of 5000 watches and equipment worth at least £60,000, Seiko don't want to precipitate too much trouble, but locked all the building's fire exits and cut off the telephones and lights.

Overtime

Madeline Meggs, a member of the strike committee, said: 'Since the factory opened in February they have treated us without respect. We earn the money we get and we are entitled to respect.'

Outside a strike placard read: 'Seiko likes robots because they don't talk back.'

Said Madeline: 'Four television cameras, allegedly for "security reasons", are monitoring us all the time. There is no communication whatsoever between the management and us, or between head office and here. The canteen food is bad and even for overtime you have to work the first half-hour for nothing.'

Sean McNeil, another of the strikers, said Seiko had tried and failed to make racist capital out of the troubles at the factory. 'They have tried to stir things up by telling the Asians that they must speak English in the workshop. Some of the Uganda Asians are understandably

slow in speaking out but we are fighting for them as much as for ourselves.'

Seiko, whose parent firm is Hattori of Tokio, are bluffing when they warn that they may pull out of Britain. Their British market is as profitable in its own way as the American and there is no question of pulling out.

This was proved late on Friday evening when the management caved in completely, agreeing to recognise the union, reinstate the strikers and pay them for the five weeks of the strike.

The Seiko strike committee thanked local branches of the International Socialists for their help during the strike.

IS AUTOMOTIVE FRACTION: Essential meeting for all IS carworkers. Sunday 16 September, 11am to 4.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall (Lecture Room 3), Birmingham. Session 1: The Carworker, introduced by Gerry Jones (Chrysler, Stoke). Session 2: Phase Three and the Motor Industry, introduced by Roger Cox (CAV, Acton). For further information, phone IS industrial department at 01-739 6273.

LEIGH IS public meeting: What is IS? Speaker John Deason, Wednesday 12 September, 8pm, The Globe, Bradshaw Gate, Leigh. ALL WELCOME.

ALBION MOTORS IS public meeting: Tory Incomes Policy and Productivity Deals. Speaker Tony Cliff, Wednesday 12 September, 5pm, Partick Burgh Hall.

CHELMSFORD IS public meeting: Monday 17 September, 8pm. How to organise for effective struggle. Why we need a revolutionary party, and how to build one. Cricketers Arms, Moulsham Street.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: The Need for a Rank and File Alliance of Workers. What Role the Welsh TUC? Speaker Pete Freeman (TGWU), Monday 17 September, 8pm, Blue Anchor pub, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

IS TEACHERS Day School: Saturday 15 September, 10.30am-6pm, in Birmingham. Details in next week's Socialist Worker. All IS teachers to attend.

KINGSTON IS public meeting: No Talks with the Tories—Fight Phase Three! Tuesday 11 September, 8pm, Central Library, Fairfield, Phone 01-393 5751 for more details.

EDINBURGH AREA IS aggregate meeting: Speaker Tony Cliff, Sunday 9 September, 7pm, Trade Union Centre, 12/14 Picardy Place. Open to IS members and sympathisers.

NEWHAM IS public meeting: The General Strike. Speaker Harry Wicks, Wednesday 12 September, 8pm, Castle pub, Barking Road, Plaistow.

IS NALGO national fraction meeting: Saturday 22 September, 10.30pm, at 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

THE UNACCEPTABLE FACE OF CAPITALISM

Speaker Tony Cliff
CLYDEBANK TOWN HALL on Monday 10 September, 7.30pm.
PAISLEY TOWN HALL on Tuesday 11 September, 7.30pm.
EAST KILBRIDE, The Murray, on Wednesday 12 September, 7.30pm.
GLASGOW AUEW HALL, 145 West Regent Street, on Thursday 13 September, 7.30pm.

GLASGOW IS Shiftworkers meeting Monday 10 September, 3pm. Why we need a revolutionary party. Speaker Tony Cliff. At IS Books, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow C1.

EDINBURGH IS public meeting **WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE WELFARE STATE?** Speaker Jim Kincaid, author of Poverty and Equality in Britain, recently published by Penguin Books. Wednesday 19 September, 7.30pm, Trade Union Centre, 12/14 Picardy Place.

COLINDALE IS public meeting **THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM—PAST AND PRESENT.** Speaker Harry Wicks. Thursday 13 September, 8pm, The Bald-faced Stag, Burnt Oak Broadway, Burnt Oak.

GRIMSBY IS public meeting **WHY THE SYSTEM STINKS.** Speaker Paul Foot. Thursday 13 September, Darleys Hotel, Grimsby Road, Cleethorpes.

LAMBETH IS public meeting **FEWER HOMES, HIGHER RENTS—HOUSING THE TORY WAY.** Speaker Hugh Kerr (IS tenants' organiser) Wed 12 September, 8pm, Brixton Training Centre (opposite town hall).

LEEDS DISTRICT IS public meeting **IS RUSSIA SOCIALIST?** Speaker Duncan Hallas, Thursday 13 September, 8pm, Leeds Trades Club, Upper Fountains Street.

BRADFORD IS public meeting **THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER.** Speaker Wally Preston (IS national committee member, former AUEW convenor). Thursday 13 Sep 8pm, at 55 Godwin Street (upstairs), Bradford 1. ALL WELCOME.

WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting **WAGES AND PRICES—THE GREAT CON-TRICK.** Speakers: Paul Foot and local trade unionists. Thursday 20 September, 8pm, AUEW offices, Horsley Fields, Wolverhampton.

IS MEMBER wants to share flat with other members in North London. Anyone with spare room please write to Box MQ, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2, or phone 739 2639.

TYPIST needed by SW Litho Printers. Interesting work but must be reasonably accurate.

PACKER needed by IS to work in warehouse helping to distribute printed material. Driving license would be useful. For above three jobs, apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

THE ENGINEERING PAY CLAIM, a new IS pamphlet, is now out. Order to 'Engineering Pamphlet', 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN, as soon as possible.

IS BOOKS: Part-time help urgently needed at new bookshop (265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, two minutes from Finsbury Park tube station) from 17 September onwards. Any comrades interested please contact Tamara Kalom at 01-739 1878.



DURING the day, Bill Jones and Bob Williamson spoke at meetings on five building sites in the Edinburgh district. They spoke at Cameron's Moray House site, Myton's Dalkeith Road site, where Bill Jones is pictured above, McAlpine's St James Centre site, at Hart-Crudens in Livingstone and at the John Laing site for Heriot Watt University at Riccarton.

Another site meeting that had been organised was not held because the site in question was out on strike.

At Riccarton and Dalkeith Road the stewards were refused permission for a meeting on the site and the men were told that if they clocked out to hold the meeting they need not come back that day. On both the men felt it sufficiently important to lose a day's pay to hear the speakers from the defence committee.

Whip-rounds at the meetings at Livingstone and St James Centre raised £10 and £5, and full scale collections are under way at all these sites. £26.50 has already been raised at Riccarton.

SHREWSBURY MEN GET BIG SCOTS SUPPORT

Lucas in parity strike

BIRMINGHAM:—At Sims Motors, part of the Lucas group, the entire workforce except for two scabs are on strike over a parity claim. The men, who are employed on engine pump reconditioning, are demanding parity with the rest of the Lucas combine where rates for doing identical work are as much as £10 a week more.

The management at all stages of negotiations have denied that Sims is part of the Lucas group, although the men pay into the Lucas pension fund and other company schemes.

The strike, which started six weeks ago, was made official through the Birmingham East District of the AUEW. But negotiations went on between union officials and the company and district secretary Norman Cartwright eventually recommended a return to work last Tuesday to put an offer to the strikers.

The previous Friday at a meeting of workers in dispute Cartwright had urged a return to work to hear the management's offer—although he already had details of the deal at the time.

On hearing the offer last Tuesday, which gave productivity rises approved by the Pay Board of £6 to one man and nothing to the others, the men struck again, demanding across-the-board increases. The strike is still solid but has not been made official again.

● **Trade unionists, especially in Lucas companies, should support the dispute. Contact the shop stewards c/o 7 Edwards Road, Erdington, Birmingham 24.**

EDINBURGH:—More than 100 delegates from building sites, workplaces and trade union branches all over Edinburgh packed the Trade Union Centre last week for a conference in support of the 'Shrewsbury 24'. —the building workers facing a conspiracy trial.

The conference had been organised by Edinburgh Trades Council as a result of a resolution from a local branch of UCATT, the builders' union.

Bill Jones, speaking for the North Wales Defence Committee, emphasised the backward state of union organisation in North Wales. The 24 men who have been victimised were in no way leading militants, he said. They had been picked on in the hope that they would be easy to crack and that a precedent would be set that could be used against more militant workers elsewhere.

ATTACK

Bill Jones stressed the political nature of the trial. All pickets during last year's building workers' strike had been accompanied by police and no complaints or arrests had been made at the time. A full six months later, 24 ordinary workers, many of them non-unionists before the strike, were dragged from their homes, and while they were kept at the police station, other police interrogated their wives and children.

In the face of this serious attack, he added, the executives of the men's unions, the TGWU and UCATT, had responded with silence. Pressure from the branches forced the TGWU executive to change its mind. But its support of the 24 is purely

SW Reporter

verbal, without a campaign among the membership.

Bill Jones made a powerful plea for financial and physical support. Money collected would not be going into the pockets of lawyers, he said, but was needed to alleviate the harsh personal situations of the 24. They face unemployment until the trial starts—no one wants to employ one of the Shrewsbury 24—and then they will have to travel 106 miles a day to the court for a trial expected to last five months.

SUCCESS

Collection sheets should be taken round workplaces not only to raise money but also to ensure that all workers are aware of the issues. Finally Bill Jones appealed for delegates to a national conference on the Shrewsbury issue called by Liverpool Trades Council on 22 September.

The other platform speaker was Jimmy Young, representing the Scottish executive of the National Union of Mineworkers. Delegates were also present from two of the major pits in the Lothians area.

Jimmy Young underlined the vital role of picketing in the success of the miners' strike. The right to 'peaceful' picketing was supposed to be guaranteed by the Industrial Relations Act, he said, but the police could be relied on to provoke violence in order to make arrests.

'During the miners' strike 13 pickets at Longannet power station had been arrested and charged,' he went on. 'In fighting for the Shrewsbury 24 we are fighting for ourselves. There had been a shameful lack of response from the leadership of the trade unions on this question. If the TUC did not act soon the rank and file would 'run over the top of them.'

Speaking from the floor, Terry Horan, UCATT, convenor of John Laing's site at Riccarton, said that the vital necessity was for shop floor meetings, and not just on

building sites, to prepare the way for industrial action in support of the 24.

Rab Jeffrey, ETU, pointed out that the TUC woke up to the Pentonville Five four days after the rank and file had taken action to ensure their release.

It was no good only pressurising the union leadership through official channels, though this must be done, he said. The best form of pressure was independent action that would force the leaders to follow. We should campaign for industrial action on 3 October—the day that the trial starts.

Frank Drain, UCATT Riccarton shop steward, said that the co-ordinating committee that had organised the conference should be expanded by delegates from workplaces to organise an ongoing campaign and industrial action on 3 October.

A collection at the meeting raised over £30. At the end of the conference a resolution was unanimously passed calling on the trade union movement to use its industrial power to free anyone who was jailed, and pledging financial, physical and moral support to the 24.

The meeting marked a great step forward, not only for the campaign of support for the Shrewsbury 24 but also for the left in the Edinburgh trade union movement. When the proposal for this conference came forward from the UCATT central branch, the secretary of the Trades Council argued that such a conference 'would not succeed'.

Members of the Edinburgh Construction Workers branch of the International Socialists took the initiative inside UCATT on this issue. They also put in a great deal of work producing propaganda in addition to that produced by the Trades Council, distributing collection sheets and organising site meetings.

Teacher transfer means blacklist

NORTH LONDON:—86 teachers protested on Monday outside Hungerford School in support of Mrs Dorothea McColgan who is being 'transferred' by the Inner London Education Authority because she holds opinions that are 'unacceptable'.

Mrs McColgan has been a teacher for more than 20 years. 'She makes good daily contact with the parents,' runs a testimonial written by her headmistress. 'I assume Mrs McColgan could deal well with the duties attached to a post of responsibility while maintaining a good relationship with her colleagues.'

Yet the education told Mrs McColgan she was being transferred because she held opinions that were 'unacceptable'—to the headmistress.

But what these opinions are has not been revealed. Mrs McColgan has some ideas about why she is being victimised. She wrote a letter to Contact, the authority's staff magazine, arguing for greater democracy in schools.

Said Mrs McColgan: 'In 1969 I was one of the complainants who called for an inquiry into Highbury Quadrant School. Although the inquiry found that all the complaints were justified it did not reprimand the head or comment on the authority's failings, but the complainants were all reprimanded because they had sought the support of the parents in getting the inquiry.'

Since then she hasn't had a permanent post. The ILEA have admitted that a secret agreement was made allowing the headmistress to have her transferred at any time. No complaint had been made about her at Hungerford.

Both the North London Teachers Association and the National Council for Civil Liberties have taken up Mrs McColgan's case.

Mass demo supports tools picket

by Jeff Hudson (AUEW), Footprints strike committee

SHEFFIELD:—A mass demonstration paraded past the Footprints Tools factory on Friday in solidarity with 100 strikers out for 10 weeks since an engineering union steward was sacked. The demonstration followed a week of mass pickets at the plant.

The management is determined to smash the AUEW at Footprints and replace it with the anti-militant General and Municipal Workers Union. Last Thursday management even asked GMWU convenor George Simpson to organise a shop-floor meeting of all the staff in an attempt to find someone to work the forge and the stamps, work normally done by AUEW men.

The strikers know that once the forge re-opens defeat is in sight. They have brought the firm virtually to a standstill but if the forge and stamps operate then the firm can begin to produce once again. The moves by management and the GMWU reinforced the necessity of mass pickets.

● **Donations and messages of support to Arthur Hodgson, Footprints Strike Committee, c/o The Royal Oak, Hollis Craft, Sheffield 1.**

CLASSIFIED

Copy for the Classified section 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.

STREET RESEARCH BULLETIN is to aid militants in researching for their struggle. Issue no 1 on housing in your town and researching British companies; No 2 on researching an individual; No 3 on local authorities and the legal system. Research is basic to your struggle. 15p each post free from 86 Raiton Road, London SE24 0LD.

JAMES CONNOLLY—unpublished letter. 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 October Socialist Standard features James Connolly. Free copy from Dept SW, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

LOBBY of Engineering Employers Federation: 9am, Friday 14 September at Broadway House, Tothill Street, London SW1 (nearest tube St James Park).

WHAT IS GLASGOW NEWS ANYWAY?—Lord Polwarth. Find out for yourself what's really happening in Glasgow. Subscribe to Glasgow News, £3 for 50 issues, post paid, to 27 Woodlands Drive, Glasgow G4.

300 Coachbuilders out over pay claim

SOUTHAMPTON:—The 300 workers at Strachans coachbuilders, struck last week over their pay claim.

They struck for a week in April to force management to negotiate over a claim for a £10 rise, a 35-hour week, and an extra week holiday. A compromise was reached which gave the workers £1 plus 4 per cent and a bonus scheme which was intended to rise to £5-£6 per week. But after total non-co-operation by management and an average bonus of £1.70 over the past three months, a mass meeting decided to strike until management offers a minimum £4.

The strike is solid and full co-operation has been received from lorry drivers who have refused to cross the picket line.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

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Trade Union _____

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

Tenants march in rent rise protest



Banners at the head of the march. PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

KIRKBY: 600 people marched through the town last week in a big protest against the latest rent rises under the Housing Finance Act.

The march, led by the banner of the Kirkby Unfair Rents Action Committee, started in the Tower Hill district and ended in the town centre. Among those on the march were tenants from Kirkby, the Old Swan, Bootle and Croxteth areas of Liverpool, Bolton, Oldham, Clay Cross and Kiderton Park, Liverpool dockers and more than 20 International Socialist branches from Yorkshire, Manchester and Merseyside.

The demonstration was organised against the Tory government's notorious rents Act which increased rents in Kirkby by a £1 a week last October and another 50p only a week ago. Council tenants all over the country face more increases.

Ever since last October thousands of tenants on Merseyside have been on rent strike and in Tower Hill about 500 are still active. The local Labour-controlled council has now imposed another increase and is applying for court orders to take rents directly out of the strikers'

wage packets.

At a meeting at the end of the march Ethel Singleton, a Liverpool tenants' leader, urged every trade unionist to support the tenants' struggle and not to ignore it—the rent rises were effectively wage cuts, she said, and only part of the Tory general campaign against the living standards of working people.

She appealed for solidarity and support if any tenant was victimised or threatened with eviction and called for strike action if any employers collaborated with court orders.

She urged everyone to support the national tenants conference to be held in Manchester on 23 September.

CONFERENCE AGAINST THE RENT ACT

Sunday 23 September
2pm-6pm in Manchester
(exact meeting place to be announced)
Delegates and visitors credentials 10p
from Conference organising committee
61 Tylney Croft, Harlow, Essex

MINES SMEAR

from page one

and a lock-out button was missing.'

Chief Inspector Joseph Hatton from the West Riding police, who is leading the inquiry into the 'sabotage' allegations, told me: 'It would appear from our tests that the chain broke from metal fatigue.'

'We are continuing our inquiries into the other matters, which would appear to have been malicious, but then, obviously, we're not miners.'

Dennis Skinner, however, is certain that the matter will be laid to rest.

Socialist Worker was the only newspaper to support the Goldthorpe miners against the reckless allegations of their bosses. Two weeks ago we wrote: 'The forces of law and order, which did not interview one negligent machinery manufacturer after the Markham disaster in which 18 men died, nor one rogue profiteer after the pit-prop scandal, is at last taking an interest in miners—because there's a chance to do them down.'

Certainly the 'sabotage' story helped to distract public attention away from the truth about the Markham disaster. The Coal Board has now admitted that there was a broken brake rod on the disaster cage, which made all 14 'failsafe' devices useless.

CHRYSLER SPARKS' DIARY OF DISASTER

COVENTRY:—Almost all the workers at Chrysler's engine plant at Stoke are crossing official picket lines and working machines repaired by non-union sub-contracted labour.

This is the result of what the striking electricians' leader, Woofie Goldstein, has described as 'a black week for trade unionism'.

The diary of disaster reads: **FRIDAY:** Brushing aside the complaints of militants on the joint shop stewards committee, the convenors, on the advice of Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, advised a mass meeting to work machines repaired by non-electricians. The meeting agreed.

MONDAY: An International Socialists leaflet revealed that non-union labour had come into the factory over the week-end.

Millwrights and truck drivers refused to cross the sparks' picket line. The stewards committee voted heavily for another mass meeting on Tuesday, despite almost hysterical opposition from the convenors. Throughout the factory, sections were walking out.

RUMOURS

TUESDAY: Eddie McClusky, secretary of the Stoke Joint Shop Stewards Committee, announced that he could not get loudspeaker equipment, so the planned mass meeting was delayed. The company used the delay to put out rumours of 'financial disaster' if any strike took place.

WEDNESDAY: Mass meeting was finally held. The AUEW convenor, who was supposed to be recommending strike action on behalf of the stewards, attacked the International Socialists as much as non-unionists.

He then announced, to widespread disbelief, that the meeting had voted against strike action. Spontaneous section meetings followed all-over the field. Many sections decided not to go to work. Management promptly issued a statement threatening to sack any worker who did not return the next day and had no sick note.

FRIDAY: Almost all workers went back to work.

MONDAY: A right-wing motion at the stewards' committee seeking to ban for five years any steward who disobeyed the mandate to return to work after the mass meeting was lost by 70 votes to 30.

Stoke militants are sickened by last week's events, but are preparing for a counter-attack. Their position will be greatly strengthened if militants in other parts of the country pass resolutions of support and send money to the striking electricians.

Communist Party: IS action call

THE following letter has been sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

Dear Comrades,
THE recent electricians dispute in Chrysler, Coventry, has revealed a great weakness in the official trade union movement. Brothers Scanlon and Jones have given full trade union support to black-legging, whereby AUEW and TGWU members were advised at the Joint Shop Stewards Committee and mass meetings of 24 August that they could use machinery repaired by non-union members whilst the EEPTU members were on strike.

This is a radical re-definition for the worse of trade union principles. The effects of this have been disastrous, not only on the EEPTU dispute itself but also on the factory organisation at Chrysler, Stoke and Ryton.

We need not be impotent in the face of this retreat from principle. Our joint forces in the two unions concerned, and in the trade union movement at large, are such that we can probably decisively influence the situation. We therefore invite you:

a) to hold a joint meeting of representatives of our two Executives to discuss what positive action we can jointly take in the labour movement.

b) to hold a joint meeting of our memberships in the AUEW and TGWU in Coventry to plan joint activity for the defence of trade unionism in the area itself.

At this time, when trade unions and picketing are under vicious attack from the government, the TGWU and AUEW decision splits and confuses the working class. An abdication of our joint responsibilities would probably prove us irrelevant in struggles to come.

Yours fraternally,
Executive Committee, International Socialists.

GEC LAYS OFF WORKERS

COVENTRY:—GEC's Spon Street factory is almost completely shut down due to lay-offs from the five-week-old strike of women workers over management's retiming of crucial jobs.

A mass meeting of strikers has voted overwhelmingly—against the advice of AUEW convenor Albert Beardmore—to continue the strike and not to meet again for two weeks. A management offer of a small increase, recommended by

Beardmore, was contemptuously rejected. Beardmore, meanwhile, is still working, and his machine shop is one of the few active parts of the factory.

The AUEW District Committee, however, has refused to censor Beardmore for his attitude to the strike, although it condemned as a 'kangaroo court' a hasty meeting of stewards in which Beardmore had pressed through the expulsion from the committee of one of the most militant

strikers, deputy convenor Elsie Moles.

Elsie Moles has been reinstated by the district committee.

'Key-girls' in all Coventry's GEC factories came out on strike last Thursday and Friday in protest against blatant sex discrimination. Although key girls do the same work as charge hands, the differential in the top grades is more than £10 per week. The women are holding out for at least £2.70 all-round increase and recognition as charge hands.

Aircraft works sit-in

OLDHAM:—80 workers at Hawker Siddeley's Empire Works at Failsforth occupied the plant last week in protest against management refusal to pay the full £1 plus 4 per cent pay increase which has been paid in all Hawker factories in the Manchester area.

Management have tried to deduct piece-work increases from the basic pay settlement, but the men, members of the Sheet Metal Workers Union, are having none of it.

News stopped

LONDON:—The printworkers' despatch chapel of SOGAT at the Evening News, the biggest chapel in Fleet Street, came out on strike on Monday and agreed on Tuesday to stay out until management paid overtime to the 250 'commission workers' who pack and drive the vans. The decision to strike is a symptom of the bitterness in Fleet Street over management's refusal to honour a 'threshold agreement' signed last year.

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