

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

THE CRUCIAL ELECTION ISSUES:

**Defend
the unions
Victory to
the miners**



Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

Kent miners picketing Deal docks : their strike put the skids under the Tories

**KICK OUT
THE TORIES
VOTE LABOUR**

Five pages on the election, miners pages 15 and 16

General Election '74
KICK OUT
THE TORIES X

The vicious Tory

'WE UTTERLY REJECT the philosophy of compulsory wage control.' That was what the Tory election manifesto said in 1970.

'Labour's Prices and Incomes Policy has been a failure. We shall not repeat it.' That was also what the Tory manifesto said in 1970. Such a policy was: 'Not only impracticable but, undesirable and an unjustifiable infringement on the freedom of the individual.' So said Ted Heath at Carshalton in July 1967.

Now we have had more than a year of compulsory wage control.

And what of their promises on prices? 'These measures [proposed tax changes] will cut prices at a stroke.' That was what Ted Heath said in the 1970 election campaign.

'The need to control inflation will come first.' That was what the Tory election manifesto said in 1970.

Between 1964 and 1970 prices rose on average by 4½ per cent a year. Food prices rose by 4 per cent a year. That was bad enough but look at the record since 1970!

In 1973 alone, all prices rose on average by 10½ per cent, according to the government's own sources. Food prices rose by 25 per cent, according to the Guardian's calculation of the cost of an average shopping basket.

The Tories blame 'greedy' workers, militant trade unionists, reds and wreckers. But throughout 1973, the year of all time record inflation, Tory incomes policy, now rechristened the 'Counter Inflation Policy', was rigidly and effectively enforced on the working class.

The Tories complain about the increase of imported foodstuffs. But they have done nothing about controlling homegrown food.

Farm profits increased by 40 per cent last year and we paid every penny of it.

Inflation is still raging. The current rate is around 15 per cent a year and is still accelerating. Inflation of 20 per cent, or even 25 per cent, is predicted. Someone will have to pay the price and it will not be Ted Heath and his friends.

Tory incomes policy may have been a sick joke as far as prices are concerned, but that does not mean it has been a failure from the bosses' point of view.

In 1971 company profits were £2,873 million. In 1972 they rose by 12 per cent to £3,218 million.

Figures are not available for 1973, but modest estimates are of a 25 per cent rise in profits, bringing the total to something in excess of £4,000 million.

EMI's first half-year profits in 1973 were increased by 43 per cent.

The Thomson Organisation reported an increase of 67 per cent for profit levels.

Redland, Lord Beeching's company reported an increase of profits from £12 million to £20 million.

Rio Tinto Zinc hit the jackpot with an increase in profits of 107 per cent.

Tory handouts, wage freeze and increased exploitation made 1973 a bumper year for Britain's companies. The workers paid for the lot and the Tories intend that they will pay even more in the future.

Milking school kids' health

THE RECORD of the Tories and their Social Services front man, Sir Keith Joseph, is a prime example of their mean-minded vindictiveness.

Cheap welfare milk for children was abolished. The 17 million gallons of half-price milk sold to expectant mothers and children under five has been abolished.

School meals have increased in price. Prescription charges are now 20p for each item. The maximum charge for dental charges has increased from £1.50 to £10.

The Tories claim to have increased pensions annually since they took office. Family allowances, however, have not been increased since 1968. Despite the yearly increases the old age pension of £7.75 for a single person and £4.75 for a dependant wife, is grossly inadequate. It represents only 20 per cent of already low average male earnings.

Little wonder that 29 per cent of the eight million old age pensioners are forced to apply for supplementary benefit.



Sailor Ted: £45,000 on his new yacht, storm signals for workers' incomes

MASSIVE ONSLAUGHT ON UNION MOVEMENT

'AS A FIRST PRIORITY in office we shall introduce the major reforms of industrial relations to free our nation from the frustrating conflicts of a century and a half of industrial strife'.

Ted Heath said that before the 1970 election and his sidekick Robert Carr, had the insolence to describe the Tory plans as 'The basis of industrial democracy'.

Industrial democracy, Tory style, meant tying up the unions hand and foot and delivering them for the employers to carve up. The means to this infamous end was the Industrial Relations Act.

FOILED

In this policy the Tories were helped by the refusal of the TUC and the trade union leaders to wage a real fight against the act. It was the rank and file at Saltley and at Pentonville who forced the Tories to backpedal on the Industrial Relations Act.

Foiled in their onslaught against the trade unions by the flying pickets during the miners' and builders' strikes, the Tories resorted to the 1875 Conspiracy Act.

A full year after the builders' strike, they brought the first six of 24 rank and file building workers to trial at Shrewsbury. Three of those trade unionists are in jail today and more are likely to follow.

The courts have willingly lined up with the Tories' union-bashing tactics and have defined picketing in so restrictive a manner as to make al-



Barber: generous, to a few

most any picketing illegal.

The Tory Industrial Relations Court have so far fined the TGWU and the AUEW a total of £185,000. General Aviation Services has a claim in for £¼ million damages against the TGWU.

This Act, which was supposed to reduce industrial disputes, has had the reverse effect. Days lost in strikes in 1970 totalled 10,980,000. In 1972 it had reached 23,904,000. 1974 is already bidding fair to exceed the previous records.

Quite rightly so, for workers recognise the increasing inequality, the class viciousness of the Tories and their attacks on the trade unions.

Barber's lather for the rich

ANTHONY BARBER, before becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1970, was known as a tax specialist. He has certainly specialised in giving tax concessions to very rich investors.

A married couple with an income from investments of £50,000 have gained £144 each week in generous tax concessions. Those with £20,000 get a mere modest but substantial £48 per week in tax handouts.

Both of these concessions is considerably in excess of the wages paid to workers. They also exceed the modest weekly wage claimed by the miners. Tax relief for loan interest, abolished by Labour, has been restored.

Children's investment income is no longer taxed as part of the parents' income. Corporation tax has been

reduced from 45 per cent to 40 per cent and a new tax loophole opened, allowing companies to pay out more of their profits in dividends.

Value Added Tax has been used to shift the tax burden from the rich to the working class. The extension of tax to practically all services means that the rate could be lower on industry while it rose for meals, clothing, footwear, household durables, transport, vehicles, alcohol and a host of other items that we have to spend more money to obtain.

One place where the tax money is going is arms expenditure. 1969 to 70 arms expenditure cost every single person in Britain 70p each week.

In 1973 to 1974 this had increased to £1.16

New threat to union rights

THE IRON FIST in the velvet glove: that's the best description of the Conservative election manifesto.

The glove is soaked in the treacle of Conservative Central Office talk about extremism dividing and moderation uniting and change without revolution and guiding the nation safely through the difficult period that lies ahead.

Then there are the standard promises which are made in order to be broken: like the promise to keep pensions rising to spend more money on primary schools and to 'provide more houses for renting in areas of housing need'.

The fist appears in the sections about the

working-class movement. Social security payments to the families of strikers will be paid only after the unions have paid strike pay.

Profit

By this device, the Tories hope to 'save' the Exchequer—on the basis of the average of the last three years—a total of £5 million a year: rather less than Lord Carrington, who thought up the idea, will make in clear profit by selling off some of his land in Buckinghamshire.

There are other warnings too: a 'document' will be published on 'picketing laws'. All attempts will be made to enforce the existing law.

Another proposal is for a new law to lay down rules about trade union elections. Not content with re-writing trade unionist rule books in the Industrial Relations Act, they now propose to draw up trade unionists' election procedures.

Every phrase about the trade unions in the manifesto indicates tougher action against them if the Tories are returned.

By their nature, manifestos never reveal the intentions. Reading this polite drivel, it is difficult to imagine the holocaust which the Tories are planning in the working-class communities.

Only careful study of the sections on trade unionism and militancy gives us a clue.

years...

Home prices go through the roof

'THE COMBINED EFFECT of rising house prices and higher mortgage price rates has been disastrous for home buyers and this form of housing is in fact rapidly becoming too expensive for many people.—Conservative Party Campaign Guide, 1970.

When the Tories came to power in 1970 they insisted that, unlike Labour, they would keep their pledges and promises about housing.

House prices would be kept down and interest charges firmly controlled to ensure that all but the very poor would be able to buy their own homes.

The facts are very different. Between the second quarter of 1970 and the second quarter of 1973, the average price of a house went up from £5082 to £10,023.

Mortgage rates went up from 8 per cent to 11 per cent. This means that an owner-occupier who started buying on a 25-year basis had his monthly repayments increased by 25 per cent.

In London and the South-East, house prices have risen even higher than the average. Tory financial policy has resulted in first-time buyers finding that their deposits are completely inadequate for the vastly inflated prices they are now called on to pay.

If you cannot afford a house on mortgage, your chances of getting one for rent, always very slim, are a great deal worse under the Tories.

Annual output of houses has declined by 100,000 since 1968. Slum clearance has fallen by a similar proportion.

While the insecurity and misery of homelessness has increased as it has never increased before, property speculators, slumlords and land racketeers have made their biggest



Slums still disfigure Britain

killings ever. Many of them are members of the government which talks now of 'Firm action for a Fair Britain'.

But the Tories were saving their most intense savagery for council housing.

Labour has made a fair start at running down council house building in the period up to 1970. In that year 180,129 council houses were built.

In 1971 only 159,000 were built and by 1973 that figure had been slashed to just over 100,000. This represents a 50 per cent drop in council house building since 1963.

Since 1970 Tory energy on housing has been almost exclusively devoted to imposing massive increases in council house rents and intimidating the councillors of Clay Cross who refused to abide by the Tory diktat.

Snatcher Thatcher

THE TORY GOVERNMENT is firmly wedded to the public schools. Not surprising, for 14 of 18 members of the cabinet went to public schools. Of the 77 members of the government, 65 went to public schools and 21 of those went to Eton.

Little wonder that the Tories made an additional grant to the 'direct grant schools' at the time when the real public education sector was being starved of funds and teachers.

The Tories' hatchet woman on the education front has been Mrs Margaret Thatcher. It was Mrs Thatcher who moved the Bill to take away the children's milk. It was the same Mrs Thatcher, who in her notorious circular 10/70, delayed some and halted more comprehensive education schemes.

Expenditure on books, paper and chalk has been cut by £65 million. The capital grant for school building has been cut by £119 millions.

The Tories plan a reduction in teacher training college places of between 32,000 and 40,000. This is despite the fact that four million children are in classes of more than 30 and half a million are in classes of more than 40. Already this policy has resulted in the closure of several teacher training colleges and a reduction in intake of 4000 trainee teachers.

The treatment of teachers' pay claims, particularly the derisory London allowance offer of £19, has resulted in grave teacher shortages. In London 2000 teachers leave every year and there are 500 vacancies in the Inner London Education Authority area.

The knock in the night

THE TORIES inherited the Immigration Act from Labour. One election promise they did keep was to make the Act's provisions more rigorous.

By making the provisions retrospective, Robert Carr has brought terror and police intimidation into the lives of tens of thousands of immigrants. They are challenged to produce their passports by the police, at Labour Exchanges, Social Security offices, even when attempting to place their children in school. They are liable to be carted off to police stations if they are unable immediately to produce the passport when required to do so by the police.

Countless incidents of midnight raids and arrests by police have taken place on houses with black inhabitants.

Shops and clubs, as well as private houses, have been the subject of police attention and raids. At the present moment more than 50 people are languishing in British jails as they wait deportation. Their sole crime is their skin colour.

The Tory police has encouraged and fostered racialism. It hopes by this tactic to divide workers in order to control them more effectively and deter them from seeing their real class enemy.



VOTE LABOUR, STEP UP FIGHT

NO WORKER should have any doubt about what is at stake in the election. The Tories are campaigning for a new majority with which to hammer at trade-union organisation and working-class living standards. The working class has to respond with a massive anti-Tory vote. And that means a Labour vote.

For the Tories, the election is part and parcel of their attempt to make workers bear the cost of the economic crisis confronting British big business. Faced with the massive solidarity and determination of the miners, all their Phase Three plans for cutting living standards are on the verge of ruin.

They believe an electoral victory will bolster an otherwise untenable position, in order further to attack union organisation and impose a total wage freeze. And so they are waging a vicious propaganda campaign aimed at persuading the middle class and large numbers of workers that the unions, militancy and the 'reds' are to blame for the crisis.

Victory

If the Tories are successful, they will have achieved a major gain for their class—the 7 per cent of the population who own 84 per cent of wealth. Of course, votes alone cannot dig coal and even a new Tory government will have to concede part of the miners' claim. But an electoral victory would signify that many workers were blaming their own organisations for the crisis. It would make the miners feel isolated from other sections of workers. It would give encouragement to every non-unionist, every scab and every racist. And to this extent it would weaken the ability of all workers to resist cuts in living standards, anti-union laws and attacks on picketing.

By contrast, a massive Labour vote will represent a rebuttal of the Tories' attack. It would mean that the vast majority of workers had come out in support of the miners and in defence of the unions.

But the need for a massive Labour vote should not be confused with having illusions about how a Labour government would behave. All the present Tory attacks were pioneered by the Labour government of 1964-70. A Labour government elected in two weeks' time would be forced to behave very much in the same way as the Tories.

The reason is that the present Tory attacks on living conditions and union organisation are the only way in which governments which accept capitalism can deal with the economic crisis. Labour is as much committed to keeping capitalism intact as the Tories. It will be forced to take the same sort of measures to try and deal with capitalism's problems.

But one thing will hinder the Labour politicians in the efforts to copy the Tories' methods—a massive Labour vote. For such a vote will mean a rejection of the argument that workers are to blame for the crisis. It will make much more difficult any attempts by a Labour government to shift the blame on to workers' organisations.

**For these reasons, we insist:
Support the miners.
Defend the unions.
Kick out the Tories.
Vote Labour.
Step up the fight.**

Respond

If Labour took up the Tory challenge and fought this election on clear class lines they would win easily. The Tory record is appalling and Heath's claim to speak for the 'ordinary people' could be easily exposed for the fraud it is. 70 per cent of the population are working class. If the call to defend the unions was raised, and the case clearly put to them, they would respond.

The problem for Labour is that it is impossible for them to really attack the Tory record. When they were in office many of their policies were identical to the Tories'. If they were returned now, many of those same policies would be re-implemented. And so, instead of clarifying the election issues, the Labour leaders further confuse workers. When the Tories pose the question 'who should run the country?' Wilson is incapable of replying.

The Labour leaders hope instead to be returned by being conciliatory by apologising for strikes and militants, and by saying that it is all due to the

Tories' bloody mindedness. They would like activists to forget about real politics and especially any criticism they might have of Labour policies. They would like them to rush from door to door merely finding out which way people are going to vote, and then knocking them up on election day.

We do not believe that this is the way the election can be won. Canvassing for the Labour Party will not generate the kind of enthusiasm which will be needed to counteract the Tory propaganda machine and the mass media.

What is needed instead is for socialists and trade unionists to wage their own campaign against the Tories, independently of the official Labour politicians. When the Tories pose the question 'who should run the country?' the response has to come from socialists in every factory and workplace. Shop stewards' committees should be organising mass meetings at which the miners' case is explained and workers are warned of the consequences of a Tory victory. Leaflets have to be produced which hammer home the facts about the Tory attack on wages, pensions and union organisation, and which point out that the government has allowed profits to shoot up by 25 per cent in a year through increased prices.

If the official trade union leaders were serious about defending their workers' living standards they would be taking the initiative in organising such a campaign—they would be touring the factories hammering home the facts about the government's record and pointing to its new threat to freeze wages and make strikes more difficult.

They would be organising demonstrations on the scale of the Hyde Park demonstration against the Industrial Relations Act three years ago, involving all those sections hit by the Tory attacks—all sections of workers hit by Phase Three, pensioners, housewives, council tenants, and so on.

Attacks

Unfortunately the union leaders have refused to organise in this way. They have tamely accepted Phase Three and have left the miners to fight alone. Now they are meekly echoing Labour's talk of 'conciliation' instead of tackling the Tory electoral offensive head-on. Their refusal to wage such a campaign multiplies the responsibility for socialists to fight this class election on a class programme.

We have to insist on a Labour vote as the first line of defence against the government offensive. But we also have to recognise that other battles will follow the electoral battle, whoever wins. If we are faced with a Tory government in two weeks' time, then a powerful movement is going to be needed for continued solidarity with the miners and to resist the attacks that will follow.

If there is a Labour government, the miners still have to fight for their full claim and we will have to resist attempts to cut wages. In either case, we cannot rely on the national union leaders. The urgent need will be to build a national rank and file movement of all those militants prepared to take action in defence of the rights and conditions of working people.

But socialists have to do more than argue for merely defensive measures.

The Tories have asked 'who runs the country?' We have to answer that at present a handful of rich property owners do and that it is their system which has produced the crisis. Workers can defend themselves against the immediate effects of the crisis by industrial action and can strengthen their position with a Labour vote.

But while the system is left intact, the symptoms of crisis will recur and the pressure for workers to bear the burden will grow. Prices will continue to shoot upwards and governments will keep trying to hold back wages. No amount of tampering with the system can change this. Only a complete revolutionary transformation of society can do so, with the taking of economic power away from the ruling class and the organising of production for need not for profit.

But such a transformation demands more than merely voting Labour or militant strike action—it demands above all the building of a mass revolutionary movement. That movement does not yet exist, but we have to build towards it. So while fighting for a Labour victory, we have to step up our efforts to build a real alternative, a revolutionary workers' party, by arguing the full-blooded socialist case.

SOARING PRICES FUEL CIVIL WAR

PRIME MINISTER Bhutto of Pakistan still boasts that he can find a political solution to the crisis of his country. But the storm breaking about him is far beyond the capacity of any man.

Near civil war rages in one of Pakistan's four provinces, is threatened in a second, and could break out in a third. The country's neighbours—India, Afghanistan, Iraq and Russia—all have an interest in exploiting the internal divisions to weaken the country.

The economy is failing. Inflation robs the pockets of the mass of the population. Private business will not invest, so jobs grow scarce. The massive increase in oil prices makes any serious economic progress impossible.

Yet Bhutto survives. He survives, despite the threatened collapse of the country, because there is no serious opposition capable of overthrowing him.

FUTURE

The shattered fragment of the old Pakistan that emerged after the 1971 war with India seemed to have little future. More than half its people now lived in Bangladesh, where was the export-earning jute industry.

Yet in 1972, the new Pakistan survived. With a massive devaluation of the rupee by 131 per cent, exports were forced up, and food output pushed up by a substantial increase in agricultural prices.

But by 1973, the account had to be settled. Higher food prices fuelled world inflation. Business was still terrified the country might collapse and exported to get its money out of the country. Because of the massive increase in exports, there were severe shortages in Pakistan—which further boosted inflation.

The government reacted by banning some exports, foodstuffs and textiles, and subsidising some food



Bhutto: in the storm

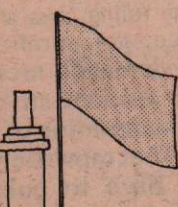
imports. Food traders resisted, so Bhutto nationalised the vegetable oil and rice trades. The food sellers refused to sell, and the resulting scarcities further pushed up prices.

Bhutto also tried soothing private business to encourage investment. He offered massive incentives—up to 75 per cent of new capital investment could be claimed from the state. It did not work. So the government stepped in again with the nationalisation of 31 major companies, the textile trades, and all except foreign-owned banks.

It was bad enough for Bhutto being ground between popular hostility at growing inflation and the resentment of private business. In

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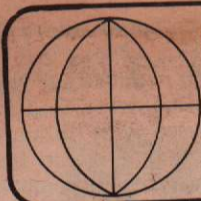
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Flood relief in the Punjab: the loss of six million acres of crops has worsened the food shortages



by Nigel Harris

Pakistan

August 6 million acres were devastated by flood. On top of that has now come a world recession—cutting demand for Pakistan's exports—and the increase in oil prices. Oil for Pakistan in 1970 cost £14 million, in 1973 £37 million, and this year it is expected to cost £113 million. Yet the exports cannot be found if people at home are to be fed and clothed.

REVOLT

To pay for oil, food imports must be cut. With less oil, there is less fertiliser, less kerosene, less fuel for well and irrigation pumps, for agricultural equipment and transport. That means agricultural output could be directly affected, so making food-stuffs even more scarce next year.

At the moment, the revolt against the regime is strongest in the small outlying provinces. There is open rebellion in Baluchistan, and three divisions of the Pakistan army are pinned down fighting it. There is a threatened revolt in the North-West Frontier province, and a movement for greater independence in Singh.

But the economic crisis threatens

Bhutto in the heartlands of Punjab. The workers are clearly angry in many cities at the rising price of survival, and the villages can only be further impoverished by events.

Afghanistan is said to be supporting the National Awami Party opposition in the North-West Frontier. Bhutto has arrested more than 200 of its political leaders, and threatens the leader of the opposition, Wali Khan, who narrowly escaped a mysterious assassination attempt last October. The party's provincial secretary fled to Kabul last year.

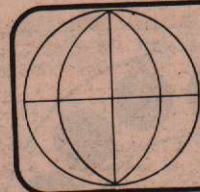
The scene could soon be set to resume the unfinished revolution of 1971. Then, the rebellion of the western half of old Pakistan—the Punjab in particular—betrayed the beginning of revolution in the eastern half, Bengal. This catastrophic split in the forces opposing the military regime provided the ideal opportunity for the Indian government to intervene to break Pakistan in half, and to ensure that the new country of Bangladesh had a government both weak and corrupt.

The same sequence of events is beginning again. An alliance between the revolt of the minority peoples in the outer provinces and the class war in the Punjabi heartlands could destroy Bhutto and the military. If the Punjabis allow themselves to be bought off again under the fear of the bogey of Indian imperialism, they will only forge new chains for themselves.

Two million vote to strike

TWO MILLION West German public employees have begun a nationwide campaign of selective strikes in support of their 15 per cent wage claim. They include Transport and Hospital workers, postmen, dustmen and local government officers.

Unofficial local strikes and demonstrations, partial stoppages and meetings during working hours started several weeks ago. The national strike ballot held last week by the five big public sector unions resulted in majorities of between 70 and 90 per cent in favour of official strike action and the rejection of the government's increased offer of 9½ per cent, despite a last-minute government offer to

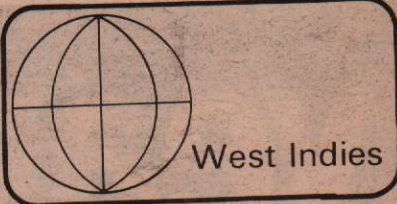


West Germany

re-open negotiations.

A 75 per cent vote for a strike is required by law for official strike action.

This is the most important strike movement in West Germany since the war. Annual contracts negotiated by union leaders have kept down wage struggles, and German bosses have been proud of their low strike



West Indies

Island premier steps up violence

by Norah Carlin

ONE of the last acts of the Tory government was to hand the Caribbean island of Grenada on a plate to Prime Minister Eric Gairy. Mass opposition to Gairy's rule has led to a general strike and shutdown of most of the island's shops and businesses.

Gairy celebrated independence last week by new arrests and brutalities against members of the New Jewel Movement, the island's most radical opposition group. The house of a lawyer whose wife had fled to Trinidad and denounced Gairy's regime was mysteriously burned down. And the secret or 'special' police were driving around the island conspicuously, in full and intimidating force.

Brutalities against New Jewel members led to increasing opposition to Gairy last November, with the demand that he either abolish this special police force or resign. Far from abolishing it, Gairy increased its numbers.

Intervention by special police in a demonstration on 21 January led to many injuries and the death of one man—who just happened to be the father of a New Jewel leader. In the last fortnight before independence there seems to have been less violence, but it was switched on again by Gairy as soon as the celebrations were over.

Afford

The Tories said they could do nothing because Grenada, as an Associated State of the Commonwealth, had had internal 'self-government' since 1967. For the British government to have even postponed the farcical independence celebrations would have been a blow to Gairy's credibility, but instead it has been given a free hand and less than £100,000 in immediate aid from Britain. Two weeks ago, he could not afford to pay his civil servants not even, it was rumoured, his secret police—but now he really has got something to celebrate.

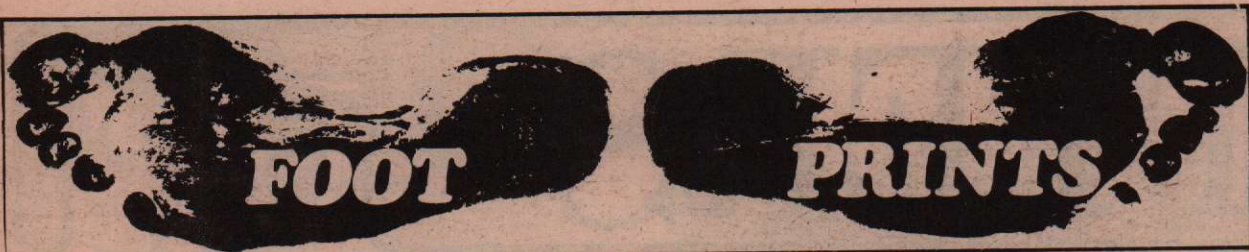
There is no weakening in the continuation of the island's workers backed by many businessmen, churchmen and lawyers, to hold out for Gairy goes. Grenada is cut off from essential food supplies and almost all communications, there is petrol and other stocks are running out.

The Tory government's actions have shown that they prefer to hand over Grenada to the corrupt friends of international land speculation rather than pay any attention to demands for human rights or democracy. Let alone what the workers of Grenada actually want.

figures.

But the government has now made it clear it is going to make working class pay for the end of crisis and inflation by cutting wages and increasing unemployment. It has also made it clear that public sector settlement would be used to cut down other workers' wage claims. The important engineering union in particular is waiting the result of the public sector settlement before deciding on action.

Now, led by some of the low paid and worst treated, West German workers have decided that they had enough, and moving into action to defend themselves.



BRASS HATS

THE Department of Energy has decided on an important exception to the three-day week. Helmets Ltd, of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, have been granted permission to work a five-day week in order to fulfil an 'urgent contract' from the Ministry of Defence—for the manufacture of 500 riot helmets a week. The helmets are not for export.

Continuing our series on...



The men who can't afford to raise your wages

3 Mulberry Walk, Chelsea... a delightful situation for the town house of the Minister for Social Services, Sir Keith Joseph. Sir Keith's father was joint founder of the building company, Bovis, now the fifth largest in the country. Sir Keith and his family still admit to 135,000 shares in Bovis, but they have many, many more in the names of nominees and in trusts.

Bovis blossomed into national fame and fortune during the early 1960s when the Tory government gave its blessing to high-rise system-built blocks of flats and prefabricated building for schools and hospitals.

Bovis were quick to exploit this market, and used the services of one T Dan Smith, leader of Newcastle Corporation, to sell their 'expertise' in the development of town centres and housing contracts all over Britain. Dan Smith himself had declared an interest in a building firm called Crudens, which had won contracts for building high blocks of flats at Spital Tongues, High Heaton and Montague Estates.

The Newcastle Tories demanded an inquiry into this, but the Minister of Housing refused an inquiry. The Minister of Housing was Sir Keith Joseph.

As one of the richest men in England, Sir Keith is naturally an underwriter at Lloyds, the secret insurance society, and makes many hundreds of thousands from insurance premiums. In 1958, Sir Keith's Lloyds 'syndicate' insured the Distillers company against any damage caused by the marketing of thalidomide.

Distillers are still trying to get the syndicate to pay some of the money which they have now agreed to put up for the families of babies who were born deformed because their mothers took thalidomide.

The Minister responsible for drug safety and its consequences in this country is Sir Keith Joseph. He is watching over the Distillers affair with 'the greatest possible concern'.

Even if he does lose a few thousand quid to the thalidomide families, Sir Keith will not be broke. First there is his own enormous fortune, then there is the even bigger fortune of his wife, who is the daughter of the American multi-millionaire, Sigmar Guggenheimer.

Sir Frank Fiddles

THE wealthy men who run the Pay Board have always tried to tell us that their attitudes to pay increases is absolutely impartial. They wouldn't dream, they tell us, of being tougher on the poor than the rich.

In fact, however, the Pay Board behaves like any other agency of the Tory government. It protects the incomes of the rich and restricts the incomes of the workers.

For proof, consider the case of the three directors of Tectonic

Electronics, a firm which manufactures electronic equipment in Wokingham, Berkshire. Last May, to celebrate a profitable year's trading, the company gave pay rises to three directors.

The rises were normal—for directors. One got £1000 a year (£20 a week) extra. Another £500 a year (£12 a week), and the third (a relative junior, apparently,) a mere £390 (£8 a week).

The Tectonic directors are law-abiding citizens, so they promptly informed the Pay Board of the increases before they were paid. That

was in May 1973.

The normal procedure of the Pay Board when receiving information about pay increases above the government's norm is to slap an immediate warning notice on the company, followed, within a fortnight, by an order forbidding payment.

Each of the three Tectonic increases was plainly in breach of the Phase Two counter-inflation code, which banned any price rise for any individual of more than £350 a year.

The Pay Board issued its warning

notice on 30 November, and its order forbidding payment of the increases on 21 January, eight months after the increases were first paid.

As a result of this delay, the directors have been paid increases of £2.70, £6.50 and £14.50 a week above the pay limits for eight months without any interference from the Pay Board. All money paid will not be reclaimed.

Compare this behaviour with the reactions of the Pay Board at about the same time to last year's pay agreement on behalf of 100,000 power workers.

The power workers' unions had signed an agreement with the employers for a pay rise which was payable on 23 March 1973. The rise, naturally, was within Phase Two, but Phase Two didn't start until 1 April—two weeks after the money was payable. In those two weeks, Phase One applied—a complete freeze. In the strict letter of the law, the power workers' rise for the two weeks was against the freeze.

Involved

The Pay Board reacted instantly. On 23 March—four days after receiving the information about the rises—it slapped on an order banning the rise until 1 April. The total amount involved was less than £100,000. As a result of the action, each power worker lost a total of about 48p.

If it's illegal pennies for power workers, the Pay Board is quick to grab. If it's illegal tenners for directors, well they're quite happy to sit around and do nothing.

If any Socialist Worker readers took it upon themselves to write a note to Sir Frank Figgures, chairman of the Pay Board, describing him as a humbug, a hypocrite, and a time-serving hack of the rich, they could well be sued for libel.

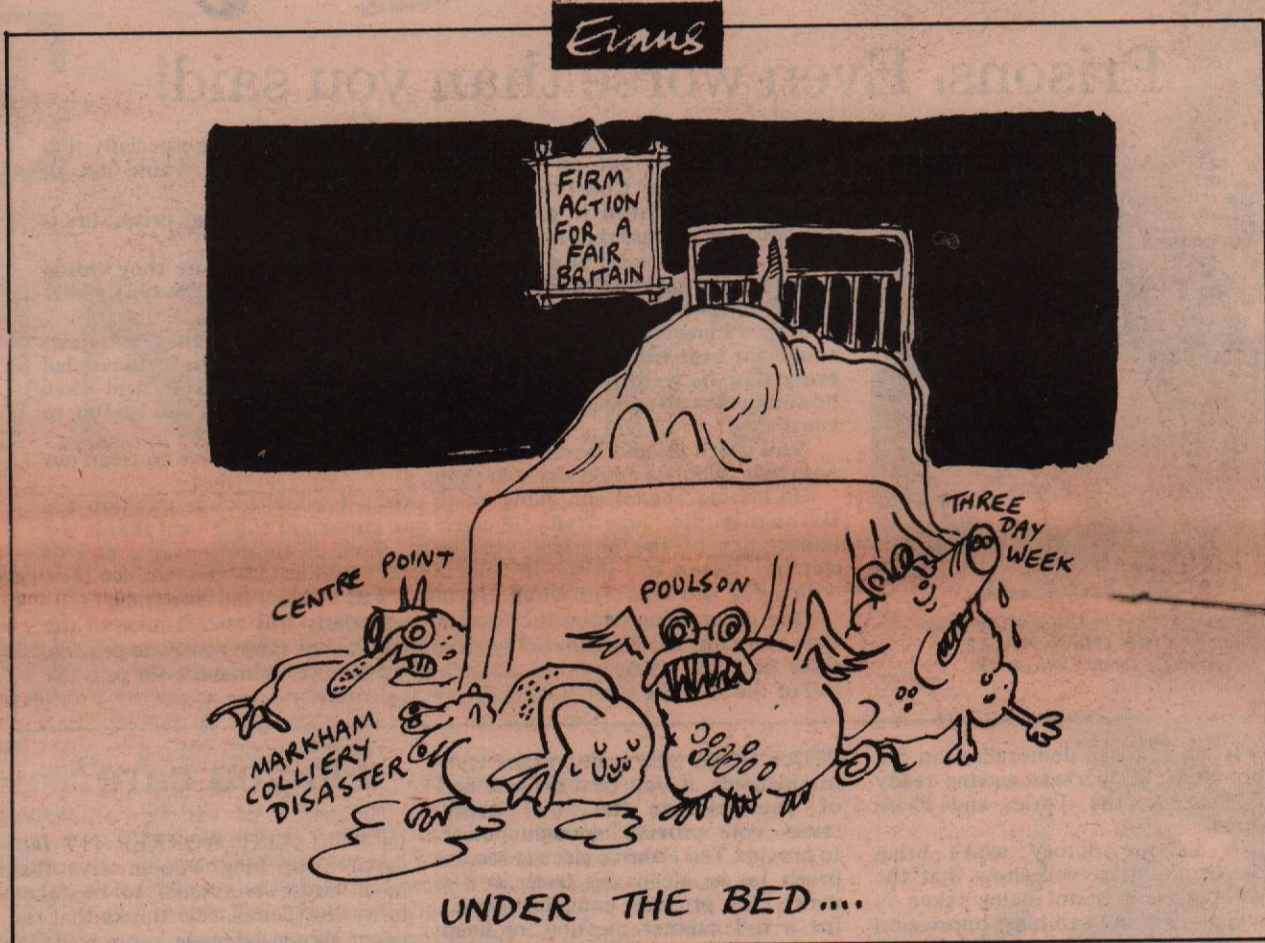
So I couldn't possibly recommend it.

P.S.

D C Ball, managing director of Tectonic, would not tell me who the three lucky directors are. 'It's not of any interest to anyone', he said.

I asked him if he was one of the three. 'I'm not saying', he replied. 'I don't see that there is any relevance in it.'

'This is a matter between us and the Pay Board. It's one of those embarrassing things, you see, which is made public because unfortunately the Pay Board have to publish their orders. Then there are people like you who want to make a story out of it. I'm sorry to be so negative, but I'm afraid I can't help you with the names.'



Lord Chalfont and the £41m property company

LORD CHALFONT, witchhunter extraordinary, contrary to what he says on television has been involved with property speculation. Those who saw the BBC-2 debate between Lord Chalfont and Paul Foot last Thursday will remember it ended with Chalfont denying that Spey Investments, of which he was once a director, was ever involved in property speculation. This statement is interesting in view of the following facts.

Chalfont joined the board of Spey Investments in June 1971 and left in November 1971. The company's business was described at the time as 'the acquisition of interests in companies with a view to building up part or all of the interest.'

For those unfamiliar with City jargon this means that Spey would buy shares in companies, lend them money so they could expand and

then sell the shares at a handy profit.

One company seen as the source of such future wealth was Spey Westmoreland Properties, in which Spey Investments held a 35 per cent stake. As the company's name suggests, its main business was property development. For some reason its results were not included in the 1970 Spey annual accounts published in August 1971—when Chalfont was on the board.

This omission is unfortunate because the company was doing quite nicely thank you very much. Helped with money lent by Spey, Spey Westmoreland Properties increased its holdings of property from £5.11 million to £41.6 million between June 1970 and December 1971. All this, of course, was not property speculation, even though profits were boosted by £60,000 of dealing profits—money specifically made

through buying and selling property.

Among the properties Spey Westmoreland owned was the Brighton Marina—one of the biggest speculative ventures of its kind undertaken in recent years. The company also owned office sites throughout the country, hotels and factories.

All this, of course, had nothing to do with Lord Chalfont, who was only a director of the company that provided the money and owned 35 per cent of the shares.

T H Rogmorton

Shop your mates - £1000

THE management of Frigoscandia, a firm in Kirkby, near Liverpool, which deals in frozen foods, has posted a notice on its notice board offering £1000 to any person or persons jointly who can give information that will lead to the arrest and subsequent conviction of any party or parties involved in these crimes

The 'crimes' in question are described as 'thefts' leading to 'product losses from this store' which 'have now reached mammoth proportions.'

The notice has been greeted with some merriment by the stewards at Frigoscandia, who see it as a pathetic attempt by the management to cover its own incompetence.

EVERY WINTER THOUSANDS OF OLD PEOPLE HUDDLE INTO A CHAIR . . . AND DIE

Get up and walk grannie and you'll stay alive

I am grateful to the Kent Messenger (1 February) for this sensitive solution to the problem of old people who die from the cold.

LETTERS

The Editor,
Socialist Worker,
Corbridge Works,
Corbridge & Vicar,
London E2 9PS



Miners: We'll stick with them - all the way

I AM THE WIFE, daughter and sister of miners. I am 100 per cent behind them for their pay claim and am willing to put up with the hardships of a strike until their demands are met.

The woman on television who said, 'There's no gun at the men's head to make them take a job down the pits,' wants her head seeing to. Who's going to get the coal to keep her warm?

I've got five sons and I shall do my utmost to keep them out of the pit. I've seen my father with three halves of his fingers missing and the old tell-tale marks of blue cuts on his forehead, and my brother, who works at Lofthouse pit coughing and nearly choking in the morning with the black dust on his chest, and the anxiety when my husband is 10 minutes late coming home from his shift.

Admitted there are hazards in many other jobs, but none with as many as the mines. They are in danger of their lives as soon as they put foot in the cage. Many men in this country wouldn't go down a pit to look round, never mind work there, for seven and a quarter hours a day. -MRS L LORD, Knottingley, Yorks.

The Election: Labour have got to win

I HOPE THAT Socialist Worker, in the week or so we have before the general election, will pull all the stops out in its effort to get a massive anti-Tory and pro-Labour vote.

I am no friend of the Labour Party. I left in the middle 1960s when it became clear to thousands that their policies in power were essentially no different from the Tories. However, the Tories have chosen to gamble on convincing the working class voters of this country that any inconvenience they suffer from the miners' strike is due to the miners and not to them. They will succeed with some. They must not succeed with the overwhelming majority.

The way that people can show that they are not succeeding is to turn them out and vote against the Tories on 28 February and kick them out of office. And, in the absence of alternatives this means voting Labour.

A returned Tory government will be taken to mean not only that the people want the miners smashed, but that they approve of a decreasing standard of living for all, massive increases in profits for speculators and large companies, the Immigration Act, the Housing Finance Act, oppression in Ireland, etc.

Prisons: Even worse than you said!



Google Withers in ITV's prison soap opera WITHIN THESE WALLS, reviewed by Jenny Cole on 28 January.

IT is about time a paper started to slam the prison system, especially that garbage they put out on TV—Within These Walls, and I would like to congratulate Jenny Cole (26 January).

But even she failed to grasp the full implications of what prison life is all about—at least that is the impression she gave.

Ask any ex-borstal boy that has been to Reading, (before they closed it down). On entering this drab building it's 'double up on the spot, knees up to your chest!'

I have known lads swallow needles and razor blades so that the screws could not beat them. Solution—the screws stood over the unfortunate lad every time he went to the toilet and made him sort through it. And when he found the offending object got kicked from one end of the landing to another.

You shave in cold water with no mirror. We used to have to clean our pots that clean we could shave in them.

On leaving borstal and going on to prison I would like to mention the fact that Within These Walls did catch one important thing—and that is the importance of the inmates' property. Such as fighting over a box of matches. But in real prison life one match would have been split into four with a pin, and cigarettes would be out, it's all roll-ups and dog ends.

One other thing, when the food is particularly bad as it is most of the time every one has diarrhoea. Try sleeping in one of these romantic prisons, three in a cell, when you are all locked up for the night and your pots are full of the stinking stuff. -TREV SHAW, Leicester.

It could mean demoralisation for thousands of workers getting ready to take on the Tories and Phase Three. A Labour victory won't bring socialism, but it will show that the working class is not being taken in by Tory lies and capitalist oppression and is getting ready to fight. It will be a boost for us all. -CHRIS BARKER London, NW5.

Support from 'over there'

THOSE OF US involved in workers' struggles over here are looking to 'you guys', especially those working in the pits for a lead.

We may be at a less developed stage of the struggle here, but we can easily see what the issues are in Britain.

First there isn't anyone who doesn't support the miners' stand for a decent living wage. Secondly the force of the energy crisis and its

deliberate aggravation by governments to increase the profits of the oil companies means that people here don't hold much truck with the idea of miners causing any bloody crisis. Reading the English capitalist bible, The Economist, is like reading Heath's address to an inner cabinet meeting of the Tories on how to fight the miners. Getting coal from Poland, having it transported and docked by troops or 'middle class blacklegs'—like those who defeated the ambulancemen. Then winning the election and passing legislation abolishing social security for strikers, waving a big stick—and calling it Phase Four. Yes, there's no doubt there's a war on. So get cracking. In 1973 only one and three quarter million working days were won by British workers' struggles, compared with seven million in 1972. Make 1974 the big one. We're gonna learn from whatever you do. -JIM EDMONSON, British Columbia, Canada.

Roger Kline's CAN SOCIALISM COME THROUGH PARLIAMENT? draws the lessons from the antics of the Labour Party, in government and in opposition, as reformers of capitalism, and argues what we can do to bring socialism.

10p plus 3p postage (10 or more copies post free) from IS BOOKS, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Do you care?

IN SOCIALIST WORKER (19 January) a working woman says that most housewives seem to be taken in by the Tories. She thinks that the paper should be made 'more readable for women'.

But Socialist Worker does not appear to be concerned with women.

How are women going to get adequate family allowances, payment for mothers ('housewives' though they may not be wives) free home helps, free birth control and abortion, equal education, equal opportunities and equal pay?

Are the International Socialists interested? I haven't noticed it, either in Socialist Worker or in the monthly International Socialism or in any recent International Socialist pamphlet.

The Communist Party is carrying on a very good discussion on marxism and the family in Marxism Today, the best contributions having come from a man. They also passed quite a good resolution on the struggle for women's rights at their Congress recently.

It is also interested in women's organisations, which the International Socialists seem to regard as beneath notice. I ask you to give serious consideration to the points I have raised, and especially to bear in mind that half the adult population is female. -KATHLEEN JONES, Shrewsbury.

Australian advice

IN YOUR EDITORIAL (19 January) you mention that you are in favour of the Labour Party being returned to power in the general election. I agree with this. But you haven't stated why socialists in Britain should give unconditional support to Labour.

Surely the reason is the Labour Party is based on the trade union movement, not just because it is to the left of the Tories. In no way would we give support to the Liberals, just because they are to the left of the Tories. Both the Liberals and the Tories are bourgeois parties and as such deserve no support. Vote Labour—no illusions. -ROSS MACKENZIE, Melbourne.

WELL YES, BUT PLEASE GO AHEAD . . . You say we're writing letters that are far too long but we've been waiting 50 years for Socialist Worker and now we've got it we're going to use it . . . To those who say 'yes it was bad in the old days, but it's alright now' I say, 'what have we got?' I've got a job, a mortgage, a wife and three children, great. BUT, I can be sacked tomorrow, cut off from 'benefits' by the 'six week rule', 'wage stop' or 'rent stop' and kicked out of 'my' house . . . The state can lock me in a prison any time it wants.

. . . But we do have our energies, talents, organisations, unions and our growing revolutionary rank and file movement. As we build these we build a future where we can be human beings—not units of production.

The Lenin article (2 February) was just right, but don't forget Trotsky and as you point out, Marx lives! -081/71244, Rolls Royce, Bristol.

KNOCK HIM—BUT NOT OVER THAT

. . . Andreas Nagliatti's article (2 February) on the March Rank and File Conference said that 'All Scanlon's opposition (to the IR Act) has been able to achieve is a series of enormous fines, legal fees and demoralisation of members.'

. . . this is misleading. You congratulated the Engineers Executive when the last fine was pinched out of the Union's political fund. The employers were heavily 'fined' themselves by the subsequent one-day strike. The AUEW played a key part in making the act unworkable. . . Demoralisation came from the other unions whose leaders capitulated . . . Criticise Scanlon over his blatant sell-out of the Engineers' claim to Phase Three . . . over his refusal to support or call for an alliance with the miners at the beginning of the present crisis. -R MURPHY, Manchester.

START THINKING—START FIGHTING

. . . The Tories let loose another piece of their vile long-term plans—the stoppage of social security payments to strikers' families . . . Mrs Jill Knight Tory MP for Edgbaston let the cat out of the bag. They want a return to the 1920s, when a man would have to see his family go hungry if he struck to maintain his principles . . . Better for the family to go hungry than to have a scab for a father or a mother, that's what trade-unionism is all about . . . The Tories wish to destroy workers' rights, to turn the trade union bureaucracy into an industrial police force, to eliminate serious socialist organisation . . . The answer is the building of mass rank and file movement backed by serious socialist politics. Support the March conference! -JIM McQUADE, BARNET.

KATHLEEN JONES MIGHT NOT AGREE . . .

Having just read I'm Lucky on £15 by a working mother, Mrs Beryl Riley (2 February), I would like to say that I wish there were a few more down to earth intelligent women about like Mrs Riley . . . Many of the housewives are content to bury their heads in the sand about what is happening all around them . . . I envy Mrs Riley's husband, I wish every wife was as aware as she is of the 'system' in this country, many people accept it without as much as wondering about it, why they have to work eight hours a day whilst others are out at 'the races' attending big dinners, even sailing £45,000 yachts, whilst we are stuck at work earning in a week what they can spend on one meal. Congratulations Mrs Riley! -JIM TANNER, High Wycombe

YES, BUT WE SUPPORT RUSSIA WORKERS TOO . . .

How about a poster bombardment using slogans like 'International Socialists support British Workers—Not Russian Bureaucrats Without any needle intended I have got any ideas for the Communist Party' -K A ANDERSON, Sale.

MANY A TRUE WORD . . .

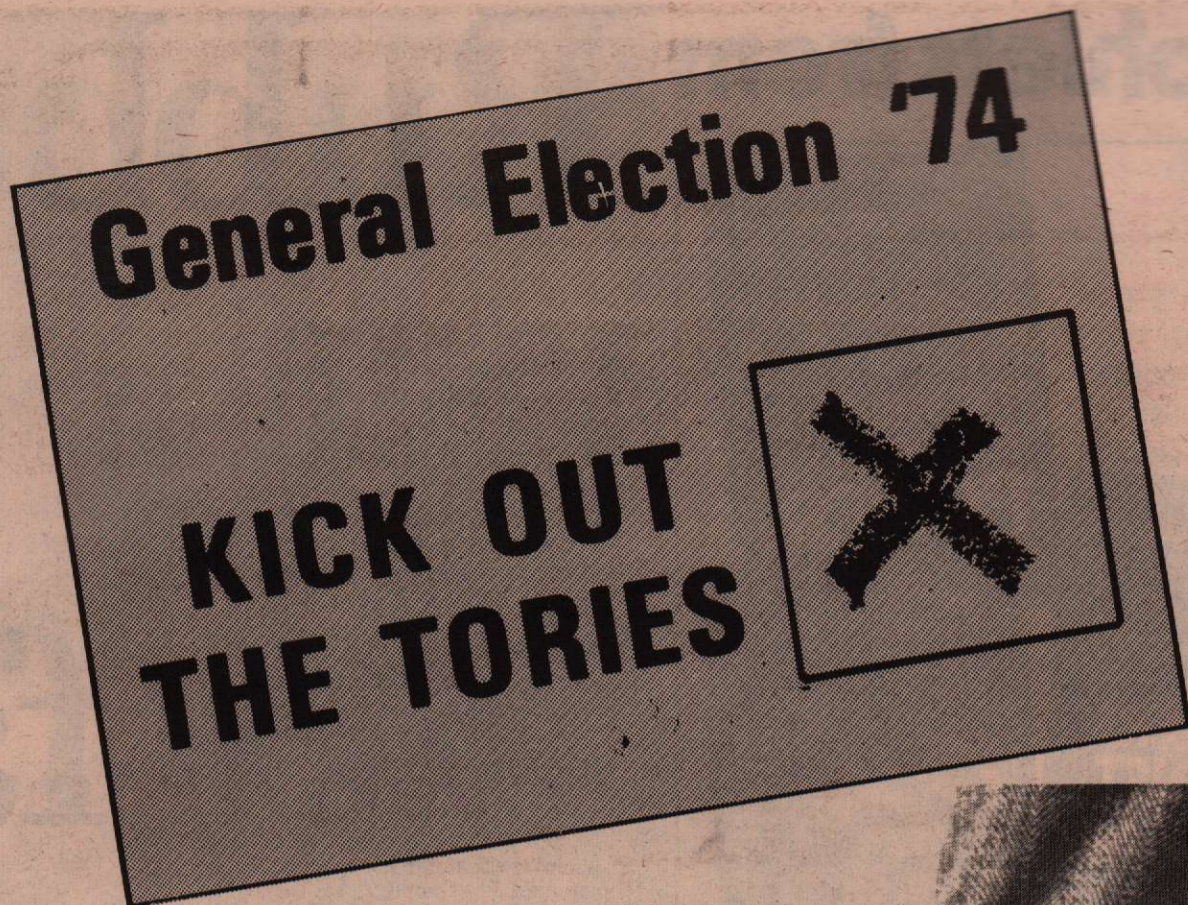
Informed my wife that I had written to the National Union of Miners expressing solidarity replied 'you will get us shot'. In the of mounting right-wing hysteria this expression gives food for thought. -D BOWEN, Stockton-on-Tees.

An International Socialist pamphlet 10p

ROGER KLINE

can Socialism come through Parliament?

WHO DOES RUN THE COUNTRY?



ON THE MORNING after the announcement of the general election, Mr James Prior, who is deputy chairman of the Tory Party and a fat, rich, farmer from Suffolk, spoke on the Today radio programme about his party's aims in the election.

'The problem,' he explained, 'is whether we can go on being pushed around by powerful groups in our society.'

Prior was right. That is the problem.

But Mr Prior and his millionaire colleagues will be spending the next two weeks desperately trying to disguise the identity of these 'powerful groups'. They will pretend that the people who are 'pushing us around' are 'reds' in the trade unions, most of whom are elected by their members to defend them against their employers.

But the most powerful, most undemocratic and most irresponsible groups in our society are the employers.

In Britain today 100 boardrooms—consisting at most of about 1500 men and (very few) women—employ half the workers in Britain and more than two-thirds of the industrial turnover.

Priorities

If things go on as they are, in 1975 300 boardrooms, consisting of about 5000 people, will control more than 75 per cent of all the capital assets of America, Canada, Britain and Western Europe—population 500 million.

The building of factories, the investment in new machinery, the hiring and firing of millions of workers, all the priorities of society are decided by these sinister groupings.

What cereal all of us eat for breakfast every morning is decided in the boardroom of one company—Kellogs. The flow and price of oil is decided by two companies—Shell and BP (with help from Esso and Mobil). The type and the manufacture of fibres in the clothes we wear is determined by executives of ICI or Cortaulds.

Cars, computers, chemicals, houses, insurance, almost everything we use, eat, listen to, live in, wear or travel on is subject, somewhere along the line, to a decision of one or other of the monopolies.

The men who own the monopolies are the

men who run the country. They are unimaginably rich. The value of shares held in Unilever by Lord Cole and Dr Woodroffe (chairman and managing director) is £83 million. Of Sir Isaac Wolfson in Great Universal Stores—£34 million. Of Lord Thomson in the Thomson Organisation—£23 million. Of Sir Jules Thorn in the Thorn group—£20 million.

Of Lord Samuel in Land Securities—£11 million. Of Lord Rank in Rank, Hovis and MacDougall—£7.5 million. Of the Sieff family in Marks and Spencer—£6.9 million. Of Arnold Weinstock in GEC—£4.7 million. Of Sir Charles Forte in Trust Houses Forte—£2.9 million.

The richest 50 company directors in this country declare shares worth about £500 million: that's rather more than the Coal Board spent last year on 270,000 miners.

All these 'powerful groups' are completely undemocratic. None of them is elected by anyone except a handful of shareholders. Last year, 81 per cent of the shares were held by 1 per cent of the population.

The best argument for appointing anyone to any of these boards is a public school education. Less than 0.01 per cent of the school population goes to the 'best' public school, Eton (where the fees are almost as high as the national average wage). A recent study showed:

30.9 per cent of the directors of the top eight insurance companies went to Eton.

32.7 per cent of the directors of the top 14 merchant banks and discount houses went to Eton.

29.6 per cent of directors of the Big Five banks went to Eton (and 71 per cent went to the 'top six' public schools).

The three best qualifications for getting onto a big business board are the same for getting into high office in the army, the press, the civil service and the law. 90 per cent of the national daily newspapers read in Britain are controlled by six men, each at the head of a vast corporation with interests elsewhere. No one elects the newspaper proprietors, nobody elects the editors or news editors. They are all chosen by the same tightly-knit group of politically-motivated men.

Similarly, 76 per cent of High Court judges and 83 per cent of senior army officers (generals, lieutenant-generals and field marshals) went to public school. No one elects any of them.



Why parliament is rubber stamp for the rich ➤

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10p each, plus 3p postage (10 or more copies post free).

THE POWER of the men who run the big corporations—and of their friends and cousins in the army, the press, the civil service and the law courts—is much greater than the power of the elected government in parliament.

Every corporation spends a lot of time and money on 'lobbying' to ensure that parliament does what they want.

These 'lobbyists' worked overtime during the Labour government of 1964 to 1970. When the Labour government threatened a Medicines Act to control the abuses of the drug companies, those companies organised a powerful 'lobbying' campaign to ensure that the Act left them alone. It did.

When the Labour government threatened a Gaming Act to control the big gaming clubs and betting companies, the companies organised to make the Act impotent. They succeeded.

When the Labour government tried a Transport Act to 'integrate' the private road haulage companies with railways and public transport services, the haulage companies and the private firms making goods for the railways made sure that they were left alone.

When the Labour government threatened to end 'the lump' in the building industry, the big building contractors, through their numerous 'contacts' in the Labour Party, quickly scotched the idea.

Control

The easiest and most effective way of bringing the Labour government to heel was by switching money out of the country. All the large corporations engage in systematic gambling on the international money markets, and control enormous financial resources.

When the Labour government came to office in October 1964 and threatened a policy of expansion and equality, the corporations moved fast.

The best witness is Harold Wilson, then Labour Prime Minister.

On Tuesday 24 November 1964, the Governor of the Bank of England, Lord Cromer, visited Wilson in Downing Street and told him that money was flying out of the country.

The balance of payments deficit was widening. The country was in peril.

All would be saved if Wilson reversed all his election pledges, 'deflated' the economy and cut down on the public services—hospitals, schools, housing.

Policies

Wilson wrote in his autobiography: 'I said that we had now reached a situation where a newly-elected government with a mandate from the people was being told, not so much by the Governor of the Bank of England but by international speculators, that the policies on which we had fought the election could not be implemented; that the government was to be forced into the adoption of Tory politics to which it was fundamentally opposed. The Governor confirmed that that was, in fact, the case.'

'I asked him if this meant that it was impossible for any government, whatever its party label, whatever its manifesto on which it had fought an election, to continue, unless it immediately

General Election '74

KICK OUT THE TORIES

reverted to full-scale Tory policies. 'He had to admit that that was what his argument meant, because of the sheer compulsion of the economic dictation of those who exercised decisive economic power.'

On that occasion, Wilson did a

deal with Cr... sharply, cut... programme, a... another electi... to borrow fro... had caused th... place. The balan... situation impro... a Labour gove... with a huge ma... Almost at... started to flow... again. This ti... government... pletely. Their entire... reversed, even... 'saving' a pal... putting cha... prescriptions.

and

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Who's un

THE 'powerful groups' in our society want a Tory government, because the members of it belong to the 'powerful groups'.

The Prime Minister, Ted Heath, is a merchant banker. His two best friends outside politics are:

Lord Cromer—another merchant banker—who has been promoted by Heath to be British Ambassador in Washington and Lord Aldington, chairman of the Port of London Authority, deputy chairman of GEC, chairman of National and Grindleys Bank, director of Lloyds Bank, John Browns, the Sun Alliance insurance company and many more. Lord Aldington has just been put in charge of Britain's nuclear power programme—by his friend, Heath.

William Whitelaw, Minister of Employment, is a property speculator and landowner in Cumberland and Scotland.

Peter Walker, Minister of Trade and Industry, is a millionaire and founder member of Slater Walker, one of the biggest investment banking operations in Europe.

John Davies, Minister in Europe, is a former managing



Davies: oil man

director of the oil monopoly, BP and a former director general of the employers' pressure group, the CBI.

Sir Keith Joseph, Social Securities Minister, is a former deputy chairman of his family firm, Bovis, in which his personal shareholding is valued at approximately half a million pounds.

Anthony Barber, Chancellor, is a former director of British Ropes which controls more than 60 per cent of the wire and rope-making industry in Britain, and a former chairman of the massive Redfearn National Glass.

Geoffrey Rippon, Minister of the Environment, is a former chairman of Holland, Hannen and



Joseph

Cubitts one... ding contract... Lord Hai... lor, is a fo... engineering... Engineering.

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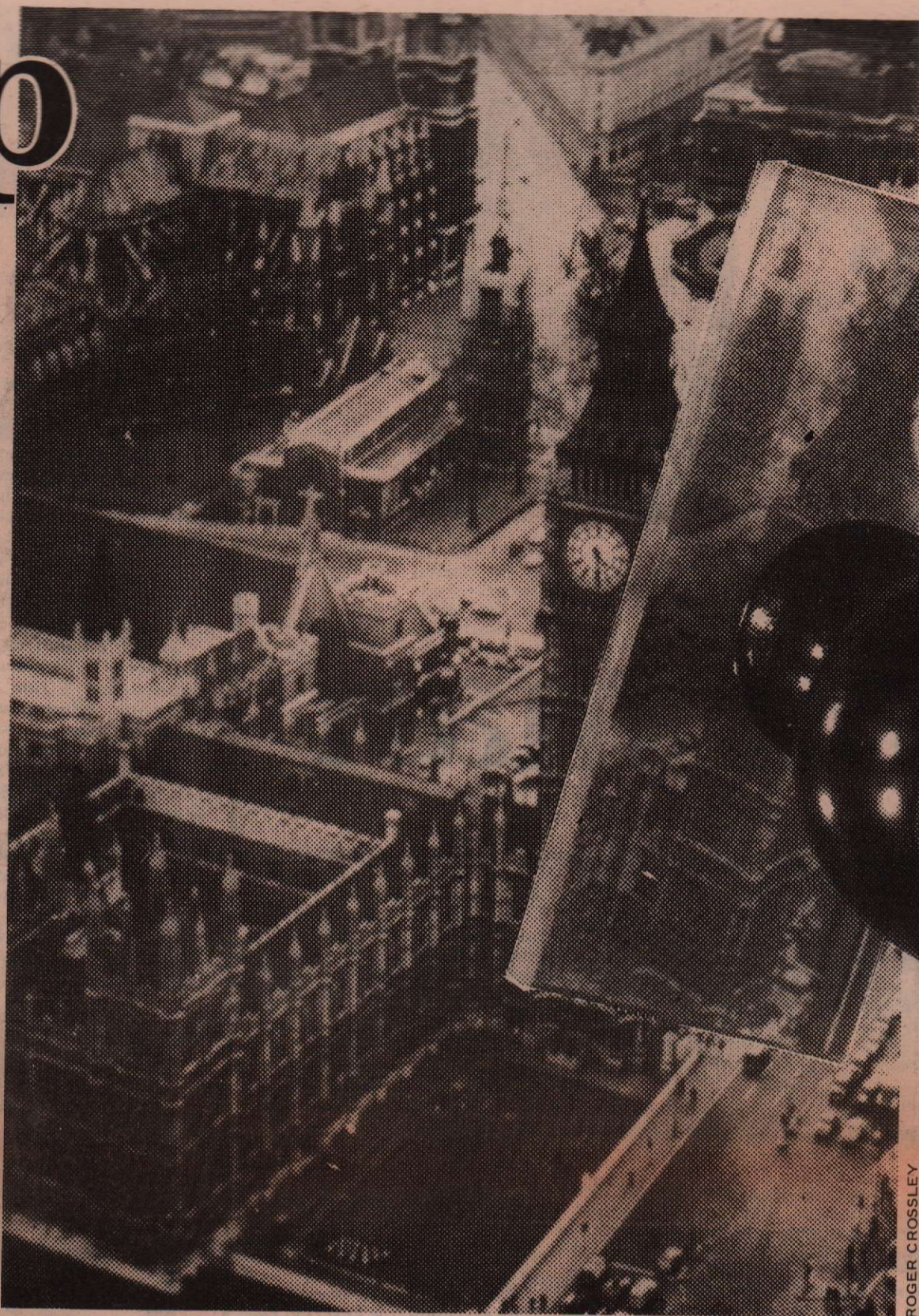
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Defend unions—k

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ROGER CROSSLEY

I asked the Governor of the Bank of England if it was impossible for any government, whatever its manifesto on which it fought an election, to continue, unless it immediately reverted to full-scale Tory policies.

He had to admit that was what his argument meant, because of the sheer compulsion of the economic dictation of those who exercise decisive economic power-



Harold Wilson in his book on the 1964-70 Labour government.

Under Ted's bed?



a million



Gilmour: landowner



Whitelaw: property man

'Big Ten' build- Lord Chancel- director of the ant, Wellman

Robert Carr (Home Secretary) is a former merchant abroad whose export/import companies have made a great deal from the systematic robbery of underdeveloped countries and Australia. His family metal business has been taken over (to Carr's advantage) by the Metal Closures Group. For good measure Mr. Carr is a former director of Securicor.

James Prior (Lord President) and Joseph Godber (Agriculture) are rich farmers. Sir Geoffrey Howe (Consumer Affairs) is a prosperous barrister; So is Peter Thomas (Wales); Gordon Campbell (Scotland) is a former civil servant and army officer.

The two sons of Margaret

Thatcher (Education) went to a public school.

Naturally, this cabinet responds to the people they know and love.

But sometimes even Tories can run foul of their paymasters. Heath won the 1970 election on three promises:

1. No entry into Europe without the 'full-hearted consent of the British people'.

2. No wage control.

3. Prices down 'at a stroke'.

The monopolies soon found that there was a majority in the country against entry into Europe. So Heath took Britain in without consulting the British people.

The monopolies became terri-

fied by working-class militancy in 1972. So Heath introduced the most stringent peacetime wage control in the history of British industry.

The monopolies wanted a profits orgy in 1973, so prices rose by more than ever before in British history.

When Tory 'principles' collide with the greed of the monopolies, the principles disappear.

The men who run the monopolies know how to run parliament. They are not frightened by parliamentary guff.

But they ARE frightened when men and women on the shop floor fight for better wages and conditions. They are frightened still more when those workers expose the greed and luxuries of the rich or when workers talk about using their strength to take money, privilege and power from the unelected minority.

The faintest stirring of socialist ideas among working people are enough to galvanise a whole army of speculators and gangsters.

Workers must be made to believe in a sinister conspiracy in their midst, for fear that the sinister conspiracy against them will be unveiled.

Tyranny and violence must be alleged by a handful of tyrants who have won their wealth by systematic violence

That is what this Tory election campaign is all about.



The latest issue of International Socialism provides essential, in-depth analysis of many of the issues facing readers of Socialist Worker.

In an important article Andreas Nagliati discusses the need for a rank and file movement and the difficulties facing attempts to build one. The article is particularly relevant in view of the conference called by a number of rank and file papers for the end of March.

Frank Roberts provides a fascinating account of the effort of the Uruguayan Tupamaros to change society using urban guerrilla methods. He draws the conclusion that they could not succeed because such methods rely upon the heroism of a few individuals, not the organisation and initiative of the working class itself.

Luis Angel Fernandez Hermana describes how such organisation and initiative developed spontaneously in the industrial areas in Chile before the coup, despite the efforts of the main working-class parties to discourage it. And Duncan Hallas begins an important new series of articles on the revolutionary ideas of the Communist International in its early years.

Finally, Notes of the Month analyse the pressures that have been driving the government towards confrontations with the miners, its fear of losing such a confrontation, and the way in which the TUC general council has tried to help it out of a tight spot.

20p per copy (including postage)
£2.10 for a year (12 issues).
IS JOURNAL, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.

Check out Tories

Writer Alexander Cordell on a frame-up trial 142 years before Shrewsbury

Murder of a union man



ALEXANDER CORDELL

ON a rainy day in August, 1831, a young Welshman, Richard Lewis of Merthyr Tydfil, stood on a scaffold in St Mary's Street, Cardiff.

In the moment they fixed the rope around his neck, he called to the sky: 'O Arglwdd, dyma gamwedd' which, being translated, means, 'O Lord, what an iniquity.'

Earlier, he had written from the prison a letter to his sister, who had raised him:

'I entreat you to come without fail to fetch my body, as there is no likelihood of anything else at the present. Go to Philip Lewis and ask him to come down somehow tonight with a cart and as many men as he can.'

'I believe the Lord has forgiven me my sins and transgressions, I am not guilty and for that I have reason to be thankful.'

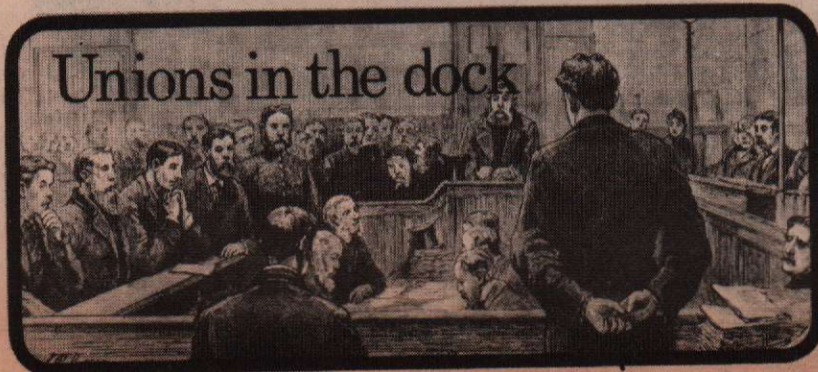
After the hanging his body was taken by his trade union comrades for burial in consecrated ground, but it was turned away by preachers of many demoninations.

Alleged

Eventually it was decently buried at St Mary's churchyard at Aberafon, although the authorities disallowed a burial service since this was supposed to be the body of a criminal. The grave can be visited today.

And the charge upon which Richard Lewis—alias Dic Penderyn—was executed. It was alleged that during the infamous 'Bread or Butter' riots in the town of Merthyr, Glamorgan, in June 1831, he stabbed Private Black of the 93rd Highlanders in the thigh with a bayonet.

It was during these riots, the history of which I tell in my recent book, *The Fire People* (Pan 45p), that the workers protested about their conditions of labour and wages paid by ironmasters of the calibre of Guest and Crawshay: for the first time in British history the people held a town successfully against the attacks of the military. Legend in Wales has always held



that Dic Penderyn was innocent. My book conclusively proves this true; that he was nowhere near Private Black during the wounding. Even Black couldn't recognise the man who wounded him.

But Lord Melbourne, then the Home Secretary, was thirsting for action against the threat of the new trade unions, as the historians Cole and the Webb relate. Even Peel, at the end of his tenacy in government, was trying to ferment union reaction in the North which would allow the use of force or destroy unionism before it took a hold on the workers.

In the event the Highlanders panicked during the riots in the town and about 40 people were

shot dead, many unarmed, and hundreds were wounded. Indeed, since many men were secretly buried by their families for fear of reprisals, the total number killed will never be known.

It was a massacre about which the tame historians of the Establishment's press were content to keep quiet: instead history has leaned on the comparatively innocuous Peterloo Massacre (where a couple of workers only died) as what they consider their major crime against the working class of this country.

Dic Penderyn, the name by which he is better known, is now legendary in Welsh history, and during my research it became as-

tonishing to see how word of mouth folk-lore about the hero was daily proving so accurate.

But one unknown fact emerged from the research—Dic Penderyn was a union man. He might not have been a unionist of the calibre of many of the later Chartists, who eight years after his execution were fighting for the famous six point charter of decency, five of which we enjoy today, but he was a unionist, and undoubtedly a leader: now it becomes obvious why Melbourne hanged him.

And the new documents concerning his life and times, which I have discovered (with Home Office help) in their records, some of which had been lost for a century and a half until now, make it clear that Penderyn was innocent of any kind of crime.

Because, in 1874, 43 years after Dic's execution, the Reverend Evan Evans, travelling in Pennsylvania, was called to the death-bed of a dying Welshman, one Ieuan Parker, a native of Cwmafon.

This man confessed: 'It was I who wounded the soldier that Dic Penderyn was hanged for. I got away to America as soon as I could afterwards, but I could never escape from the memory of it.'

Frantic

'When you go back to Wales, tell everybody that Dic Penderyn is innocent.'

What comes out of the martyrdom of this early trade unionist is not the horror of the death of an innocent but the almost frantic efforts of the Establishment to get a prosecution at any price.

Even the sentencing judge, one Justice Bosanquet—doubtless, in my opinion, the hatchet man of the Home Secretary—wrote six letters to Melbourne, the last of which ended in a pathetic '... If, upon further consideration your lordship should be induced to recommend a commutation of the sentence of death...

But his lordship's mind, it seemed, was already made up: Penderyn, the union leader, was to him as good as dead: a martyr—the first of the Welsh working class.

Let the millions of trade unionists of this country see to it that the trials of our modern martyrs receive better justice than that meted out to Dic Penderyn, aged 23, in Merthyr, in August 1831 and let them remember the events last autumn, when democracy died in Chile under the guns of the military junta.

And may they remember, in so doing, their brothers of the industrial revolution of a century ago who were flogged, transported and executed for the rights we enjoy today and which are clearly been whittled away.

Is
Joyce
Magee
a
'subversive'?

PLEASE don't misunderstand the question. Joyce has never been important enough to run up a national deficit of three thousand, three hundred million pounds.

She is a modest working-class widow who believes she has a right to hold a trade union card and ask other women to do the same.

Joyce's problem all began with Automotive Installations in Hinckley, Leicestershire, a firm that supplies the motor industry with felt and foam installations.

It has a workforce of around 28 people and pays them at the rate of £18 for women and £25 for men to ensure an unfair and greedy profit. Management let it be known that under no circumstances would the subject 'trade unionism' be breathed on the shopfloor without severe reprisal.

So intense is the firm's dislike of trade unionism that not long ago the works manager—he is now a bingo



Joyce Magee: hit and run case

caller—expressed his feelings by saying that if ever he met Joyce Magee in the street, 'It would be a hit and run case'.

Eventually the local TGWU branch got on to the area official and pointed out that there were several card-holding members of the union at Automotive Installations and they had expressed a desire for a union shop.

The official wrote to the firm, pointing out its members' wishes. Next day Joyce Magee was dismissed.

She convinced me she had no subversive intentions. She does not want to bombard the Stock Exchange with fig puddings. She is not a close relative of Leon Trotsky or a pen pal of Chairman Mao.

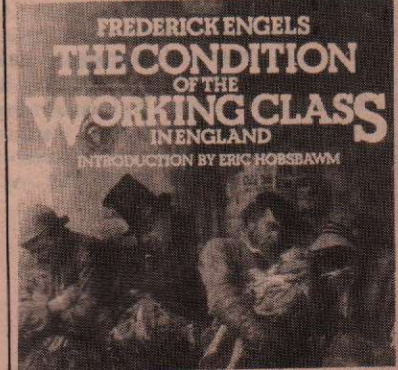
But because she believes in holding a union card she became a 'hit and run job'.

Dave Cook



Price 50p, plus 6p postage

IS BOOKS, 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4



When the chain snaps and women fight back

THE FILM I'M writing about isn't on circuit release—and won't be on circuit release. But it will soon be available on 16mm—which means a local union or International Socialist branch could hire it. Further it is hoped that a showing of the film by the International Socialists will be arranged before too long in London.

The film is *Blow* (Coup pour Coup), and it is a magnificent film about the class struggle today. Made in 1972, it is 90 minutes of unrestrained and authentic political message.

The setting is a textile sweatshop somewhere in France. The women workers are being driven into the ground by the ever increasing speed of the production line, patrolled by mealy-mouthed, militaristic supervisors and betrayed by smooth-talking careerists of the French Communist Party dominated CGT (the country's biggest union organisation).

We are shown scenes of a woman having to fuse the power lines in order to gain a moment's respite from the mindless tedium of their never-ending workload. They feel themselves condemned never to see the sun, never to enjoy their families, never to get anywhere other than back to work the following morning. Then, suddenly, the chain snaps, the women learn to organise and start to fight back.

The management watches helplessly as its shopfloor authority is challenged. Their fear turns to spite as they attempt to sack two of the younger girls. It is at this

point that the mood of the workers takes on new dimensions. They cast aside their ever-conciliatory union officials. United, they occupy their factory and by doing so they step themselves into the front line of the battle for socialism.

I have always found it difficult to accept sub-titled foreign films but I completely forgot myself in *Blow* for *Blow* as the self-confidence of the workers grows into a festival of human dignity. They sing together, work together, eat together, look after their children together, fight the police together, capture and teach the boss a lesson he will never forget together. At the end, momentarily victorious, they plan their future tactics together.

What I found so great about the film was that it crosses so many boundaries. The setting could be Fisher-Bendix. The information for the film was taken from the collective experience of several different occupations. Its greatest achievement is that it shows, unpretentiously, the political potential of the emerging consciousness of working class women. The film is a must, great acting, quality sound track and professional Technicolor.

For further information contact
Pam Engel, *The Other Cinema*,
12/13 Little Newport Street, London
WC2H 7JJ. 01 734-8508.

ROLAND MULDOON



Happiness and bars. A scene from *Blow for Blow*

Steaming radio as Auntie tackles the crisis...

BBC RADIO NEWS goes round the world in 82 languages—everywhere except the North Pole.

It is spoken in a special voice, BBC English, a form of expression used by no one North of Regents Park and very few South of it—to ensure impartiality.

All the measured, fair tones express the same message. The infinite decency and wisdom of the British ruling class.

The Corporation's 'independence' dates from the General Strike when the then Head of BBC, Lord Reith refused to obey Churchill's demand that the radio should become a vehicle for 'official' propaganda against the strikers.

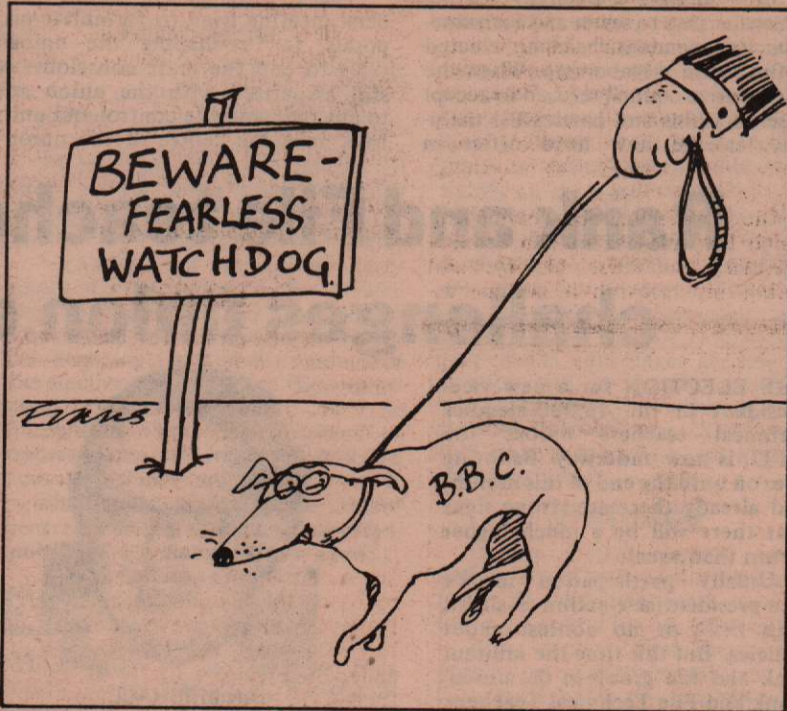
The reputation for neatly bent truth was maintained during the Blitz.

The Nightride announcers on Radio-1 have taken to muttering darkly about how 'it couldn't get much worse' at the end of their ration of newsroom disaster. The tone of voice has been increasingly perturbed, anxious, even impatient, as *The Two Sides Fail To Come Together*. Yet again Last Minute Initiatives flounder and people Fail To See Reason.

What the newsreader's worried tones reflect is the inability of the BBC's own ideology to hold together. Radio news has to operate as if its audience is the whole nation, a national family in which there is no conflict 'thanks to our institutions'. Therefore the maintenance of the 'institutions' should be our prime concern.

But the two sides, management and union, capital and labour, don't seem to be showing the slightest sign of pulling together.

Although 'the Public' is meeting the strikes with 'good humour', some members of the working class (who are under no circumstances to be confused with 'The Public', or for that matter 'The Lower Paid') are Using-Their-Monopoly-Position-In - Industry - To - Hold - The - Nation-To-Ransom yet again. Some newsreaders disapprove of Mick



McGahey so violently they pronounce his name wrong.

Newsreaders do not concern themselves with paltry matters such as money or comfort. Instead, as Joseph McLeod, a wartime announcer who was a left-winger said, 'some listen to their own voices and become vain. Others listen to their own souls and become pontifical'. Others dream of a coalition government of Robin Day, William Hardcastle and Robert Dougal.

The news that they are reading is horrific. On the night the Shrewsbury defendants were jailed, a prison island was re-opened in

Greece by the new Junta. 30 trade unionists were arrested in Madrid. A mother and child were burned to death in a kitchen fire in Bristol. A report was published showing that most black school-leavers in London don't expect to get a decent job—and a psychiatrist said that 'unemployment can improve mental health'.

And the News will get worse, despite the attempts of the BBC and Edward Heath to get us to all pull together.

Since Dunkirk has been overdone increasingly radio will be re-creating the mood of the Battle of Britain, when it came into its own as a

medium. Only this time it is supposed to be the miners who are flying dive bombers and the black-out is a lockout instead.

The radio has its equivalents of the stock TV film of stalled kidney machines and surgeons operating by the light of half a packet of Swan Vestas.

It consists of handy quotes from Len Murray and the Labour Party. 'The sharpest criticism, however, came from the Labour Party' said Sunday's news for the nineteenth time. And then some right-wing marionette drones on about 'subverting troops, overthrowing the government and attempting to install a foreign ideology'.

The prejudice, hysteria, and sheer stupidity of our 'betters' is usually concealed by their good manners. But just listen to the braying, insulting cross examination of left-wingers which has recently been heard on *From The Grass Roots and The World at One*, and hear the real voice of those who run things—and intend it to stay that way.

In George Orwell's 1984 he invented the phrase 'Newspeak' for the kind of abuse of language that Establishment radio relies on. On the very first page, Winston Smith can't take the lift to his flat because the government is conserving electricity for Hate Week. Things are well on schedule...

I was once told that the only thing that you could trust about the Daily Mirror was the price (it's just changed). But there is one thing you can trust absolutely on the radio. It comes on late at night and is sent by Exchange Telegraph—the Stock Market closing prices.

If you start from there and work backwards through the day's news, it makes a lot more sense.

PREVIEW

THE TELEVISION schedules are once again in a complete shambles—as you may have noticed. Election times are the one time when we are supposed to be interested in politics. This means our rulers version of politics. Waking up in the morning to party political broadcasts, hearing Tories explain why they are worth £10,000 a year as cabinet ministers and why we are only worth 'fair' wages, on phone-ins.

To cover this TV schedules have been extended back to those golden days when you could go off to the pub, buy everyone a round of drinks for only £1.50 and still afford the bus fare home to catch the Epilogue. This means however that the times of programmes and subjects are liable to rapid change. This Monday for instance *Panorama* was dealing with Eric Gairy and Grenada, this will now be replaced by election coverage. The best bets for the election on TV are WEEKEND WORLD, which is on at midday on SUNDAYS (ITV) and WORLD IN ACTION at 8pm on Mondays (ITV).

FRIDAY: ITV, 9pm, *WITHIN THESE WALLS* the series so justifiably attacked by Jenny Cole (26 January) is written by Tony Parker this week. Parker has been inside prisons (as a writer/journalist) and does know something about the subject. His books have revealed more than most about the prison system, (which isn't saying much) so the episode might be of some interest.

SUNDAY: BBC-1, 7.25pm. The only interesting thing about *THE BROTHERS* the terrible series about gritty big business is that the company which it was based on is now facing legal proceedings. Perhaps they'll be able to merge it with *WITHIN THESE WALLS*...

The Play of the Month is Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Ernest*. Set in Victorian England it is a funny and sometimes biting play. On BBC-2's *THE BOOK PROGRAMME* the work of the American 1950s 'Beat Generation' novelist Jack Kerouac, who wrote *On The Road* is examined by Clive James. Kerouac can be seen as the inspiration of much of the 1960s music, writing and poetry—particularly people like Bob Dylan.

MONDAY: BBC-2, *THE WALTONS** is a new American series of 'warm sentimental stories about an American family living in the Blue Ridge Mountains during the depression' says the BBC. Sounds like *The Grapes of Peyton Place*. Wonder why TV is so interested in depression these days...

WEDNESDAY: BBC-1. The more successful he became, the more money he made, the less funny Marty Feldman is. It would be nice if his new four week series *MARTY BACK TOGETHER AGAIN** BBC-1, would be a return to the good old days. Since it is written by Feldman and Johnny (Till Death Us Do Part) Speight, there is some hope.

* Times unknown at time of going to press.

David Widgery on BBC growing hysteria

'I'm in IS' aids Post Office man's election

DON FAILES, branch secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, has been elected to the London District Council which is responsible for some 40,000 uniformed post office workers.

Three committee members were elected for Don's area. The ballot forms for the election contained brief biographies of the candidates. One section listed the candidates' 'political affiliations'.

Members of the Communist Party who stood for the Committee filled in this section with the words: 'Not given'—A standard practice. But Don insisted that he include the fact that he is a member of the International Socialists.

Branch officials praised Don's courage but warned him that his 'confession' would lose him any chance of election.

Don got 357 votes. He was second in the ballot, only one vote behind the leader. The third elected committee member got nearly 200 votes fewer.

THE UNIONS

'One union—one card'

by Steve Jefferys
ACTIVE members of the engineering section of the giant Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers will often be found these days peering into a small blue book.

It contains the union's rules, adopted at its 1970 Rules Revision Meeting, and every one of the thousands of union branches can now suggest changes to be discussed next year.

All proposals have to be adopted by the branch at a specially-called meeting and each proposal must reach AUEW head office by 1 May and all will be considered by an extended meeting of the union's national committee next year.

This procedure is pretty excep-

TIME TO CHANGE AUEW RULES

tional for British trade unions. The thought of regularly encouraging the membership to restructure the rule-book would be enough to give Frank Chapple of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union a fit.

In many other ways too, the formal structure of the Engineering Union is more democratic than most. But as AUEW members of the International Socialists pointed out at a recent policy-making meeting in Manchester, formal democracy is not enough.

With the employers and the government increasing their attacks on the unions and particularly on the rank and file, union rules must be re-shaped to encourage real democracy and control from below. Only by these means will the decks be cleared for the action that is vital if Engineering Union members are to avoid serious setbacks for the shop-floor organisations and cuts in their living standards.

Previous major changes in the rules were always made in response to the class struggle.

The years of increasing strike action before the First World War led the 1912 Branch Delegate Meeting of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to decide to curb the power of the executive council by cutting its membership to seven and introducing an 'independent chairman' elected by the entire membership. When the old executive council refused to accept these decisions and barricaded themselves in the new head office in

Peckham Road, South London, the new provisional executive had to tunnel through from the house next door to evict them.

The formation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union itself on 1 July 1920 and the adoption of the main lines of the present rulebook were the result of the pressures from shop steward and rank and file members for direct action to achieve social aims.

In place of the irregular Branch Delegate Meetings, often dominated by the full-time officials, a national committee of two rank-and-file representatives from each of the 26 new divisional committees was set up to meet yearly. Instead of determining union policy only by changing the rules, it could give direct instructions. In this way the executive council and officials would be subject to regular scrutiny and guidance by the rank and file.

For the first time too, the right of shop stewards to a say in policy-making was recognised and they were given representation on the district committees. A further check on the powers of the executive council was the Final Appeal Court—made up entirely of rank and file members—which decided all appeals against executive decisions.

Unity

Unity and rank and file control were the watchwords of the 450,000-strong union as it faced up to the employers' offensive of the 1920s. But, as one member wrote in the first issue of the Monthly Journal and Report, there remained one big drawback: 'The AEU is a craft union and still retains the odious features of craft unionism.'

The IS Engineering Union members' meeting tried to formulate proposals for re-shaping the union's rules to end the craft consciousness still associated with the union and to put rank-and-file control and unity back into the centre of the union's

objectives.

The key to the transformation proposed is a new-look national committee. While a small committee can mean more efficient control, as opposed to a conference of perhaps thousands of delegates, it also seems very remote from the members. The way the 52 committee delegates are elected by divisional committee and not the district committees, which are much more in touch with the struggles on the shop floor, adds to this remoteness.

Cut off

The IS AUEW group decided to campaign for 10 representatives to be elected from each division by district committees in proportion to membership. This new national committee of 260 delegates would be much more representative of the views of the shop floor, without being too large and open to manipulation by the officials.

It would encourage more active participation at branch and district level and help end the present dangerous situation where most ordinary members feel completely cut off from decision-making.

The IS engineers decided on a campaign against craft prejudice, proposing that election to the Final Appeal Court be open to all union members and that the different sections of the union be eliminated altogether.

'One union—one card' was the intention of Tom Mann, the AEU's first general secretary. Today, with the Tories and employers quite capable of using any weapon to split workers, as again we have to defend our living standards against wage cuts, AUEW members must build the road to complete unity.

Next week Steve Jefferys will write about IS engineers' other suggestions for rules revision and look at some of the proposals being canvassed by the union's right wing.

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.

Rank and File teachers group challenges union election

THE ELECTION for a new vice-president in the 46,000-member technical teachers union, the ATTI, is now underway. Balloting goes on until the end of this month, and already there are strong signs that there will be a much higher return than usual.

Usually participation in the vice-presidential election is slight, with little or no contest about policies. But this time the militant rank and file group in the union, Rank and File Technical Teachers, is campaigning for its own candidate.

That candidate is Ian Birchall, a lecturer at Middlesex Polytechnic in North London, an ATTI branch committee member and divisional delegate of several years standing, and a member of the International Socialists.

Ian, who is standing against Derek Weitzel and Jack Hendy, both members of the present executive committee of the union, spoke to Socialist Worker.

'First and foremost the Rank and File campaign is not a matter of promoting an individual, who on his own will do wonderful things. It is part of a struggle to get policy questions raised and hammered out in every section of our union.

'Now, the growth of Rank and File Technical Teachers indicates that there is growing concern in the union, and growing awareness



IAN BIRCHALL

of the need for fighting policies.

'But it isn't only this. Rank and File has criticised the union leadership for lack of militancy on salaries and conditions, and for dragging its feet when it comes to action.

Prepared

'Part of the reason for this campaign is that Rank and File members have to be prepared to take on the responsibilities of leadership at every level in the union.

'On wages, we have the most amazingly hierarchical structure with five teaching grades and then administrative grades on top of that. The variations in wages are enormous, and antagonisms can grow up between one group and another.

'Rank and File's policy is that in the short term we are in favour

of flat-rate, across-the-board wage claims because they alone can unite people and prevent any increases in differentials.

'At the union's special salaries conference in 1972 this policy won though afterwards the union leaders spent more space in the union journal attacking it than pushing it. We ended up with a settlement within Phase Two.

'The heart of our problems, as with other workers, is the Tories' Incomes Policy. If we are to win through we have to mobilise in our union and build links with other unions. That's why Rank and File supports all developments towards one union for all teachers.

'The crisis and the Incomes Policy change everything. To make any advances you need real leverage from below. Our leadership is failing in this. They're not going out and campaigning among the members. That's what I'd try to initiate if elected.

'But there are many more problems. The management of the colleges, the local authorities, are being forced to cut back spending on social services and education. They're trying to bring in productivity schemes, sacking part-time teachers and tightening staff-student ratios.

'Rank and File exists to give a real fighting lead in these battles. That's why I'm standing for vice-president.'

FOR THE ADDRESS OF YOUR LOCAL BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, WRITE TO THE NATIONAL SECRETARY, 8 COTTONS GARDENS, LONDON E2 8DN.



INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST NEWS

WHAT'S ON

ACTION!

for the miners, against the Tories

ALL over the country IS branches are springing into action around the miners' strike and the general election campaign.

In GLASGOW, an IS District Action Committee has been set up to direct the full resources of the IS branches. Members with cars have placed them at the disposal of the action committee for work in the Ayrshire coalfield.

More than 2000 copies of Socialist Worker are now being sold in the Glasgow area, compared with 1400 four weeks ago.

In COVENTRY the IS factory branches are issuing weekly leaflets on the miners' strike. They are calling for delegations from the factories to the miners' picket lines and for their shop stewards committees to organise collections for the picket lines and to invite miners to address mass meetings.

The Coventry IS Action Committee consider it would be an abuse of IS membership for any member of the district to be inactive in the next few weeks.

In SWANSEA an IS Action Committee is being established to co-ordinate the work of IS members in the South Wales coalfield. The action committee is placing its own order for Socialist Worker.

The IS National Committee, which spent most of last Saturday discussing the miners' strike and the election campaign, fully endorses all these actions. It calls on IS branches:

● To establish action committees which should meet frequently, preferably daily.

● To direct, through the action committee, the activity of all IS members around the strike and the election.

● To increase their orders for Socialist Worker and to find new sellers for the paper.

● To organise public meetings, street corner meetings, factory gate meetings on the themes: Support the Miners, Defend the Unions, Kick out the Tories, Vote Labour.

NEWS IN BRIEF

WIGAN:—More than 100 people packed into the Market Hotel, last Thursday to hear Paul Foot speak about the crisis, the election and the need for a revolutionary party. Six people joined the Wigan branch of IS, and £28 was raised for the Socialist Worker Fighting Fund.

BLACKBURN:—More than 100 people came to the town hall last Friday to hear John Carpenter and Paul Foot speak on the Shrewsbury pickets trial and the crisis. A welcome guest at the meeting was Marlene Tomlinson, whose husband, Ricky Tomlinson, is serving two years for his part in the Shrewsbury pickets.

Chairman Les Kay, a Blackburn busman, told the meeting that IS had now formed five branches, including two industrial branches, in North East Lancashire. There was a branch in Burnley, one in Accrington, and the makings of one in Preston.

It looks as though another branch will be formed in the area, following the meeting. Three people from Darwen took out membership cards, and a branch may be formed there soon.

The meeting collected £68 for the Shrewsbury families and for the Socialist Worker Fighting Fund.

by Dave Peers
IS national secretary

The national committee has set up a national action committee of four people which must get reports from branches at least once a week.

The national committee issued the following firm instruction on support for the miners: picket lines:

We are anxious to establish the maximum possible solidarity with the miners on the picket lines. IS members should concentrate on getting workplace delegations to the picket lines, and delegations from students' unions. Visits to the picket lines should be co-ordinated through the local action committees.

On all occasions, the permission of the local miners' pickets organiser should be sought before anyone joins the picket. The decision of the picket must be accepted without question.

After a long discussion on the election, the national committee drew up the following guidelines to IS action before 28 February:

Trade union members should seek to mobilise all workers for a Labour vote on 28 February. The stewards' committees should be urged to call mass meetings in the workplaces to discuss the election and to mobilise votes for Labour.

Machine

Sponsorship should be won from stewards' committees and trade union branches for anti-Tory demonstrations.

IS branches must concentrate all their efforts for a mass anti-Tory propaganda campaign, in which the main weapon will be Socialist Worker.

Canvassing for the Labour Party under the auspices of the official Labour machine is NOT our policy. The official Labour campaigns will be side-stepping the real class issues of the election. It will ignore the miners' case, the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury Three, the danger of oppression and more anti-trade union laws if the Tories are elected.

These issues must be raised centrally to the election campaign, and only IS, acting independently,

STEVENAGE:—50 IS members from Harlow, Hemel Hempstead, Watford, St Albans, High Wycombe, Stevenage, Hitchin and Luton heard Jim Higgins speak on the IS response to the Tory attack on the working class. He stressed the importance of voting Labour, not out of any illusion in the Labour Party, but because the Tory attack would be redoubled if they got in.

SLOUGH:—40 people attended last week's meeting of Slough IS on the crisis to hear Howard Senter talk on the need to build a socialist alternative in the face of the constant compromising of the trade union and labour leaders.

Laurie Flynn spoke about the mess the system was now in and of the fact that socialism was the only way out. Speakers from the floor raised questions about waste in capitalist society, and of how workers could run a socialist system. Three people joined IS after the meeting.

DERBY:—Three people joined Derby IS after an excellent meeting at which Laurie Flynn spoke on 'What is IS?'. More than 40 people came to the meeting, and several workers took part in an enthusiastic discussion on socialist society, how to get it and how it would create a new and genuine democracy.

can do that.

There is another powerful reason against subordinating our activity to the official Labour campaign. Labour's refusal to mobilise working-class support over the years will leave a new Labour government weak and impotent to deal with the attacks from capital. The new Labour government will move towards the employers.

We must not in our actions during the campaign sow illusions in what Labour can do. We support Labour not for what Labour can do but because of the serious consequences to working-class morale and organisation of a Tory government.

Anti-Tory

Our attitude to canvassing extends to all Labour candidates, however left-wing. The argument above applies to all circumstances in which official Labour is fighting.

The National Front is fielding 54 candidates in this election. In this election, they are not the main enemy. The class issues in the election will polarise the right-wing vote. It would be wrong for any branches, in their hatred of National Front poison, to lapse into canvassing for the official Labour candidate or to be distracted in any way from the main anti-Tory propaganda effort.

No IS branch or member should support a Communist Party candidate in this election. The Communist Party is a second reformist party and has no future in a period where the limits on reformism are drawn more tightly all the time.

IS is not fielding any candidates in this election. We are not opposed in principle to fielding candidates, or reaping any propaganda advantage that an election campaign might afford us. But in this campaign the propaganda advantages are few. The election will be fought mainly on television, and the amount of TV coverage available to IS would be very small indeed. The cost would be ludicrously high.

Defence

In the British election system, unlike the French or German, a vote for a socialist candidate is a vote taken, once and for all, from Labour.

In an election when there is a lot of pressure on class-conscious workers to vote Labour, the vote IS would win would be very small and would be seen by many militants as 'letting the Tories in'.

The central drive of the campaign is independent, anti-Tory propaganda. The printshop is working overtime to print 30,000 posters, calling for support for the miners and defence of the unions against the Tories. There will be no national leaflets, but special efforts will be made to make Socialist Worker even better and more relevant than usual, and branches should use the paper not only for itself but also for ammunition for local leaflets, meetings, demonstrations and so on.

We are living in exciting times. The next few weeks will be some of the most important in the lives of most of us. If we are to build up a real socialist alternative in this country, we must have the maximum possible effort during the miners' strike and the general election campaign.

Victory to the Miners Kick out the Tories

NORWICH IS public meeting: Victory to the Miners! Speaker from NUM. Thursday 21 February, 7.45pm, Central Library, Norwich. All trade unionists welcome.

BIRMINGHAM Socialist Worker public meeting: Miners' strike—the key to victory. Speakers: Duncan Hallas and Trevor Ball (NUM, Lea Hall Colliery). Friday 15 February, 7.45pm, Lecture Room 2, Digbeth Civic Hall.

BARNET IS public meeting: Victory to the Miners—kick out the Tories. Wednesday 27 February, 8pm, Bull and Butcher, High Road, Whetstone, London N20 (near Totteridge and Whetstone tube). All welcome.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Why the miners must win and the Tories lose. Speakers: Andreas Nagliati and a miner. Wednesday 20 February, 8pm, The Forrester Arms, Mitcham Road, Tooting Broadway. All socialists and trade unionists welcome.

ISLINGTON IS public meeting: The General Election... Victory to the miners. Wednesday 20 February, 8.00pm. Speakers Jim Higgins and industrial speaker. The George, Liverpool Road, N1. (near Angel tube). All Welcome.

PADDINGTON IS public meeting: Kick out the Tories—victory to the miners. Speakers: Danny Phillips (Labour councillor for Church Street Ward, NW8, and a member of IS) and John Palmer. Thursday 21 February, 8pm, Seymour Hall (small hall), Seymour Place, London W1.

LEAMINGTON IS public meeting: The crisis—kick out the Tories. Speaker: Duncan Hallas, Thursday 21 February, 7.30pm, Potterton's Social Club (near main Potterton factory), Warwick.

WAKEFIELD IS public meeting: Support the miners—kick out the Tories. Sunday 24 February, 8pm, Queens Street Hall.

KINGSTON IS public meeting: Victory to the miners! NUM speaker. Tuesday 26 February, 7.45pm, Kingston Hotel (opposite Kingston station).

LAMBETH IS public meeting: The general election and the miners. Speaker: Dave Peers (IS national secretary). Wednesday 20 February, 8pm, Brixton Training Centre, St Matthews Road, London SW2.

MANSFIELD IS public meeting: Support the miners—kick out the Tories! Speakers: Mick Osborne (Maltby NUM) and John Charlton. Sunday 17 February, 7.30pm, Red Lion, Stockwell Gate, Mansfield.

GLASGOW District IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories! Speakers: Tony Cliff and Charlie Anderson (NUM). Tuesday 19 February, 7.30pm, McLellan Galleries, Glasgow.

WALTHAMSTOW IS public meeting: Defend the unions—kick out the Tories. Thursday 21 February, 8pm, Essex Arms, Essex Grove (off Forest Road), London E17.

BLACKPOOL Socialist Worker public meeting: Victory to the miners. Speakers: Glyn Carver and a Lancashire miner. Wednesday 20 February, 7.30pm, Blackpool Trades Club, Chadwick Street, Blackpool.

EARLESTOWN and ST HELENS IS public meeting: Support the miners—free the three. Speakers: Jim Clarke (NUM) and John Carpenter (convicted of picketing at Shrewsbury). Saturday 23 February, 12.30am, St Helens Town Hall.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: Why the miners must win. Speakers: Kinsey Gough (NUM), Merfyn Jones (ASTMS) and Dale Aston (NUM). Friday 22 February, 8pm, Barchier Hall, Blind Institute, Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

BIRMINGHAM IS public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Trevor Ball (NUM) and John Palmer. Friday 15 February, 7.45pm, Assembly Hall, Digbeth Civic Hall. Admission 10p.

RUGELEY Socialist Worker public meeting: Victory to the miners—kick out the Tories. Speakers: Vic Collard (AUEW shop steward, Lucas) and Granville Williams. Saturday 16 February, 12.30am, The White Horse, Rugeley.

WOULD IS members please note that the deadline for entries in the WHAT'S ON column is first post Monday.

WEST MIDDLESEX District IS Day School: 50 years of struggle. Speakers: Chris Harman on Lessons from the 1920s, and Tony Cliff on The Crisis, Saturday 23 February, 2.30pm, Park Hotel, Greenford Avenue, Hanwell, London W7. Fund-raising social afterwards: disco and band, booze and food, 8pm-midnight, bar extension—50p admission.

EAST MIDLANDS IS aggregate meeting: Tuesday 19 February, Leicester University Students Union. All IS trade union members to attend. Further details from branch secretaries.

HACKNEY IS fund-raising jumble sale: clothes, books, records, etc. Saturday 23 February, 2pm, St Mathias Church Hall, Wordsworth Road (near Newington Green), London N16.

MEMO FROM IS TRAINING COMMITTEE: Copies still available of IS Basic Education Notes. Invaluable for branch meetings and education classes on urgent topics such as the Labour Party, Communist Party, trade union bureaucrats, racism and many others. All new members of IS should automatically be sold a copy on joining. Don't let their crisis mean neglect of our education. Copies obtainable from IS Office, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN. Price 10p each.

IS WANTS PACKER AND STOREMAN: driving licence an advantage. Apply to Mel Norris, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Phone 01-739 1870.

SW LITHO needs someone for general office duties. Contact Mel Norris at 01-739 1870.

SWANSEA VALLEY IS branch fighting fund: 1. Green 75; 2. Blue 158; 3. Yellow 144.

SOCIALIST WORKER needs help from IS students in London. If you have mornings or afternoons free and/or a driving licence, please phone Margaret Renn immediately—01-739 2639.

MERSEYSIDE district IS public meeting: Lenin—50 years later, 1924-1974. Speaker Tony Cliff. Thursday 21 February, 8pm, AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION on Lenin and the Russian Revolution available for IS meetings. For details contact Eve Barker at 01-485 0476.

STUDENT GRANTS AND THE CRISIS—a new IS Students' pamphlet. 5p each (£1 for 25 copies, cash with order) from IS Students, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

WOMEN'S VOICE Special Crisis issue ready now. News and interviews on Women and the crisis, and general features. IS branches please phone orders to Harlow 37205.

Call for students to aid miners

SIMON TURNER, IS student organiser, called last weekend for the 'total dedication' of all IS students to political activity during the miners' strike and the election campaign. He called for the immediate formation, through IS Societies in colleges and universities, of miners' support committees and for resolutions to be put to students' unions calling for maximum assistance for miners' pickets.

'The entire facilities of the union must be put to the disposal of the miners', he said. 'Accommodation food and money must be made available. Students had an excellent record in the 1972 miners' strike, and they must improve on it.

Simon also urged IS students who

are selling papers or making contacts on building sites or factories to urge the militants there to call meetings on the miners' strike, and to arrange speakers for these meetings.

Where the local miners' pickets agreed, he said, students should offer help on the picket lines.

On the election, he urged all IS student societies to organise meetings on the election. Special general meetings of the students' union should be convened to call for a Labour vote on polling day, and a stepping up of the grants campaign even if a Labour government is elected. In 1970 students had been apathetic about the election, but they could not afford apathy now.

40,000 STUDENTS ISSUE CHALLENGE

FORTY THOUSAND students marched through London last Friday in support of their campaign for higher and fairer grants. The massive demonstration can leave no one—especially the Tories and the executive of the National Union of Students—in any doubt about the students' determination to fight.

From the start the NUS executive has tried to turn the campaign into the blind alley of protest politics aimed at convincing MPs, vice-chancellors and education authorities of the 'justness' of our case.

Student members of the International Socialists have always argued that it is not the justness of the claim that will win higher grants but the willingness of students to fight alongside the labour movement against a Tory government hell-bent on attacking the living standards of workers and students.

The response to the miners' strike shows that students are now realising this. All over the country students are organising in support of the miners. A London Students' Miners Support Committee has been elected to co-ordinate the activities of students who want to aid the miners' fight against Phase Three.

The committee, in liaison with the miners' union, is seeking to provide pickets with accommodation, food and, where needed, physical support. It is also starting a drive to raise money for the NUM Strike Fund. In colleges where these things are not already happening, students should argue for the setting-up of support committees and for the need for solidarity with the miners.

A victory for the miners will make students' chances of winning higher grants much greater, and a militant fight by students will aid the miners by making the Tories that much weaker. The slogans chanted on Friday's march are a rallying call for all students: Tories out! Phase Three out! Victory to the miners! Higher grants now!

Report: Ken Muller (London School of Economics)
Pictures: Peter Harrap (Report)



Kent miners' president Jack Dunn speaking to the rally.



The Hyde Park rally at the end of the march which cheered miners' leaders. PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

Classified

Copy for the Classified section must arrive by first post Monday morning. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 1p per word, semi-display 2p per word. CASH WITH COPY to Classified, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

SAVE POPLAR HOSPITAL STOP THE EAST END HOSPITAL CLOSURES

A protest procession through the heart of London from the condemned Poplar Hospital in East India Dock Road to the London Hospital, Whitechapel, via local hospitals, Saturday 23 February, starting at 10am prompt, with band and banners.

IRISH PRISONERS' HOSTAGES COMMITTEE: Sunday 17 February, 2pm, picket Gartree Prison, Leicester, in solidarity with Hugh Feeney, Coach leaves London 10am from Quex Road, Kilburn.

IS MALE STUDENT wants room in S E London in friendly house, Phone 01-850 3435 in daytime.

COMRADE or comrades with baby invited to share house in Preston. Write to M Beaken, 8 Rawthorne Road, Penwortham, Preston, or phone (0772) 45914.

CHINESE pure silk-woven portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin etc. Sizes: 28in x 19½in—£1.10; 7in x 4in—25p. Also, same (slightly rain-soiled) 16in x 10½in—37p; 7in x 4in—12p. Also books by Lenin: 'Imperialism etc.—22p; 'State and Revolution'—32p; 'What is to be done?'—32p. Immediate delivery, D Volpe, 16 Belmont Court, London N16 5QD.

SOCIALIST GAY GROUP has speakers throughout the country on the gay question and sexism. Inquiries from IS branches especially welcomed. Details from 18 Dickenson Road, London N8.

CROFTING HOLIDAYS — farmhouse accommodation £14 per week, caravans £12 per week, camping £10 per week—all including breakfast and evening meal. Self-catering camping 50p per night per tent. Hill and forest walks, home-baking, free range eggs, ponies, calves and children's pets, pony-trekking, fishing, etc. all in area six miles Pitlochry on main London-Perth-Inverness line. Trains can be met. Inquiries to Mrs McArthur, Drimnagowan, Glen Fincastle, Pitlochry, Perthshire. Phone Killecrankie 275, preferably after 6pm.

HOSPITAL WORKER No 7 NOW OUT! Important article on Poplar Hospital closure, facts on agency staff, ambulance-men and canteen boycotts. Lots of articles on nurses—an ideal opportunity to involve nurses in the Hospital Worker. Rush orders to Business Manager, 8 Beverstone Road, London SW2.

CINEMA ACTION and EALING No 1 BRANCH AUEW presents the films Arise ye workers, Fighting the bill, and The UCS struggle, Friday 8 March, 7pm, Hanwell Library, Ealing, West London. Admission by trade union card only—all trade unionists welcome. Proceeds to North Wales Defence Committee.

STEPHEN BODINGTON discusses Computers and Socialism with The Socialist Party, Saturday 23 February, 8pm, General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, London N1 (near Kings Cross Station). The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY aims at building a moneyless 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. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

Con-Mech strikers appeal for help

by Ron Connor
(AUEW shop steward, Con-Mech)

WOKING, Surrey, The Con-Mech dispute is now entering its fifth month. It is a struggle between management armed with the Tory Industrial Relations Act and a small band of Engineering Union members fighting to establish a union of their own choice, a right every working class man and woman is supposed to have in this democracy of ours.

A National Industrial Relations Court tribunal, after imposing large fines on the union, recommended Con-Mech to recognise the AUEW as sole bargaining party in both workshop and stores.

The report by the NIRC officials was made without consultation with the strikers. But these men who can and do fine unions at the drop of a hat have no power to compel Con-Mech boss Dilley to carry the recommendations out.

So although a Tory employer has brought action against a union and lost he is under no obligation to comply with the instructions of the court he uses. The AUEW was fined £75,000 for taking action that has proved justified.

Omitted

The employer has been repeatedly told to talk to the union and to talk sense at that. Dilley has been to the NIRC three times since the £100,000 sequestration order on the union. Each time he has been warned—with a feather duster—to find common ground with the union.

The sense and common ground the NIRC asked Dilley for was a farce. Dilley said he would recognise the union, reinstate all strikers and we could all start work on Monday. Great stuff you might think. But he omitted certain words from the offer. What he meant was that we would all be made redundant the Friday after re-instatement.

Since our struggle has apparently ceased to be a national issue in the eyes of the leaders of our union, we must find a new momentum to keep the strike alive. Indeed we must find ways of hitting back.

Gone are the days when we had help on the picket line. The finance has ceased to come in and at this moment is exactly nil.

So I appeal to all trade unionists to assist us in every way possible. Make no

mistake, every small employer of the Dilley mould is watching the situation. A victory for Dilley would threaten future struggles for unorganised workers for recognition. All they would have to do is hide behind the skirts of the NIRC and hold the dispute starved into submission.

There are signs that our struggle could be another Fine Tubes. It seems every trade union allows a skeleton in its cupboard. We will go on fighting for as long as is necessary. We are a determined bunch and will fight to the finish. To do this we must have help.

We need meetings arranged where we can go and explain to trade unionists and socialists what our aims and concerns are.

We also need fellow AUEW members to force through their branches proposals that keep the Con-Mech dispute in mind. Not the memories, of the executive council. We need AUEW members to organise financial assistance for us in their work places. We need your help in urging the leaders of our union into action, and positive action at that, to win this battle.

We have suffered one arm of the Tory attack, but every engineering union member ought to be forcing the executive to take action over the miners' struggle.

If some of the bright boys in the Tory government, including Mr Brush-your-teeth-in-the-dark, would like to put their money where their mouths are and work down the pits for two weeks, it would solve all our problems. They would never recover.

150 strike against 'spy'

NORTHFLEET, Kent: 150 drivers, all members of the Transport Union at the massive Associated Portland Cement works struck last week after the management had sent a company spy to check on their working practices.

The dispute started two weeks ago when drivers were told by foremen that owing to the power crisis Saturday working was not to be cut out. The men did not see this as an official notification through the firm's negotiating committee, and insisted on half the team working, as usual.

When they turned up for work they were checked at the clocks and their

NALGO BID TO EVADE THE FIGHT

LONDON: Last week's special national conference of the local government section of the National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO) showed that despite increasing rank and file militancy the leadership are backing away from any commitment to take action against Phase Three.

The National Local Government Committee proposed acceptance of a report arguing for a more than 20 per cent 1974 wage claim and industrial action to win it.

The policies of the NALGO leadership seem to come down to: 'Tell us you're not militant, otherwise it will make life difficult for us.'

As Will Fancy of Lewisham pointed out: 'The militancy is there, just give us the leadership.'

There would be big support for a strike—given massive publicity, plus effective leadership.

An emergency motion calling for an immediate ban on official election work was lost following the General Secretary claim that it would be difficult to organise. He said that action in the pre-election period would be playing into Heath's hands!

A Glasgow amendment to the official motion calling for an immediate claim and concurrent one day strike, to be followed by selective action was forced to a card vote. After the platform's dampening of the rank and file was defeated by 166,030 to 82,428.

So now the national negotiators have a free hand to ignore their own report, ask for the 20 per cent—and then, later settle within Phase Three. The rank and file have to fight against this.

movements were watched during the morning. The drivers' steward, Derek Cogger, said the men felt management wanted to get its own back for previous militant action by the drivers. He said they would stay out until the 'spy', a chargehand fitter, was removed.

The factory is being picketed 24 hours a day and support is being sought from the railmen's and train drivers' unions. The majority of the plant's output goes out by train.

Drivers at the firm's nearby Swancombe works have come out in sympathy.

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'I'll back my husband till it's finished, no matter how long...'

MINERS' WIVES TALKING

THE solidarity in the coalfields is as strong among the miners' wives as among the miners themselves.

Mrs Jacqueline Brook is the mother of two young children and the wife of Dennis Brook, a miner at Kellingley Colliery, near Knottingley. When I asked if she backed the miners she looked at me as though I was a Martian. When I asked why she wanted the full claim her answer was brief and clear: 'To live!' she said.

'We've cut down to four meat meals a week. I never buy steak any more and I've even found that I'm cutting down on quantity of meat I do buy.

'When we took this house we knew we could afford it and still put a couple of pounds aside each week, but mortgage interest payments have risen from £26.97 a month to £34.77 since November 1972. We could manage now, but if the kids want a new pair of shoes, that's it.

'The first old person that dies after the miners are out, it's the miners who will get the blame. No government will come out with the sane solution of providing free fuel for old age pensioners. I know one old woman who's paying £1.40 a bag for coal.'

Sue Errington is the wife of a Leicestershire miner. Her husband is a faceworker, the highest paid job in the pit, and without overtime he brings home £28 a week—which includes £2 petrol allowance.

'I know the miners and miners' families have a hard life, but I don't think the miners are a special case. All workers need and deserve a pay rise. Heath is using the miners as a scapegoat. He thinks that if he can beat us he will be able to make other workers and their families accept less.

'The way things are going, I'm so mad now I'd like to see the miners stick it out to the end even if it means there's no jobs to go back to. I'd like to join in the picket lines.'

Mrs Leah Lord has five children. Her husband works at Askern Colliery, near Doncaster.

'If we go on like this we shan't be able to live. It's only an existence now on a miner's wage. I reckon we ought to have somebody in power who knows what poverty is. What does Edward Heath know about poverty?

'I don't think we've had a joint of



Miner's wife Sue Errington with her daughter. PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

by Bill Message and Kath Ennis

meat since Christmas. To get a decent joint for us all would cost about thirty bob, and we'd be lucky to get a slice each out of it.

'It'll be too late to strike after the election. With the strike starting now it might be settled more quickly. I want to buy a pair of shoes for my lad, but it takes nearly a quarter of my husband's take home pay to buy a pair.

'All miners' wives are in the same mind as me. I'll back my husband till it's finished, no matter how long. There'll be hardships, but I've had them before.

Bob Chappell also works at Kellingley. His wife Joan said:

'We just can't live without overtime. On a normal flat week we can't make ends meet. Why should a miner have to rely on overtime? Even before the overtime ban I had to cut down on something every week.

'I would be willing to join my husband on the picket line if it helps. I've always been apathetic about politics, but you're forced to take an interest with prices rising the way they are.

'We're paying more rent now for this house than we paid in mortgage for a nearly new bungalow four years ago.

Leslie Ferrand's husband John is a maintenance fitter at Kellingley Colliery.

'No evictions' pledge

MINERS who fall behind with the rent during the strike will not face eviction by Midlothian County Council, Scotland.

Councillor William Steele, from the mining district of Newbattle and who is chairman of the housing committee, told a council meeting the same would apply to any workers suffering hardship because of

'The miners are not only going on strike for themselves, but for all low-paid workers. It's not the miners who are bringing the country to its knees, it's more the economic failing on the part of the government, and they are just blaming the miners for it. I think it's all very well criticising, but those doing it have never worked down a pit and are on much higher wages.

'I work 30 hours a week myself, and I've been bringing home just £2 a week less than my husband.'

Wendy Green's husband Terry does not work at the pit, but she is typical of many other women at Knottingley who are backing the miners. She knows the miners' fight to keep up with the rocketing cost of living is her fight:

'What is Heath trying to do to the housewife of this country? You can't wake up in the morning without wondering what will go up in price today.

'If it isn't the rents going up then it's the price of food rising like it's never done before. Everything is up, up, up. You cannot go into a supermarket now with less than £10 for the bare essentials—and I mean bare essentials.

'This is outrageous and it's about time that something was done about Heath and his cronies who seem to have the power in this country to make the working class grovel under their command. He wouldn't sit so pretty if he had less than £30 a week to exist on. That would put an end to his bloody banquets and Morning Cloud.'

the three-day working week.

The council, which naturally has a huge Labour majority, also adopted a resolution supporting the miners and calling on the government to settle the dispute on the miners' terms. The National Coal Board is the biggest local employer—more than 7000 voters work in the pits.

BATTLE FOR CLAY X

THREE days after the general election, nine men and three women in Clay Cross will be fighting an election which is just as important. These are the 11 replacements for the 11 Labour councillors of Clay Cross recently disqualified by the High Court for defying the Tory government's Rent Act.

The new 11—six of them are miners and two are wives of disqualified councillors the old 11—will be campaigning for continued resistance to the Rent Act, and for holding council house rents at their existing level.

David Skinner, one of the 11 former councillors, told Socialist Worker: 'We have evidence that large quantities of Big Business money will be pouring in in support of the 11 Residents' Association candidates.

'We are calling on the whole labour movement to respond to this challenge by flooding into Clay Cross to support us in our campaign against the Rent Act. Let's match their money and their canvassers with a mighty campaign, bringing in workers from all over the country, to keep our councillors and our policies in.'

ASLEF's bow to Tories: fury grows

THE executive of the train drivers' union, ASLEF, has called off all industrial action during the election, and unleashed a wave of fury from militants all over the country.

One engine driver in York put it this way: 'Our two-year fight for decent pay has been chucked to appease the Tory prejudices of London commuters. These people are going to vote Tory anyway... what's the point?'

The executive decision was taken in spite of a flood of telegrams from the biggest ASLEF depots demanding no let-ups in the dispute.

Drivers in the Western and Eastern regions are particularly angry, since their one-day strikes have already been held, apparently to no avail. Drivers in the London area have lost up to £180 from the overtime ban and one-day strikes, and many are suspicious that the postponement of industrial action during the election will lead inevitably to arbitration. Said one: 'Buckton and the right wing have been wanting to go to arbitration all along. Now Marsh and Wilson have let them off the hook.'

The most interesting aspect is the vote on the executive.

When, in the elections last month,

Derek Fullick (London), Bill Ronskley (Sheffield) and Charles-Roger (Scotland) were elected to the ASLEF executive, most train drivers felt that the long night of right-wing control over their union was over. The left, it was widely believed, now had a 5-4 majority, and industrial action would go on until the drivers' claim was met.

Silence

Militants were astonished when the British Railways Board's recent decision to send home drivers who were 'not co-operating' led to an instant climb-down by the ASLEF executive, which voted by seven votes to two to call off non-co-operation.

The two were Derek Fullick and James Saville, both from London.

A firm silence was being maintained early this week about the 5-4 ASLEF vote last Monday. 'We never disclose how executive members vote,' said a spokesman.

But at least one of the recognised left-wingers on the executive—ASLEF president Bill Ronskley, vice-president Terry Clarke, Charles-Roger, Derek Fullick and James Saville—voted for the climb-down.

SUPPORT AS MINERS GO INTO BATTLE

A CALL for 'a hundred Saltleys', for mass flying pickets to close coke depots, power stations and steelworks, was made by Scottish miners' leader Johnnie Stewart at a mass rally last Saturday.

Earlier Johnnie, of the Scottish miners executive, told Socialist Worker: 'Jimmy Cowan, the Scottish NCB director, has said that it only takes 10 hours to flood the Seafield pit. As far as I am concerned if any Scottish miner is arrested during the course of the stoppage it had better take less than 10 hours to release him...'

Although the strike started quietly, Johnnie Stewart's attitude sums up the determination throughout the coalfields.

By Tuesday of this week pickets, in groups of six, had begun to move out to the power stations. 130 KENT miners began picketing London's power supplies.

In WARWICKSHIRE, miners' pickets began picketing power stations in Reading and Oxford. DERBYSHIRE miners, with no power stations in their area, were preparing to support the Yorkshire miners' pickets.

Carmarthen Bay and Pembroke power stations were being picketed on a 24-hour basis by miners from WEST WALES. In SCOTLAND the NUM meeting with the mining engineers and electricians union on Monday decided to picket power stations, steelworks and docks from the following day.

DECISION

There was some difficulty at Gedling Colliery, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, where members of the women's union, NACODS, crossed the six-man line. Arthur Palmer, a member of the Gedling strike committee, told Socialist Worker: 'On Monday 12 out of 24 NACODS members crossed the picket line. But they all came out again later. The NACODS men are waiting for a decision of their area executive on whether to cross the picket line or not. But if they won't respect the picket line of six we will have to have all our members there.'

Arthur Palmer thinks the restricted picket idea is mistaken. 'Whatever the instructions of the Transport Union nationally, we must rely on the individual lorry drivers, who are certainly under pressure from their employers. We need sufficient pickets to do the job, not a token. As we proved at Saltley, the only way to shift 10,000 pickets is to shoot them.'

Ike Carter, NUM secretary at MARKHAM Colliery, told Socialist Worker: 'The deputies keep turning them away. When we find that six are not enough then we will have 606, regardless of the Industrial Relations Act.'

In the Dulais Valley, SOUTH WALES, NACODS men have been turned back by pickets of 50 to 60 men at each pit. The private coal depots at the Neath River Wharf, which were troublesome during the 1972 strike, are being well covered by pickets.

In ROTHERHAM, the six-man picket at the power station has had no lorries to turn away so far, but was getting great support from local people who had been bringing drinks to the line.

A MASS PICKET of 150 miners at Warsop Main colliery, near Mansfield, succeeded in turning back 12 pit deputies who intended to go to work on Tuesday morning.

The pickets were treated to a show of force by the police who had 40 men on the line and another 200 with police dogs nearby. The massive police turn-out followed the failure of their attempt to arrest three miners who shouted at the deputies on Monday. The three were snatched back by their mates.

The police predictably announced: 'There will be more of us tomorrow and we'll get you then. But the miners turned up in bigger numbers. There were no incidents or arrests and the deputies turned back.'

Support from other groups of workers is beginning to grow. The Dunfermline District Committee of the TGWU has sent a resolution to the union executive calling for a ban on the movement of all coal.

Workers at Maclaren Controls, part of the ITT combine, now entering the 15th week of an occupation, have sent a letter of support to the Scottish miners and offered the facilities of the factory to any miners picketing in Glasgow.

Brent Trades Council in North London has set up an action committee to support the miners with help on pickets, money collections and meetings with miners in the factories. If any miners are arrested on the picket lines strikes will be called. Workers at Lucas Aerospace and the Radio Times printers are pledging picket support.

One place where solidarity has been notably missing has been from the unions in the steel industry. Neither has yet issued any letter of guidance to its members despite the TUC request to do so.

Fortunately rank and file union members are more concerned about trade union principles. Alan Armstrong, blast-furnacemen's convener at Cleveland Coke Ovens, said: 'Despite the lay-off threat, support for the miners has steadily increased throughout their dispute. I would say it is now overwhelming. If the Steel Corporation want to close the ovens even faster than is going to happen anyway, all they have to do is provoke the miners.'



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DOCKERS STOP COAL

Socialist Worker Reporter

DOCKERS at Immingham in Lincolnshire have rushed to give the miners effective support. Last Saturday, as the strike was due to start, men at work on the Italian ship Felice walked off, leaving 5000 tons of Polish coal unloaded.

The dockers, members of the Transport Union's 10/64 branch, which covers both the Grimsby and Immingham docks, took their decision last Wednesday. Their union had called on them not to cross miners' picket lines. But they decided that firmer action was needed.

The dockers calculated that the Tory government might use troops to move any coal they unloaded. So they resolved that any ships carrying strikebreaking coal would be blacked.

Their stand was proved to be doubly justified this week when the British Transport Docks Police announced that miners' pickets would not be allowed on to dock property.

Mike Stanton, one of the dockers concerned, explained why support for the miners was so solid: 'It's commonsense. We've got a pay claim in at the moment. If we're to have any hope of winning then we have to do what we can to make sure the miners win.'

Immingham is the largest single coal importing port in Britain with a contract to unload 500,000 tons of imported Polish coal over the next few weeks.

The dockers feel that the ships may be re-routed to one of the scab wharves on the Trent. But there are signs that if this happens then they would do some mass picketing.

Dockers at Leith and Grangemouth in Scotland have also taken a firm stand in favour of blacking coal ships. Two ships, also carrying Polish coal, were turned away from Grangemouth on Monday this week. Leith dockers have given the miners assurances that if any ships are diverted to scab ports, then they will mount pickets.

At a mass meeting in London's Royal Docks on Friday the men voted in favour of a 25p per head levy each week in support of the miners. Blacking is automatic and pickets are likely to be offered.



International Socialists putting forward the real issues in the election outside Harold Wilson's meeting at Easterside Social Club, Middlesbrough, last Saturday. PICTURE: John Stürrock (Report)

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

What we think

AT EVERY TURN in the present miners' struggle, union president Joe Gormley has had to be pushed on by rank and file miners.

Even after the massive 81 per cent strike vote, Gormley was for postponing any action. Before that he was looking for waiting time and winding time to provide a get out. This week, too, with the strike underway, his discussions with an assortment of millionaires indicate that he is still exploring avenues for a settlement short of the full claim.

Prior to these discussions, Gormley was busy manoeuvring against the flying pickets, the very tactic which won the 1972 miners' strike. He was reported as saying: 'The flying picket can fly out the window'. His attitude has even been endorsed by the NUM executive in their decision to restrict picketing to six-man teams of miners only.

There is some justification for believing that the situation is different from 1972. In 1972 the TUC refused to issue any advice to member unions to give the miners practical support. This time the TUC has advised affiliated unions that their members should not cross the miners' picket lines. But while the TUC decision does open the way for effective support for the miners, it does not guarantee it.

Effectiveness

Unions in the power industry for example have told their members not to use any new deliveries of coal rather than refuse to cross the miners' picket lines. The problem here is that while the miners strike will hit hard, there are big coal stocks at the power stations thanks to the government's two day a week lock out.

If the miners want to bring the struggle to a head quickly, then they are going to need pickets, and big pickets, to do it. Mass picketing is not a matter of taking pleasure in numbers. It is a question of effectiveness, of proving to other workers not only that the miners are united and determined, but that they can be defended if the employers have a go at them.

They are necessary because the TUC cannot switch on solidarity just by issuing advice. Solidarity action is something that has to be campaigned for, just as the miners did in 1972 when they went out in their thousands and took their cause to the heart of the working-class movement.

This is the real flaw in the NUM executive's decision on picketing, a decision which assumes that solidarity will be forthcoming on its own and which could give a false sense of security. What the miners need to win is decisive action of the kind that dockers at Immingham in Lincolnshire and at Leith and Grangemouth in Scotland have already taken this week.

Before long the miners are going to need just such support from groups of workers who are nowhere as well organised as the dockers. There can be little doubt that the best way to get it, and more importantly to keep it, is by employing mass pickets. That is the way to ensure a speedy victory on the full claim.

The NUM executive decision has also led to a lot of talk about mass pickets being a cause of trouble and violence. In fact the exact opposite is the case. During the 1972 strike Fred Mathews, a young miner, was killed at Keadby by a picket-busting lorry. After his death the picket got bigger and no more lorries tried to smash through the miners' lines.

Overjoyed

In addition mass pickets are protection against the only genuinely threatening outsiders—the police who are either prone to or encouraged to harass small numbers of pickets.

The idea that people who are not NUM members—other trade unionists, students, socialists, perhaps even miners' wives—are menacing outsiders who must be kept at bay is a shameful one. It runs absolutely contrary to the miners' experience in 1972 when they were overjoyed with the way workers and students rallied to their cause—because they believed the miners' fight was their fight.

But there is another fundamental matter at stake. Joe Gormley is against mass picketing because he wants to minimise mass involvement in the strike. If he succeeds in doing that then the initiatives will be taken away from rank and file miners, the very people who have had to make the running throughout the dispute. Gormley would then have more room to manoeuvre, to snap up the first tiny concession and sell the full claim short.

There is tremendous feeling for the full claim among the miners. And no wonder. With the way price inflation is going, the £35-£45 is now a modest one. It should not be sold short even by one penny.

Guilty—of trade unionism

THREE MEN—Arthur Murray, Thomas Williams and William Pierce—were found guilty of both unlawful assembly and affray this week at the end of the second Shrewsbury picket trial.

Sentences were due to be pronounced after Socialist Worker went to press, but the likelihood is that the three men could be joining their brothers, Des Warren, Ricky Tomlinson, and John McKinsie Jones, in prison later this week.

Only Gary Davies was cleared on both charges. Everyone else on trial was found guilty of unlawful assembly. Dennis Morris pleaded guilty to this charge right at the beginning of the trial. John Clew and Derrick Hughes changed their not guilty

pleas under pressure during the actual trial itself.

Samuel Warburton, who maintained his not guilty plea throughout, was acquitted on affray. But he was found guilty of unlawful assembly. Alfred James too was found guilty on this charge.

The men found guilty on both charges, and who could well be jailed, have not been shown to be involved in any violence. They were militant trade unionists prominent in the picketing and were identified as such.

Full analysis next week.

FUND-MAGNIFICENT!

OUR February Fighting Fund appeal, for £2000, has met with marvellous response. This week's post brought in £701.51, making the total £2,026.42. The target has been exceeded and in only 12 days!

A measure of the growing support for Socialist Worker is the increasing number of collections being made by

trade unionists and socialists for our paper. Many of our supporters are sending in collections, showing donations of 5p and 10p from the factories.

It is not possible to mention everyone, but we are grateful to workers at Monkbridge Engineering (£4), Lucas Birmingham (£2), Leeds Teachers (£30), Rossington Miners (£2), Leicester Hosiery workers (£25.55), North East London Buses (£2), Gardners, Manchester (£6.20). And especially for £2.20 from Pontefract and Knottingley miners' wives.

Despite three-day working for many of our own members, IS branches have done well. Paddington IS sent £55, Wandsworth IS £105.30, LSE IS Students £20, and Fulham IS £25.

The target has been passed and for that we are really grateful. Of course this does not mean that you should stop sending in donations and collections. On the contrary, the larger the fund, the greater our ability to fight even harder.

Socialist Worker is fighting to the limits of our reserves, to build the organisation that will defend and extend workers living standards and lead to socialism.

Please send donations to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Mines news: page 15

Your paper needs you

IN last week's Socialist Worker we asked all readers to become sellers of the paper. Already the first steps have been taken: the print order rose this week by another 3000 to 44,000.

Everyone is talking about politics. They are asking the questions that matter. And where should they get the answers—from the Sun and the Express, or from Socialist Worker?

If you read Socialist Worker why not ask the people who work with you to read it too—and persuade them to buy a regular copy. Do the same on your estate, at your union meeting, tenants' association, in the pub.

Next week make sure you ask the person who brings you Socialist Worker to give you extra copies—or write directly to us: Socialist Worker Circulation, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

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Fight the employers' offensive! For united trade union action

National Rank and File Conference of delegates from trade union bodies to be held on 30 March at 11.30am at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

This Conference is sponsored by the following rank and file papers: GEC Rank 'N' File, The Hospital Worker, The Carworker, The Steelworker, London Transport Platform, The Collier, NALGO Action News, Post Office Worker, Rank and File Teacher, Tech Teacher, Case Con, Redder Tape.

This advertisement has been paid for by the Organising Committee. For a letter of invitation to be brought to the attention of your trades union branch/shop stewards' committee/trades council/district committee, write to Roger Cox, Secretary, Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

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Please send an invitation to the conference. (Return this form to the Organising Committee Secretary at the above address)