

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

140 YEARS OF LAW AND ORDER

May Day 1834

FREE THE SIX!

George Loveless, 33, farm labourer
Thomas Standfield, 45, farm labourer
James Brine, 21, farm labourer
James Hammett, 22, farm labourer
James Loveless, 25, farm labourer
John Standfield, 21, farm labourer

GUILTY OF CONSPIRACY

to commit offences under an act they had never heard of;
of taking illegal oaths and other offences. Transported.

THEIR REAL CRIME was to organise a trade union
among farm workers in Tolpuddle, Dorset.

HOW LONG will it be ere England's great men will cease to grind to the dust, trample under foot and tread down as the mire of the streets the hard-working and industrious labourer?

How long will it be were they will cease to oppress the hiring in his wages and to keep back by fraud that to which he is so justly entitled?

When will they attempt to raise the working man to that scale in society to which he can lay claim from his utility?

Never, no never will the rich and the great devise means to alleviate the distress and remove the misery felt by the working men of England.

What then is to be done?

Why, the labouring classes must do it themselves, or it will forever be left undone. Labour is the poor man's property, from which all protection is

withheld. Has not then the working man as much right to preserve and protect his labour as the rich man has his capital?

I call upon every working man of England, and especially the agricultural labourers, who appear to be the lowest, most degraded and the least active, to shake off that supineness and indifference to their interests, which leaves them in the situation of slaves, for no longer can they live by the sweat of their brow.

Let no one expect another can do it for him.

Arise, men of Britain, and take your stand! Rally round the standard of Liberty, or for ever lay prostrate under the iron hand of your money-mongering taskmasters!

—GEORGE LOVELESS, August 1837.

May Day 1974

FREE THE SIX!

Dennis Warren, 36, steelfixer
Eric Tomlinson, 34, safety officer
John McKinsie Jones, 26, paint-sprayer
Arthur Murray, 39, joiner
Brian Williams, 35, building labourer
Michael Pierce, 29, building labourer

GUILTY OF CONSPIRACY

to commit offences under an Act they had never heard of;
of unlawful assembly and affray. Sent to prison.

THEIR REAL CRIME was to organise a trade union
among building workers in North Wales.

I HAVE sat here for many weeks and seen my character systematically shredded up. It was said in the last war by Dr Goebbels that if you repeat a lie often enough it becomes accepted as the truth.

I have heard the judge say that this was not a political trial, just an ordinary criminal case. I refute that with every fibre of my being. How can anybody say this was just an ordinary trial when 1000 police were on duty outside this very building because building workers were due to appear before the court?

In the course of this trial, I have discovered many things about the law of the land and the legal system. I express my fear for the working-class movement.

The sentence passed on me today by this court will not matter. My innocence has been proved time and

time again by the building workers of Wrexham whom I led, and indeed by building workers from all over the land who have sent messages of support to myself, my family and my colleagues.

I look forward to the day when the real culprits, the McAlpines, the Wimpeys, the Laings and the Bovises and all their political puppets are in the dock facing charges of conspiracy to intimidate workers from doing what is their lawful right, picketing.

I hope that the trade union movement and the working class of this country will act now to ensure that another charade such as this will never take place again, and the right to picket or strike will be defended even at the cost of great hardship or individual freedom.

—ERIC TOMLINSON, from the dock, 16 December 1973.

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And four pages of May Day greetings



Soldiers of the junta guard political prisoners at Santiago football stadium. Many prisoners were never to come out alive.

All out for Chile

ON SUNDAY 5 MAY

Assemble 2pm, Speakers' Corner

March to Downing Street

Speakers include: Ernie Roberts (AUEW assistant general secretary), Jack Collins (NUM executive member), Micky Fenn (London docks steward and IS member), Stan Newens MP, Tariq Ali (IMG). All IS branches to support with placards and trade union banners. IS stewards' meeting 11.30am, Sunday at 8 Cottons Gardens, London, E2.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE/NO ARMS FOR THE CHILEAN GENERALS/BLACK CHILEAN GOODS—SUPPORT CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS/NO LABOUR SUPPORT FOR CHILE JUNTA.

The pit's 'assured future' ended last week

by Brian Rees

LAST WEEK'S decision by the National Coal Board to close the Ogilvie Colliery near Bargoed in South Wales' Rhymney Valley means redundancy or yet another transfer for the pit's 580 miners.

Threat of closure has been hanging over the pit since last August. Which is most interesting. Not so long ago, Ogilvie was one of the pits with 'an assured future'.

In 1956, the Coal Board stated that the pit had reserves of 80 million tons of coal. In 1965, it duly appeared in the Board's list of Category A pits—the ones with an assured future.

Expenditure of £6 million on 're-organisation' in 1968 seemed to bear this out. Yet, by 1969, Ogilvie was on the jeopardy list.

Two years later it was taken off that list and in March, 1971, it resumed production after a serious underground fire.

Then in August 1973, came the bombshell. The Board stated Ogilvie was 'uneconomic' and had lost £2.5 million in four years.

The Miners' Union lodge at the pit accepts that this loss has been made. But the lodge also points out the very interesting reasons why.

The men have been forced to work the worst seams. And machinery has been deliberately moved out.

Influence

Work at Ogilvie is concentrated on the 'streaky bacon' seams which yield only 30 per cent coal compared to 60 per cent dirt. The Coal Board insisted on this in the full knowledge that there were seams which could be worked to produce 80 per cent coal.

Selected machinery has also been moved out. And it is not surprising that the Board have consistently refused to reveal detailed figures on performance at the pit.

In fact there is plenty of coal at Ogilvie. The NUM lodge's survey identifies virgin seams of good coking coal, which would provide work for 15 years.

Ogilvie is a classic case where the Board, faced with manpower shortages at other pits, makes one pit uneconomic, closes it and then is able to transfer the men to other pits.

At Ogilvie, a survey of the men the NCB propose to move has shown that 80 per cent had already moved three or four times before coming there, and would not move again.

Last Thursday Evan Jones, lodge secretary at Ogilvie was a bitter man. He said: 'One of the things that has been said since the end of the strike is that mining has a secure future. Yet just one month later after the return to work, the Board announce the closure.'

The men at the pit have put forward their case—it would be criminal to leave Ogilvie's reserves of coal untouched.



Dan Smith and friend (Hugh Gaitskell, leader of Labour Party 1956-1963)



Dan Smith and friend (Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, 1963-1975)



Dan Smith and friend (Dennis Howell, Minister of Sport and president of APEX)

The friends of T

by Ray Challinor

ALTHOUGH the press have spilled a lot of printers' ink on the case of T Dan Smith and Andy Cunningham, the papers have not mentioned the most important fact—the Smith Cunningham trial constitutes a significant landmark in the history of the Labour Party.

It is a sign of the erosion of popular support for the Labour Party. When the Labour Party had a vigorous and active rank and file, backsliding councillors could be kept in check. They were answerable to their local parties, and this, to some extent, inhibited corrupt practices.

But things are different today. Most constituency Labour Parties resemble half empty badly managed

-who is now in jail for corruption

geriatric wards. More dead than alive they are incapable of controlling Labour representatives. The representatives control the represented. Immense power falls into their hands.

Dan Smith was called 'Mr Newcastle'. With equal justice, Cunningham could be referred to as 'Mr Big of the North East'.

He dominated the biggest union in the area, the regional Labour Party the Durham Police Authority, as well as numerous local councils.

Ironically the Labour Party, which started with the declared aim of



Dan Smith and friends (Maurice Foley, European Commissioner and former Labour MP, and Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary)

WITHOUT COMMENT

'ALTOGETHER 12 million workers took part in the wave of strikes culminating in the 11-12 April general strike that paralysed most of the nation. The struggle was aimed at an average 30 per cent wage rise and most groups got it.

The well-organised Japan Seamen's Union won a 40 per cent rise of more than £15 a week . . . The National Railway Workers, also with a reputation for militancy, secured 29.3 per cent, amounting to another £10 a week . . . At this rate, says the Japan Federation of Employers Associations, wages in Japan, which surpassed those of Britain in 1973, will overtake West Germany in another two years.'

From the Sunday Times, 28 April.

What price the national interest then?

by Chris King

British-owned and 60 per cent Dutch-owned and has assets worth £4430 million.

Shell has a large stake in the North and Celtic Seas, including the Brent and AUK oilfields. The Brent field is expected to produce about 400,000 barrels of oil a day—which should give a yearly profit of more than £83 million.

Profit

Profits like that mean the cost of building oilrigs and pipelines will be quickly wiped out, leaving clear profit for Shell.

Shell controls other companies

worth about £500 million and has large investments in the Chas Manhattan Bank, Unilever, Phillips Hill Samuel, Vickers, Rootes, Dunlop, Spillers, Rank, Hovis, McDougall, Lloyds Bank and the Midland Bank. Its directors include the Earl of Cromer, former Governor of the Bank of England, Peter Samuel of Hill Samuel and Lord Cole, former chairman of Unilever. The Queen of Holland and her daughters have large shareholdings.

For more than 20 years Sir Henry Deterding, a naturalised Briton, was boss of Royal Dutch Shell. A virulent anti-socialist, he was one of the financiers of the Nazi Party and helped them stockpile oil through the 1930s.

During the recent phase of the 'oil crisis' a Shell tanker (one of at least 183 that the company owned) was kept anchored outside New York harbour for 12 days with 186,000 barrels of oil on board. The value of the oil increased by £300,000 in the 12 days. £25,000 a day for waiting time.

Royal Dutch Shell is not unusual in the oil world. The eight major oil companies including Gulf, Exxon (Esso), British Petroleum, Mobil, Texaco and Shell were reckoned to have extensive influence over the 2000 major multi-national companies that controlled a quarter of the capitalist world's economy in 1973. By 1980 these 2000 companies would control half the capitalist economy.

And by the year 2000, if capitalism lasts that long, who knows?

printing and property company. Chesham has all kinds of banking and manufacturing interests, including Izal disinfectant.

Twenty per cent of Sherwood shares are owned by Keyser Ullman, the bank of Edward Du Cann, Tory MP for Taunton.

Izal is reported to be very powerful, but not powerful enough to wipe out the smell created by former Tory ministers who attack trade unionists every night in parliament and spend their days profiteering in the City of London.

Two Tories with two faces each

ROBERT CARR, the Shadow Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, says that he is 'shocked' by the government's decision to pay back £10 million which had been filched by the Tories out of the trade unions' provident funds. He regards the repayment as a 'tax fiddle'.

Mr Robert Carr, recently appointed director of S Hoffnung and Co Ltd, international trading group, is involved in an interesting piece of tax avoidance.

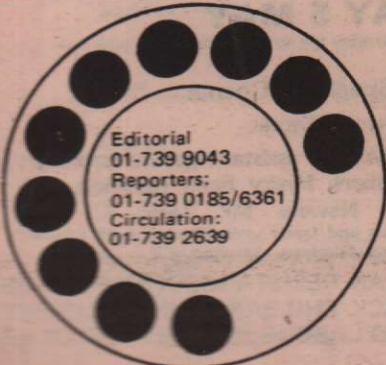
Hoffnung have put in a bid for the Ipswich-based generating equipment firm, G and M Plant Company.

Hoffnung has nothing to do with power equipment and there is no industrial or economic logic in the merger.

The real point as the Guardian explained on 20 April is the 'tax advantage for Hoffnung which cannot offset advanced corporation tax on its wholly overseas earnings against its tax total'.

Sir John Eden, the arch-reactionary former Tory Minister for Industry and for Posts, is going back to his former home in the boardroom of Chesham Amalgamations, and of the Central and Sherwood Properties, a

GLASGOW DISTRICT IS Public Meeting THE FIGHT FOR SAFETY AT WORK Speakers: John Todd (branch committee member 7/162 insulation workers branch of the Transport Union) and Pat Kinnersly (author of 'The Hazards of Work'). In the chair Danny Moore, branch committee TGWU 7/162 branch. Tuesday 7 May, 7.30pm, AUEW Halls, West Regent Street, All welcome.



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Dan Smith and friends (Ted Short, deputy leader of the Labour Party, Gladys Robson, a Newcastle dignitary, and Lord Thomson, newspaper magnate)

Dan Smith

extending democracy, did the precise opposite. Far from being the voice of the mass of the people, it became the voice of a few men.

These few men sought to enrich themselves through financial arrangement with property speculators. Labour councils were not run in the interest of the people but of Poulson.

It is no accident that this scandal happened in the North East. This region is Labour's stronghold, where it has been in power for the longest time. For this reason, the process of decay has become more advanced here than elsewhere.

Nobody can accuse Andy Cunningham of failing to put every ounce of energy into combatting militants and socialists. He was the darling of the press, the responsible moderate, certain to defend society from the dangers of extremism.

Cunningham and Smith controlled a very influential group of right wingers, with friends in the highest places. Lord George Brown, the former Labour deputy leader sung praises of them at the Leeds trial, saying how valuable their political services had been.

System

Likewise Edward Short, the present Deputy Prime Minister, was in their employ and, when they fell into difficulties, collected money for them.

The North East group of Labour MPs maintained a discreet silence.

For the government as well as the opposition it is vital that the full facts of the Poulson affair do not emerge. It would bring the established system into disrepute. For, as T Dan Smith quite correctly declared on television after the trial had ended, there was nothing unusual about his conduct. An investigation of other companies would reveal similar irregularities.

Thorough investigation would endanger the present system because capitalism and corruption walk hand in hand. It is not a question of dealing with a couple of rotten apples but a rotten orchard.

SELLING TED SHORT

TED SHORT, deputy leader of the Labour Party, is cross at the suggestion that he was connected with the business activities of Dan Smith.

He says Dan Smith wrote to him 'out of the blue' in January 1963 offering him £500—why doesn't that kind of thing happen to the rest of us? Short says that the money was for 'expenses' to cover 'telephone calls, travelling, meals when he [Dan Smith] came to the House of Commons and the like...'

The one question Ted Short doesn't answer is: Why did Dan Smith choose that particular month to offer his £500 'out of the blue'?



Andy Cunningham and friend, 'Honest, officer, I'm only here for the beer'

Time to clean up GMWU

ANDREW CUNNINGHAM has gone to prison for five years. The press and television concentrate on the personal aspects of Cunningham's corruption. They avoid mentioning the most important fact about him: that he was a powerful right-wing union boss who fought for all he was worth to keep the 'militants' down.

Cunningham held sway over the Labour and trade union movement in the North East with all the ferocity of a schoolboy bully.

If anyone opposed him in his union or the Labour Party, they were rubbed out of the party or the union. When police were caught illegally taking photographs outside a Durham court, Cunningham defended them. 'There are times when those who enforce the law have to break it,' he said.

Cunningham rose to power in the General and Municipal Workers' Union on the basis of only one election—and that was a formality—in 25 years. He was appointed a full-time officer in 1947, and became Northern regional secretary in 1964. In both cases he was appointed.

For ten years he sat as an appointed member of the union's executive.

He then became the distributor of patronage. If you wanted a job in the union, you had to be a friend of Andy.

Even when he was under suspicion for corruption, he was still fixing things. When a seat in parliament fell vacant in his home town of Chester-le-Street, Cunningham made sure that a full-time official of the General and Municipal Workers' Union—Giles Radice—secured the nomination for Labour.

Cunningham's son John, incidentally, sits for Labour at Whitehaven.

Corruption, privilege, patronage—all these thrive in an undemocratic atmosphere. And the GMWU is undemocratic. It is bossed by a self-perpetuating clique.

The union must be cleaned up. It's high time the members of the union organised themselves to control their union. If the Cunningham case leads to an outburst of resentment and organisation in the GMWU rank and file, it will have served a useful purpose.

about this.

On 28 May 1963, he wrote to Joseph asking for a 'detailed explanation' of the government decision, which, he suggested, was deliberate sabotage of council housing in Newcastle.

At almost exactly the same time Short agreed to accept £250 of the £500 previously offered him by Dan Smith.

That was one coincidence.

Another was that Dan Smith was also employed as a public relations consultant for Bovis, the family firm of Keith Joseph, then the Housing Minister.

WHAT WE THINK

A contract for paralysis

'IN THE short space of two or three years, a fundamental change has taken place in the trade unions and Labour movement,' claims Jack Jones.

'We are more united today than at any time in our history, simply because an agreed platform, the social contract, was concluded between the Labour Party and the TUC well before the election.'

Did the 'agreed platform' include keeping the Tory Phase Three pay laws, keeping the Shrewsbury pickets in jail, double-crossing the Clay Cross councillors and sending warships to the military gangsters of Chile?

The Labour government has managed all these things in the short space of eight weeks. And that is only for starters. The economic outlook for the next 12 months or so is the worst-ever inflation combined with the worst unemployment since the war. What sort of 'social contract' does that add up to?

Jack Jones says, 'the greatest advances will be made, in my opinion, as the proposals for a massive build-up of conciliation and voluntary arbitration materialise'.

He means that, in the face of the biggest economic crisis for 30 years, trade unionists should give up the fight to defend living standards and protect jobs in favour of settling for what the employers and the government are prepared to offer.

Suppose this advice had been followed by the miners. Suppose they had agreed to 'voluntary arbitration' on their claim and had taken no industrial action. They would be a lot worse off, and, incidentally, the Tories would still be in power. Or suppose the workers at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders had relied on 'conciliation' to keep the yard open. Where would that have got them?

Tribune, which prints the article we have quoted from, entitles it: 'Social contract for socialist progress'. A more candid heading would be 'Social contract for paralysing the working-class movement'.

Brother Jones and his Tribune friends must not be allowed to get away with it. Their policies are a sure-fire recipe for disaster.

London's shame

LAST WEEK we said 'unless big pay rises are won by NALGO members, by the underground workers, by teachers, busmen and all other public servants in London, the public services will be bled white'.

It was an understatement. The haemorrhage is well advanced. This week it was announced that London Transport had made a £10 million profit instead of the loss they had budgeted for. The reason? The £10 million represents unpaid wages for services not operated due to staff shortages.

Two days later the general secretary of the NUT stated that, already, one-third of London schools were operating some kind of part-time system because of staff shortages.

It is not the rich who suffer from the decay of public services. They do not use the buses. Their children do not go to overcrowded, understaffed schools.

The decline of these vital services, which grows apace because of Labour's defence of Tory pay policy, is a direct cut in the living standards of working people.

When in opposition the Labour Party repeatedly denounced Tory cuts in the public services. Now Labour ministers prattle about the 'social compact' and actually speed up the run-down.

London today, every other major city tomorrow. Indeed the teacher shortage in Glasgow is already proportionately worse even than in London. No trust at all can be put in government promises to put things right. The government's actions belie its words.

Industrial action in defence of their living standards by the workers in these services is justified twice over, justified in itself, justified as the only way of protecting other working people, children and pensioners from the consequences of Labour's Tory policies.



LETTERS

Cowley wives: you jump in the canal-or fight

I AM THE wife of a carworker and believe me I know what it is to worry about money when my husband comes home from work, 'laid off' or on strike. But ladies of Cowley stop and ask yourselves, 'Why it is necessary for men to strike?'

Mainly for better wages, but also because of the sheer bloody-mindedness of management. It is life, and you as loyal wives should realise that it is an unfortunate part of your husband's working life.

He doesn't like it any more than you do, you should be supporting him, not abusing him for standing up for his trade union principles.

Do you realise that while you are marching up and down with banners saying 'Militants out' you are militants—against your husbands. You are mighty quick to pick up your banners and march united to force your men-folk back to work. Were you as quick to pick up banners when the Tories were freezing wages and inflating prices?

Those of you buying your own homes, or paying rents, increased rates, mortgages (the list is endless!) must realise that this is one reason why we need men like Alan Thornett.

If there is no resistance to the management and government bullying we might as well go and jump into the nearest canal, without the fight for trade union principles we're committing suicide.

So I say to the Cowley wives, wake up! You're being sucked into the bosses vacuum, like so much dust or rubbish. They'll tip you right back in the garbage bin when they have no further use for you. Believe me I know, support your husbands in their fight, not the greedy grasping bosses.—JANET WORTH, Coventry.

Our principles —their profits

'PRINCIPLES don't pay bills,' say the wives of the British Leyland workers at Cowley, but I say they are worth fighting for.

OK so it means that the families of these men must suffer for the sake of their principles, but Mrs Miller and supporters, you are reacting in the way the management at Leyland



British Leyland's Lord Stokes

Profits are great! yachts, cars, disablement, death...

I SEE that Lord Stokes of British Leyland declares that profits are not 'indecent or immoral'. He's entitled to his own view, but when you turn off the colour TV in all of your 16 rooms, select the best of your three new cars, drive down to your yacht for three months holiday, while the old, disabled chronic sick exist on £7.75 a week, you might realise that profit positively stinks.—JACK MARTIN, Huddersfield.

want you to react.

'Keep the track moving, keep the profits high' is their motto. Profits at the expense of the workers.

Don't be under any illusion that management care about you, Mrs Miller, or any of you other wives for that matter.

Yes they'll encourage you to get your husbands back to work, but don't expect any thanks. Profits mean more to them than your 'petticoat army'.

Don't ask your husbands to abandon their principles for the sake of high profits. Profits will not benefit you or the workers. You must give your husbands the full bodied support they need. You must back them all the way, so that they can get what is theirs by right, a decent living wage.

Yes, it will be a struggle, but it will be a struggle well fought for the benefit of all the workers at Cowley, and for the benefit of the working class in general.—L SHUTT (wife of Chrysler Car Worker), Coventry.

MAY I suggest that contrary to the views of Alice Murray (20 April) the Scottish National Party and the concept of a freely elected independent Scottish Assembly is valid.

It can make the socialist vote in Scotland effective, thereby illuminating the pillars of capitalism (Hugh Fraser included) which tend to be the real holders of power—even in 'Labour Britain' — CALLUM BUCHANAN, Edinburgh.

Unions=power

SOMEONE SHOULD point out to Mrs Carol Miller that it is only because of strong trade union activity over the years that her husband has been able to earn in excess of £50 a week.

If only other wives would encourage their husbands to take part in trade union activity there might be a chance for low paid workers, like farmworkers, hospital orderlies etc to earn a decent standard of living.

Mrs Miller's obvious enthusiasm and pride in being a woman is directed in the wrong direction.—MRS B HEGARTY, Fakenham.

We fight fires —not workers

AS BOTH a socialist and a fireman, I was delighted to see the report (20 April) about the refusal of London firemen to provide equipment for the police to use in an eviction.

One point that I would like to take up with the writer though, is the suggestion that firemen could be used against pickets etc.

Firemen and their union have a long established tradition in absolutely opposing Fire Service in-

volvement in strikes, demonstrations and the like. We are part of the labour movement and the working class, and in no doubt about our relationship with the 'law and order' brigade!

Under capitalism the role of the Fire Service is principally to protect property (which works wonders for the profits of the insurance companies). However, what we are not, and with the elimination of police/fire brigades at the start of the Second World War, there is no possibility that we will be, is potential strike breakers.—T SEGARS, Basildon.

Rank and file

JOHNNY McIROY (20 April) criticises the Rank and File Conference for not accepting the resolution that industry, transport, land etc should be expropriated and placed under workers' control.

He then goes on to show how the national committee of the Engineering Union, and even the Labour Party have passed similar resolutions. Surely he has defeated his own argument?

These sort of resolutions are all too often used to appease worker militants in the face of inactivity.

The point about the Rank and File conference was that it acted as a springboard for the self activity of workers. It is understandable in some ways that during a lull in the industrial struggle militant resolutions should seem attractive.

However the only real antidote to the lull is to build up workers' self-confidence to fight for the release of the Shrewsbury lads, to break through Labour's Phase Three and to make the unions fight for their members' interests. The Rank and File conference was an important step in this direction.—TIM COUSINS, Canterbury.

After 61 years...

I AM 61 in September and have been at work since I was 14. I was a shop steward at the Standard in Coventry for 12½ years and now work at Improved Hinges. Many of us older workers feel that the retiring age should be dropped to 60 for those who want to pack up. Mates of mine have died knowing nothing about life except slogging away in a factory under a system which keeps the majority of us slaves until we are 65.

There are young lads who can't get jobs, while we plod on wanting to get out. Not that I envy their luck. 40 years (if you're lucky) slogging away. I write this in hope that some young people will try and change this system, to one where production is for need and not for profit, where workers control their own lives.—BILL TOLLEY, Warwick.

Ireland: we were misleading and inaccurate

I FIND IT surprising that J F Preston's scurrilous accusation that 'the International Socialists supported the sending of troops to Ulster in 1969' (27 April) should have provoked an editorial reply which is both misleading and inaccurate.

It is hardly honest to quote the paper for April 1969 to imply that the demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops was raised in August after their major deployment by the Wilson government. Nowhere in the article for 21 August 1969, (which is also quoted) is this demand raised, this was only six days after several thousand British troops had been sent in.

In fact Socialist Worker (18 September 1969) fully justified this position and argued against the demand for immediate withdrawal as both dangerous and unrealistic in the situation of the beleaguered and pogromised Catholic community.

Instead it stated there and elsewhere that 'the contradictory role of British troops gives Catholic workers the time to arm against further Orange attacks' and that the Catholic workers should maintain their barricades and place no reliance in the troops or their own reformist leaders.

It was made clear throughout that the introduction of troops presented the Catholics with a temporary breathing space in the face of Orange pogrom mobs, and to demand their immediate withdrawal in that situation was sloganising of the worst sort. All this of course is rather different to 'supporting their introduction'.

It is my view that the position adopted by the International Socialists in 1969 was quite correct and consistent with our anti-imperialist and revolutionary principles. Even with all the benefits of hindsight it could only be improved on in matters of emphasis.

The struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland and for the withdrawal of troops is not helped in the least by J F P's obvious ignorance or the reply's distortion of the real facts that surrounded their introduction in August 1969.—MIKE HEYM, London.

Ear plugged...

WE MUST WORK in one of the noisiest industries, yet the management don't want to know about it. The factory where I work is a good example of this, after reading Hazards Of Work I copied the article out and read it out to a joint management and shop stewards' committee.

I had also telephoned Salford University and got a written estimate for testing the noise levels and doing audio tests on workers (it costs £1.50 per employee).

They, the management gave the world's worst excuses anyone ever heard, so I threatened to fetch the factory inspector in. I was told I couldn't do this.

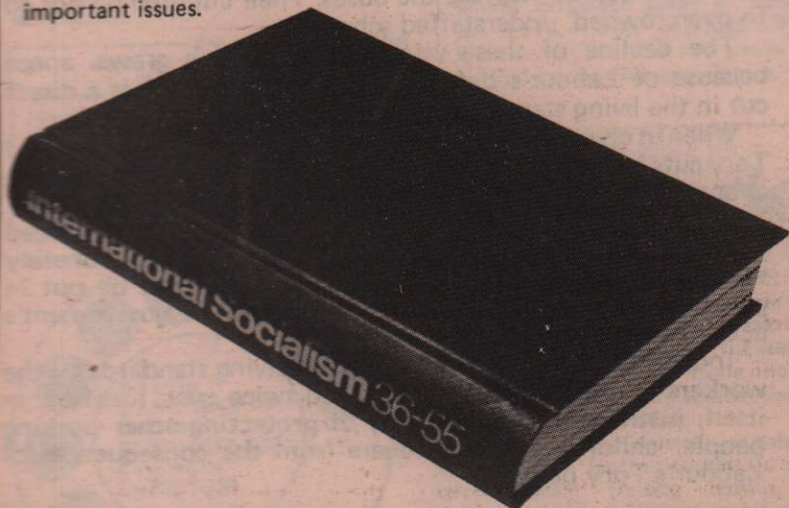
So I did, when I saw him he said tests had been done last year, but he was vague about the results, but he did say that Metal Box had promised to do something about it. It was pathetic, they offered ear plugs and muffs, but did nothing else.

The factory inspector came in last week, he did no tests but said he didn't need to test because he knew the noise was over 100 DBA, well above the recommended 90 DBA limit.

I think it goes to show the value the management places on workers' health. They are not prepared to pay £1.50 to guard his or her health. As an aside to this the Chairman of Metal Box paid us a visit. At a rough guess it must have cost £500 on paint, labour and overtime for his annual streak through the factory, enough to give 335 employees a test.—TOMMY RILEY (Night Shop Steward), Metal Box, Wasthoughton.

Your last chance...

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Postal Points

THE CONTINUING SAGA OF Y, Z, AND PF...

THE WRONG CASE, WRONG BATTLE... Socialist Worker is the main political organ of a revolutionary group. Its features must be written to raise political consciousness in clearly defined ways. Foot fails to do this in his recent revelations about the Janie Jones case, just as he failed in his earlier article on Norma Levy's book... Yes, let's have marxist analyses of morality, religion, women and the family... But no, not in SW, do we raise the sexual deviances of individual members of the ruling class in a way that reinforces conventional prevailing morality.-GILDA PETERSON, London N1.

HE MISSED THE POINT... In both the article on Janie Jones and a previous one on Norma Levy, Paul Foot failed to make any analysis of why women become prostitutes... All women are taught from the moment they are born that they must sell themselves to a man if they are to survive... the message is 'Get a man and stick with him... Where Norma Levy, Janie Jones and thousands of other prostitutes differ from ordinary women is that they sell themselves or other women not to one man but to the highest bidder... Socialist Worker should be saying much more about what prostitution means, and that socialists oppose it because they are opposed to the oppression of all women and prostitution is just one aspect.-BOB CANT, London N8.

THEY ALL AGREED... I have delivered the paper to 30 regular readers and the unanimous reaction was 'Well done, you were right to publish'. One worker's response was 'Why should the rich be given this splendid privilege of secrecy?'-SIMON MADDISON, Hitchin.

NO JOKE... It is OK for Janie Jones name to be splashed across the headlines but not for the names of her customers... It's not alright to set up an independent enquiry to examine the methods of police control of civil strife—including apparently blackmail!... How much more can people take! wonder? With one law for the rich and one for the poor outlined so clearly the joke has surely gone far enough. I'm not laughing anymore.-GARY BATES.

WE'RE ALL FOR SALE... What I object to is not the fact that these men have peculiar tastes (good luck to them!) but that their vast wealth lets them buy and degrade the women they prey on... It's like the way we let our own self respect be bought every-time we go to such men for a job, or everytime we go to the social security... I've got no sympathy with Janie Jones who is both a capitalist and a crook, but it is time to hear less about her and more about the rich customers who make her trade possible.-EDWARD ELVIDGE, Leamington.

NOT YET THEY CAN'T... Bully for you Mr Foot... Some of the laws of this land are for the rich alone... I am going to write a letter to Judge King-Hamilton. I don't know if I'm in the right or wrong about this because my husband says I'm going to land in trouble with my chops and letter writing. I wouldn't mind a spell in jail as long as I could read the papers and they'd give me a pad and pen. They can't shoot me.-IRENE LLOYD, Redegar.

HE DOESN'T AND WE DON'T SUPPORT THE USSR... I think you were contemptible in your action... To do anything that will encourage the use of blackmail is to my mind one of the worse crimes that any man can commit: but I suppose I cannot expect too moral an attitude from one who is ready to embrace the obscenities of the Soviet system.-WILLIAM SHEPHERD, London W1.

YOU WERE RIGHT!... I wish to express my support and solidarity in the face of threats against you from that cowardly lunatic King-Hamilton. One can guess the reasons as to why he wishes to protect the people you so righteously and beautifully exposed. If there is any attempt to railroad you into prison over this business you can count on our support.-TONY SOARES, Grass Roots Storefront, London W10.

WHEN IN ROME?... In connection with the action of His Majesty King Hamilton, I am no Latin scholar but I feel the following might be appropriate. It goes something like: 'Nil illegitimi carborundum' which being loosely interpreted is 'Don't let the bastards grind you down'.-OSSIE LEWIS, Cheam

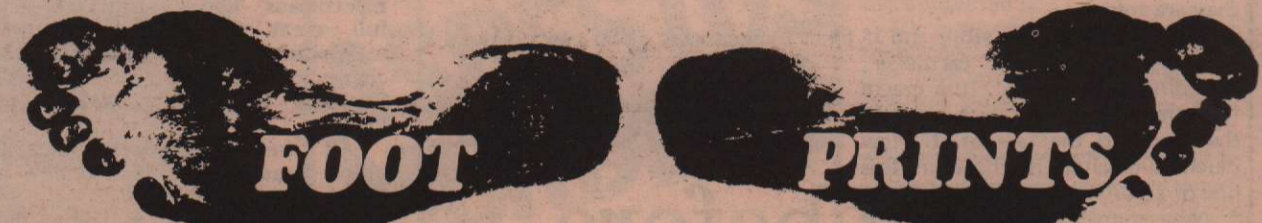
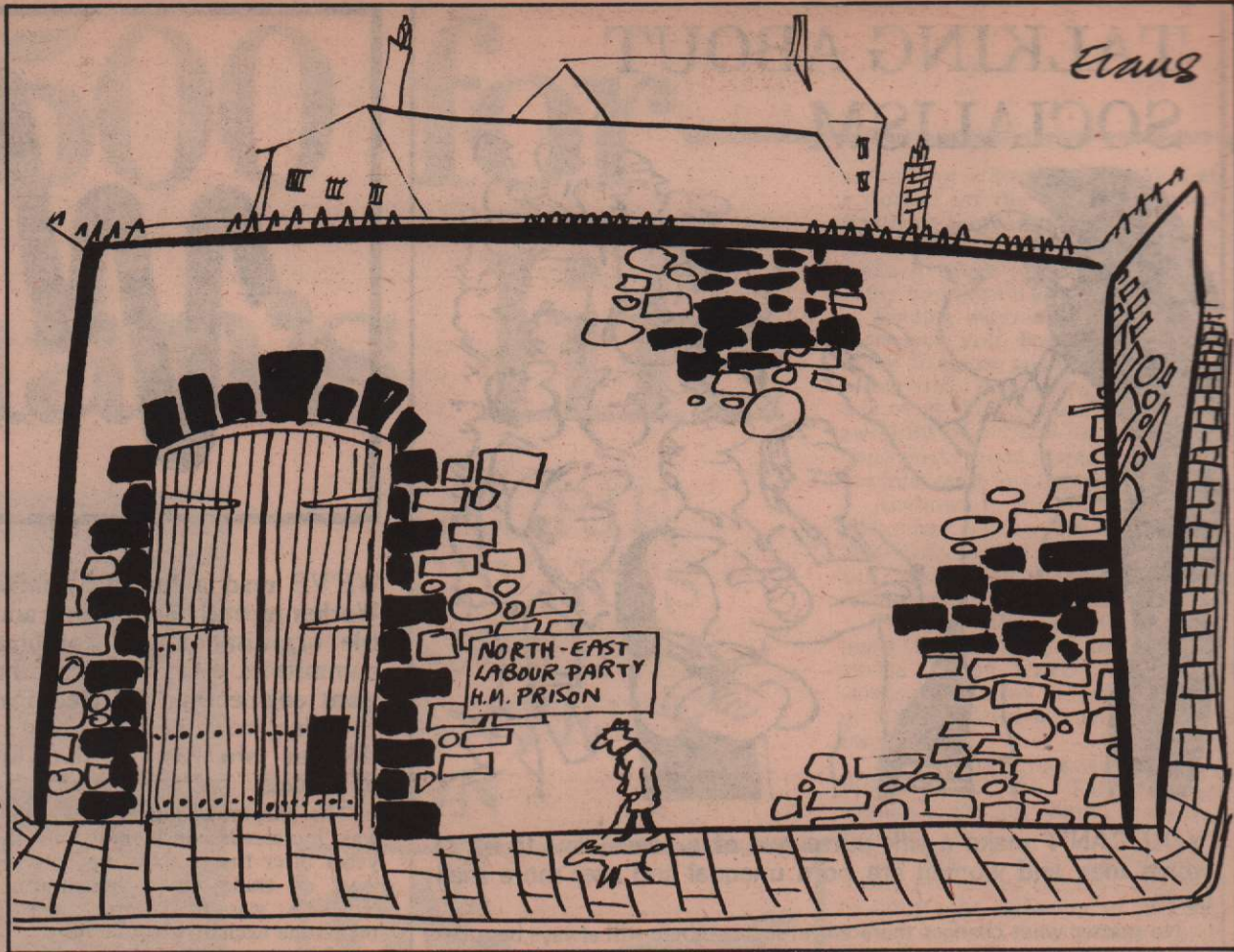
HE HASN'T GOT A TEDDY BEAR... One is surprised by one startling omission—the identity of Mr X... Are we to assume therefore that the only person Mr X could possibly be is Paul Foot himself?-R J LAMBORN, Ilford.

FIRED BY FERNDALE... Thank you for your review of 'Ferndale Fires' (20 April)... Our six year old reads a lot and we simply cannot find enough for her to read... Naturally because of our conversations she is intensely interested in socialism and what her parents believe and do about it; she tries to read Socialist Worker but the words are strange, explanations needed frequently and her interest difficult to sustain. We write her stories when we have the time but we do not know of enough ready-made children's books and stories. Could you publish a book-list in the paper, for many others must be in the same position as ourselves, or perhaps even the occasional article for children?-PETER AND DOREEN SANDERS, Exeter.

NOT IN THE CLUB... We are very pleased to see that Paul Foot wasn't a party to the neat arrangement in court between judge, barristers and press reporters present, to refer to the prominent persons who took part in this sordid filth as Mr X, Y or Z... As recent developments have shown where innocent men have been released from prison this year, and particularly the one exceptional case of where a man served five years and was then proved to be innocent (and yet managed to retain his sanity) it appears that many aspects of the law need exposing. It is only your brand of courageous journalism that will keep these issues in the public eye and lead to changes in the legal system... MALCOLM LOWES, PATRICK CAREY, Civil Liberties Support Group, Broadmoor Hospital, Crowthorne.

SOMETHING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT... J Femy's letter (13 April) raises the vexed question of the freedom of the artist in socialist society. What are IS views on this subject? In the USSR, artists are either browbeaten into the current bureaucratic interpretation of 'socialist realism' (Shostakovitch), or they leave (Nureyev), or they are imprisoned or expelled (Solzenitsyn). In China, the ruling classes are busily debunking Beethoven (along with Confucius and Lin Piao!) having summarily dealt with Mozart. Presumably their next victims will include Chopin, Liszt, Brahms etc. since in the words of one of their tracts 'To trumpet bourgeois literature and art is to restore capitalism'... How do revolutionary socialists today view the position of the artist in the society which they hope to achieve? Will Marxism be a means of liberation for the artist? Will he be forced into the straitjacket of serving a dogma or will he be free to cater for all tastes in a truly democratic society?-MICHAEL DAVIS, Basildon.

Next week's Postal Points will be mainly about the debate on Socialist Worker. Thanks to all the people who've written.



KISSIN: Cocoa king

RICH UNCLE HARRY

HAROLD WILSON has always been opposed to the sale of arms to fascist countries, but I do not expect an outcry from him about the continuing sale of arms to Brazil, which has just taken delivery of a handsome set of warships, not to mention tanks and ammunition, from British firms.

Wilson's old friend and patron, Harry Kissin, joint chairman of commodity brokers and bankers Guinness Peat, has been taking a lot of interest in Brazil recently and has just signed a gigantic deal which will give him joint control of about a fifth of all Brazil's cocoa production. A new company has been formed by Guinness Peat and the Brazilian Baretto company. It will be the biggest cocoa producer in the world.

The government has been quick to help this giant in a country whose government must lay claim to be among the four most brutal in the world.

One million pounds has been guaranteed to Kissin's company over five years by the government-controlled Export Credits Guarantee Department. The ECGD has also just loaned £18 million to the South African Department of Finance.

The Strange Case of Superboyd

A COUPLE of weeks ago there was a bit of a hullabaloo in the press about my visit to the Old Bailey courtroom where the Janie Jones trial was going on. Most newspapers that morning reported that I had been 'summoned' to the court by the judge, but the judge announced that he had summoned nobody.

There is a bit of a mystery behind this incident. On Tuesday 16 April the national press, led by the Sun and the Daily Mail, shouted hysterically about our publication of the names of two of Janie Jones' clients who had appeared as witnesses.

Early in the afternoon, the telephonist at my solicitors' office received a call from a man calling himself 'Boyd, clerk of the criminal court'. The caller insisted that the solicitor should be interrupted in the middle of a telephone call because 'this is very urgent'.

The telephonist duly obliged, and the caller explained that he was Leslie Boyd, clerk of the Central Criminal Court. 'This man Foot,' said the caller, 'I think we'd better have him in court tomorrow.'

He went on to say that the judge wanted me in court for 'a ticking off'. There was no question of any prison sentence, and no need to brief a barrister. On the other hand, if I refused to attend, 'We will have to see about summoning him'.

Now, the clerk to the Central Criminal Court is called Leslie Boyd. He is in contact with judges, and he does regulate appearances in the Old Bailey. So we decided that we might as well go along to court.

I HESITATE to tell you this story for fear it will cause unnecessary distress in workers' homes. It concerns Alan Harman, a partner in the stockbroking firm Chapman and Rowe, which was recently 'hammered' on the Stock Exchange because the partners could not 'meet their commitments'.

It seems one of the reasons why the partners run into difficulties was their hasty excursion into the gold market, where they had their fingers burnt. Harman alone lost the firm a cool quarter of a million pounds.

Poor Harman! The creditors are

Curiously enough, however, before we had made this decision, we had both been bombarded with calls from newspapers, mainly the Sun and the Express, by reporters who seemed to 'know' that I had been 'summoned'.

When we arrived at the court on Wednesday morning, we were confronted by about 50 pressmen. We asked to see Mr Boyd and were led upstairs to a luxurious office. An astonished lawyer in a neighbouring office then told us that Leslie Boyd was in the South of France. We duly went into the court, only to be told that the entire charade had been unnecessary.

Now my solicitor has written to Leslie Boyd, who has replied that he was 'out of the country' on both the days in question, and that neither he nor anyone in his office had rung about me. After talking to Boyd, my solicitor is certain that he is not the man who rang him on the 16th.

So somebody 'set up' a ridiculous scene which resulted in a series of ridiculous front-page stories in the newspapers.

What a coincidence!

A SOCIALIST WORKER reader in Dundee went into a Dundee store the other day to buy a jock-strap. The store assistant told him, to his astonishment, that they were completely sold out of jock-strap. Only a few weeks ago eight dozen, of various sizes, had been ordered by the local police force. 'It was something to do with the miners' strike,' added the assistant, innocently.

prepared to strip him of everything he's got.

Ruthlessly, they are threatening to take away both the Rolls-Royces, his helicopter, his yacht in France and even his second, bigger yacht which is being built in Holland.

One reason why Harman can hold out little hope of keeping any of these necessities is that the main creditor is the most relentless capitalist in the business. It is the Moscow Narodny Bank, which loaned Chapman and Rowe £350,000 for dirty dealing on the international commodity markets.

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM



'YOU CAN'T make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.' In other words men and women are born unequal and ever more shall be so.

No matter what changes there are in society there will always be rulers and ruled, those who run things and those who, by and large, do what they are told.

This is an old, old story and it takes many forms. 'You can't make a racehorse out of a carthorse', 'breeding always tells', 'the cream (and the scum?) will always rise to the top' and the rest of it. How much substance is there in this line of argument?

Now there can be no doubt at all that there are inherited and—as far as we know at present—unalterable differences between men and women. Men, for example, cannot bear children. Women can.

It is equally true that there are inherited differences between the various human races. It is true that 'the leopard cannot change his spots, nor the Ethiopian his skin'.

Equally, there are differences in ability between individuals. If you happen to be tone-deaf you will never make a musician, no matter how hard you try. The importance of these differences is usually exaggerated but they exist all right.

Capable

What conservatives and reactionaries of all persuasions do is to take these indisputable facts and argue from them that *therefore* socialism is impossible.

But this does not follow at all. The question of whether people can alter their skin-colour or their sex has nothing at all to do with the question of whether they are collectively capable of running their affairs on a democratic basis. Granted that all these differences exist, it has to be asked are they relevant to our purpose.

For example, some people in this country have red hair. This is, as they say, genetically determined. It is an accident of birth. Nobody,

Unequal before birth?

as far as I know, argues that red hair is a qualification or a disqualification for anything, or that red-haired people as a group are better or worse than blond, black or brown-haired people.

Why not? After all, the possession—or absence—of red hair is determined by exactly the same sort of biological mechanism that determines whether you have a black skin or a white one or, for that matter, whether you are born male or female.

Once the question is asked, the answer is obvious enough. There is no vested interest in keeping down red-haired people. Nobody gains from it. But men have dominated women throughout most of recorded history, if not longer. And men with white (or lighter) skins have ruled men with dark ones for centuries. These are *historical* facts but, I will prove in later articles in this series, there is nothing necessary or inevitable about them.

The arguments about the 'inferiority' of women or blacks arise to justify their actual unequal situation and not the other way round.

Duncan Hallas



WE'VE read a lot in Socialist Worker recently about rank and file organisation and combine committees. At Plesseys, the giant engineering and electrical combine, we've been working at this for two years—with a lot of success.

The enormous power of Plesseys was increased considerably in the years after the war by the pathetic level of trade union organisation. Nowhere was this worse than in telephone exchange installations.

This area was 'organised' by the Electricians' Union (EPTU). The full extent of the organisation was to appoint three full-time officers in charge of three major companies—Standard Telephones, GEC and Plesseys.

All three officers were based at union headquarters at Bromley in Kent!

Because the officer responsible was so remote and because no union branches were set up in the areas, the rank and file had to organise themselves.

So back in 1971 the Nottingham branch of Plessey Telecommunications Installation was born. Our first job was to increase the number of shop stewards—no mean task in an industry not used to trade unions and where the threat of victimisation looms over every potential steward.



But in spite of all the obstacles we have built up to a position where, if a strike is called on one site, the whole area will be out within half a day.

Through a large number of struggles we have gradually improved our working conditions. At one point we linked up with brothers and sisters in GEC to get a senior steward reinstated. During that dispute we developed an interesting new tactic. We helped to occupy the area office of our union until the local executive member agreed to take up the issue.

All these struggles have given the rank and file trade unionists tremendous confidence, which we have used to the full in our present dispute.

As reported in Socialist Worker last week, 250 men struck in protest when the company tried to transfer two men out of the Nottingham area. A previous union meeting held in the company's time had unanimously pledged all-out strike action if anyone was lifted against his wishes.

hopefully absorb the ups and downs of interest rates. Few will be able to afford the 14 per cent interest rate, now hanging over the heads of all mortgage holders—for the Moaksons it would be a disaster.

Mr Moakson is hardly likely ever to realise a speculative profit!

Mrs Moakson cannot afford the expensive food in the supermarkets. In the local Tesco recently she pointed out that some bars of soap on the shelf were labelled 13½p. The assistant checked with someone else, came back and said nothing while she changed the price to 16½p, announcing then that this was the 'proper' price.

Tesco made a profit of £21,777,000 in 1972, an increase of a third on the year before.

HOW THE RANK AND FILE BEAT PLESSEYS

by Dick Pavier (EPTU)

Senior steward, Plesseys
Telecommunications, Nottingham

The strike lasted three days. The action committee ran everything efficiently, including the co-ordinating of pickets, propaganda, welfare and the issuing of up-to-date facts at daily strike meetings. The return to work was on the condition of status quo for everyone involved in the strike.

The shop stewards' committee, with our full-time official, met the management on Thursday 18 April to try to set up a fairer system of transfers. The negotiations were delayed while a scab who had been invited by management was removed.



Our demands at the negotiations were: a joint exercise by both union and management to establish a list of volunteers prepared to transfer, further negotiations to discuss the whole question of border lines around Nottingham, and a rotating system of transfer with a fixed time limit.

Management conceded the last two points, provided the two men transferred immediately. This of course was rejected by the shop stewards' committee, and the official told management that unless they agreed on the first point there would be strike action on Monday 22 April. The stewards left the meeting

preparing for further strike action, but late on the Friday afternoon the official contacted our senior steward. Management had given in over the first point.

A couple of hundred men sticking solidly together had made a multinational company rethink its whole policy on mobility of labour.

All this was relayed to the rank and file workers at the usual Saturday morning union meeting. From that meeting the shop stewards' committee was instructed to form a larger rank and file organisation embracing the major cities around Nottingham to fight Plessey on any issue which affects Plessey workers nationally.



There are more and more reasons for being informed of your legal rights.

Now obtainable from IS bookshops are the **NCCL factsheets**—on Police Questioning, Complaints against the Police, Search, Search of Premises and Seizure of Property, Bail, Sureties (all 1p) and Arrest (7p). Don't forget the 4p postage.

ONE HUNDRED SONGS OF TOIL compiled by Karl Dallas.

Workers songs reflect the industrial folklore of 450 years. Words and music from the pits, mills, factories and from the railway, each accompanied by a comment on its origin and history. (£1.75)

Available again—James Cannon's **THE IWW**. The story of how American workers built their 'one big union of all the workers', 'the greatest thing on earth'—the 'Wobblies'. (20p).

Please add 4p for postage on pamphlets, 7p for books.

Available by mail order and direct from **IS BOOKS**, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, and directly only from **IS BOOKS**, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow C1, and the Coventry Socialist and Trade Union Centre, 65 Queen Victoria Road, Coventry.

Scared to live, scared to die

MR AND MRS MOAKSON are old age pensioners. They are glad of the coming increase, but fear it will be little help. For their one-bedroom flat in Brentwood, Essex, they pay a housing association £45.59 a month.

They can't afford to use the central heating. It's too expensive. This has tended to make Mr Moakson's bronchitis worse and he spent much of this winter in hospital.

Mr Moakson is at the end of his tether. He is afraid of dying because his pension—£35 a month from the railway, for which he paid contributions all 45 years of his working life—dies with him, and his wife would not be able to continue the payments on the flat. The rates have just gone up from £93 a year to £104 too.

Mr Moakson says he walked into

the housing association arrangement 'with his eyes open' and 'has only himself to blame', but he took the flat because it was ground floor and their previous third-storey flat was making his bronchitis worse.

Absorb

Mr and Mrs Moakson have gone on the council list but the local council—Tory-controlled—is having difficulty finding them a place. They point out that the Moaksons have got a place to live already. Brentwood Council has not built a single new dwelling in the past three years.

Housing association flats, with their 60-year mortgages, may be OK for wealthy middle-class couples who can afford the high repayments and

Jim Blake

£2500 for a man's life

'THERE'S no kiddology in this, I'm giving it to you straight up and down the line. I am 38 years old and I'll be lucky if I've got five years left to live.

'The pains in my fingers and toes are getting worse and worse. You have to wear shoes a size bigger and probably they'll go bigger again. You become very self-conscious about the whole thing and you think to yourself that when your hands really get bad, then you'll just never go out again.'

These are the words of a fine and courageous man called Arthur Rhodie. Arthur, a former member of the 7/162 Glasgow insulation workers' branch of the Transport Union, is now running his own business.

At this moment he is classified as 30 per cent disabled from asbestosis, the progressive and incurable disease contracted from exposure to asbestos dust. Arthur, like many other members and former members of 7/162 branch, has had his life stolen by his former employers. This is his story.

'The first time I got a hint that I had the bug was just after I came back from Australia four years ago. I had to go to my local doctor to sign on and get a routine check.

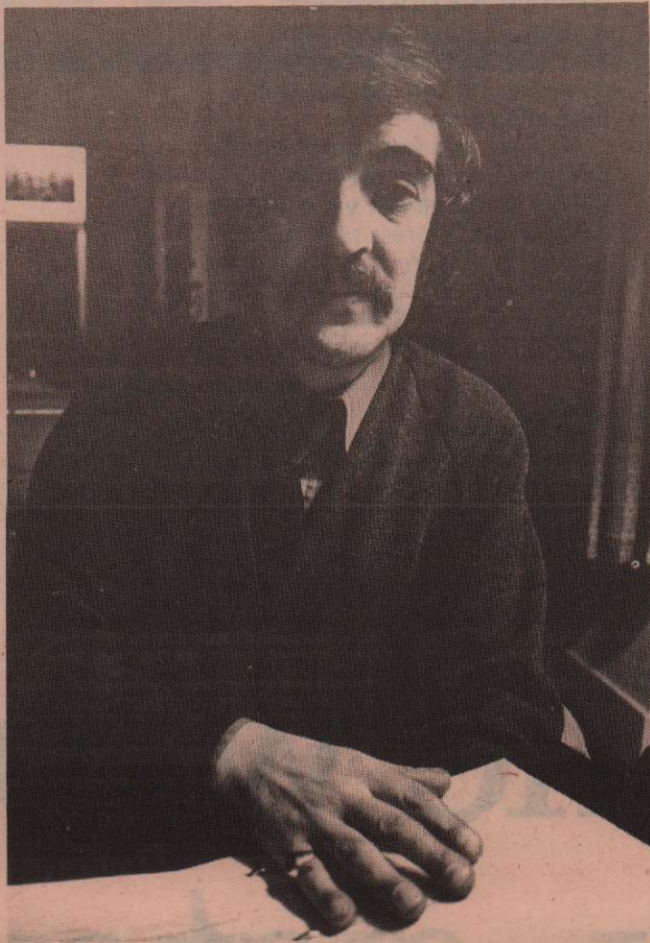
He asked me to sign a form and I leant over the desk to pick it up. He grabbed me by the wrist and asked me what I worked at. I told him I had been a lagger most of my working life. He said he thought I might have asbestosis and should undergo some tests. I said: 'What the hell's asbestosis?'

Until that time I didn't think there was anything funny in the slight clubbing of my fingers. A month later it was confirmed.

The way it gets you is bad. You get these sharp pains in your side and your shoulders. It comes on you sudden. You'll be out shopping with your wife and then suddenly your legs will go. It's getting worse all the time. It affects the most intimate parts of your life.

I came into the lagging industry as a boy in 1952. First I worked for Andersons Insulation. Then I went to Cape for three and a half years. I also worked for Newalls and Mersey Insulation. I worked for almost all of them.

In all the time I worked in the game I got no training whatsoever in safety. We didn't know to ask about the asbestos we were spraying. And the employers, well, they didn't say.



LAURIE
FLYNN'S
SECOND
ARTICLE
ON

THE ASBESTOS MURDERS

Left: Arthur Rhodie's swollen fingers show he has asbestosis

What happened is appalling now that you look back on it. If you start a legal claim and your solicitor gets on to a firm you worked for, the first thing they cry is 'We gave him a mask'.

Well I can remember it well—when they did give you masks and when they did not. And I can remember when they did give you one, just what sort of mask it was—a piece of aluminium with a sort of bandage in the middle.

Later on they were different. The mouthpieces were terrible bits of rubber that made you sweat to hell. If the men wore them, that is. There were plenty of drawbacks to wearing them.

Once you know that you've got

the bug, you're in trouble. You know that you're ill and that sooner or later you just won't be able to earn money any more. You'd think that you wouldn't have any more problems thrust on you then. You'd be wrong there. Your troubles have only just started.

First there's the disablement pension. For this you have to go through the Pneumoconiosis Board, the place where the miners go. The doctor there, he gives you a run over with the stethoscope and you blow into a bag. And that's about it.

Now with me I got the pension—another doctor had seen me. But what about the others, what happens to them?

From there you go about making a claim against your employer. This is where the agony really starts. It is truly disgraceful.

The lad's who's bringing the claim has to do all the research and running around. It's all on your own initiative.

You get employers resorting to the trick of virtually denying that you ever worked for them. My lawyers had a letter from the insurance company for Millers Insulation asking for 'further evidence' that I ever worked for them on a particular power station job.

So I had to go out and scout

around for witnesses to prove that I worked for the people I worked for. Now they must know that you worked for them. But they choose to make it tough for you. They probably hope you'll give up.

Finding witnesses is hard going. I can tell you. People move from house to house and job to job. And in our trade the employers have got one other thing going for them—an awful lot of our lads die. Dead men don't make good witnesses, not in the legal sense anyway.

Anyhow I got my claim together and my lawyers, McVey and Murrice, had it in hand. Holmes and MacKillop acted for the employers.

The first offer came through. It was £1000. I turned it down on the advice of my lawyers. Then the employers offered the princely sum of £1500. Generous people aren't they?

My lawyers reckoned that I should accept this. They felt we wouldn't get any more. I turned it down.

But this is where people start telling you about the risks of going to court, the difficulty of proving things in law, this drawback and that. The offer went up to £2500 and I accepted it.

It's a wonderful system for the employers—£2500 for a man's life. And then of course their insurance company picks up the bills.

That's my story, though not mine alone. When you start to think about asbestos, you realise the scale of the operation, the miners who mine it in Africa and elsewhere, the workers who process it, the dockers who load and unload it, the transport drivers. The list gets longer.

Just how many of them have got this disease? Just how many of them have died from it and had their deaths put down to something else?

There is just one other awkward little question in my story. What is more important—lives or money?

These people, the employers, have dealt with a product that's lethal unless it's used properly. They know this. Yet they wantonly kill people by doing things on the cheap, cheap that is, until you count our lives.

If you rob a bank and someone then there'll be a squad of police after you. They'll bring you to trial and you'll get plenty for it. But what about these people and what they do to us? Apparently that's quite acceptable.

Men who fought for freedom

TO THE north of Tredegar in Monmouthshire, high up on Mynydd Llangynydir, there is a remote cave known locally for generations as the Chartists' Cave.

How it got its name was not clear but an old blunderbuss was found there some years ago and the western valleys of Monmouthshire, home of the iron workers of Tredegar and of the Ebbw valleys, and of the miners of the surrounding villages had been among the most active strongholds of Chartism in the turbulent 1830s.

On the tempestuous night of 3 November 1839, some 5000 Chartists, armed with pikes, guns and whatever else they could find, marched down the valleys to the town of Newport. Their exact intention never became clear, but some certainly thought they were taking part in a nationwide uprising for the Charter.

Things went badly wrong. The march took longer than intended, two of the columns of men failed to meet in the dark and the rain, and other expected contingents failed to arrive at all. When the marching men finally straggled into Newport, troops stationed at the Westgate Hotel were waiting for them.

After a short exchange of fire between Chartists and soldiers the tired, wet and confused crowd broke up and fled. The exact number of dead is not known but a local paper counted the bodies of 72 men shot



dead in the streets of Newport that day.

In the aftermath of the Newport events eight Chartist leaders—John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, William Jones and five others—were charged with 'levying war against the Queen.' All were found guilty and Frost, Williams and Jones were sentenced to death. After widespread protests the sentences were reduced to transportation for life.

So much of the story is well-known. What we know little about is the terrible

revenge wreaked on the Chartist rank and file. Few were arrested in Newport and those who were captured were caught while fleeing abroad or to refuge in the hills. One, on his way to America, was arrested as far away as Waterford in Ireland.

Bands of soldiers scoured the hills and valleys looking for suspects, egged on by the fury of a middle class bent on revenge and on destroying all vestiges of Chartism. The ironmasters ruthlessly traced those of their workers with Chartist connections.

Recent discoveries now give us a clue about the awful fate of some of the cornered Chartists. A young caver, exploring in the Chartists' Cave, discovered some old human bones. They were taken for forensic examination and dated as being between 50 and 150 years old. Two partial skulls and some other bones were re-assembled and it became clear that the victims had been hacked to death with swords or sabres. The bones had been cut in such a way as to indicate that the victims were lying face-down when they were attacked. Marks on the skulls were those of decapitation attempts.

While the Chartist leaders fought for their lives in a Monmouth courtroom two of their followers were butchered in a cave not far distant.

No one knows how many died such violent, unknown deaths either after the march on Newport or after the Merthyr Tydfil riots of eight years earlier. But we do now have some definite evidence indicating the savagery of the ruling class's terror killings.

So next time someone tells you of the 'democratic', 'parliamentary' traditions of Britain, remember the splintered bones of those two Welsh Chartists, in a cave high up on Mynydd Llangynydir.

Merfyn Jones

Whipping the slaves into line

THE victimisation of Alan Thornett has its roots in 1971, when British Leyland ended piecework in their Cowley assembly plant.

They replaced it with Measured Day Work—a system described by a former managing director of Rootes as 'a modern form of slavery'.

The events of the last few weeks in Cowley are part of Leyland's attempts to implement this system successfully. Alan Thornett was the shop steward who, more than any other, preached total opposition to the management's plans. His removal from the scene would they hoped, put the wind up other militants.

For more than three years, shop stewards resisted the worst features of MDW. The company first conceded manning levels well above their competitors because they were desperate to market their first new car, the Morris Marina.

The company has since gone on the offensive, however. Last June, October and again in January they withstood strikes and forced workers in three departments to submit.

With the ending of the three-day week and a return to full production in March, British Leyland found they had to cut the weekly schedule on the Marina.

First, they took more men off the lines than the drop in speed warranted. Second, they increased the proportion

of Marinas destined for the North American market, which need a lot more work because of safety regulations.

The company were adamant that the lines would run at the speed they dictated—whether or not agreement had been reached with the stewards

over the new arrangements.

The appearance of industrial engineers with stop watches sparked off a series of stoppages. Eventually the men went on strike on 2 April to get the company to honour the agreement.

Once again the company stood

The Daily Suppress

'Leyland withdrew Thornett's shop steward's credentials because he was an agitator.'—Daily Mail, 23 April.

'It is surely a good thing that moderate workers, campaigning wives and a courageous management should, at last, have the nerve to confront a troublesome shop steward who has become too big for his Trotskyite boots.'—Daily Mail 'Comment', 24 April.

'The company has yet to give its reasons for not recog-

nising Mr Thornett.'—Daily Mail, 24 April.

'The impression has been created by the mass media that transport is a strike-prone section. Women have been whipped up and used by the company on the basis of this false allegation.

'In fact, the transport section has lost nine days through strikes in the eleven years before this dispute.'—press statement put out by seven British Leyland stewards on 27 April—NOT PRINTED IN A SINGLE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER.

the company's terms.

During the strike, management attempted to lay off 20 drivers. This was in breach of an eight-year-old agreement that the company would not propose shut-outs on transport department while any production line was running in the factory. At that time the Maxi and 1300 lines were still running.

The drivers met and voted to strike until their agreement was reinstated. Thornett, a steward in the transport section, did not speak at this meeting because he had been involved on other union business when the dispute flared up.

The drivers met again on Tuesday 9 April, the day the Marina workers returned. The departmental manager said the problem would not have arisen had he been on the plant at the time. He was quite happy to re-state the agreement in writing but he had to clear it with the Industrial Relations Department.

The department said the agreement could not be put in writing as they claimed it had been superseded by other agreements. The drivers voted to stay out.

The next day the management dropped its bombshell. They were not prepared to recognise Thornett. They singled him out as being responsible for the rash of disputes, so channelling much bitterness away from the men and against Thornett.

You're on the wrong track, sisters

MOST of us have seen the disgusting spectacle of the wives of workers at British Leyland's Cowley plant at Oxford, backed by the press, radio and television in their anti-strike campaign.

I'm a carworker's wife and have been involved with him in strike action.

I too have experienced the worry and anxieties that go with a strike.

I know what it's like trying to stretch money that simply isn't there. So I sympathise with any woman who is having a rough time during strike action.

But unlike the Cowley demonstrators I understand that the un-

principled victimisation of a shop steward is a serious threat not only to trade unionism but also to all workers' wives and families. It's all very well demonstrating to get your men back to work immediately, but did these women consider the long-term effect of their hasty action?

This splitting of women from their

men is nothing new. Ford workers' wives know it well. It's an old management and press dodge. In 1962 the national press had a lovely time when they discovered a handful of women who didn't like the fact that their husbands' pay packets weren't plonked on the table quite as sharply as they wished. Headlines like 'Battle of the Wives' and photographs of 'The Battling Dagenham Ladies' whipped up hysteria.

During this dispute 17 shop stewards were sacked.

Bottom

At about this time Ford workers and the Cowley men were beginning to get organised. The victimisation of the 17 held up trade union organisation for a long time.

Ford workers' wages dropped further and further behind other carworkers. They are right at the bottom of the wage league now. Cowley has never had a big defeat. Their basic rate is £46.20 for line workers. They can expect a £3 rise under Phase Three, bringing them up to £49.20, about one third more than Ford workers.

Cowley is well-organised. No one knows this better than British Leyland boss Lord Stokes. He is trying to treat the Cowley workers as Ford did in Dagenham in 1962—to destroy job organisation through disciplinary action against a leading shop steward.

Angry

Stokes has the support of the press and the telly.

During the 1972 nine-week Ford parity strike a group of Ford workers' wives and some of the Ford sewing machinists, backed by the shop stewards' committee, attended a press conference in the union offices at Dagenham. We had been made very angry by the free TV time two

WHAT WAS ALL THAT ABOUT A SEX STRIKE?

'I was working on the headlinings and I never thought I'd survive. I used to come home from work and fall asleep. My legs and arms used to be burning. I didn't have relations with my wife for months. Now that's not right is it? No work should be that hard.'

—a carworker quoted by Huw Beynon in his book Working for Ford.

reactionary women had been given to air their views on the strike.

All the national newspapers and television were there. We did not get extensive coverage in their papers. We were told, however, that the conference would be featured that

Among the many who have pounced on Carol Miller, the overpublicised leader of the Cowley women, is the beaming Lord Stokes, head of British Leyland. He was so moved by her militancy he wrote to congratulate her personally.

But like so much of this new-found sympathy for womankind, Lord Stokes' is strictly skin-deep. At the height of the Janie Jones trial and after a heavy lunch with some judicial friends, the entire party retired to the Central Criminal Court for an afternoon of light amusement and legal browbeating.

This 'relieved' Lord Stokes of the strain of running British Leyland.

evening in a general TV news programme. We all watched eagerly. Nothing appeared.

Next day the BBC was phoned constantly by women from various organisations and asked why the Ford wives' views had not been put on. Eventually we were promised it would

appear the next evening. It was flashed on the screen for a fleeting second or two.

Women are beginning to realise that the interests of the press and television are not ours. They don't even pretend to present our case in an impartial way.

The isolation of women, especially in the Cowley dispute, has pointed the dangers that a workers' movement places itself in if we don't involve women in support of trade union struggles.

Influence

We can win Cowley women over to our point of view. It will not be easy. A campaign could be waged to talk to women and explain the issues.

Women as well as men need to involve themselves in this campaign. Perhaps the men will learn some lessons from this too. Next time you come home from a union meeting or from some dispute at work don't assume that your wife won't understand, or won't be interested. Explain the issues, make sure that she is invited along to meetings, see that she participates in discussions whenever possible.

Because if you don't do this somebody else might start to influence her to join in a demonstration against you.



ALISON LANGAN, wife of a carworker

MAY DAY



Workers of all countries unite

May Day greetings from the Fine Tubes strikers 1970-1973

NEW ZEALAND WATERSIDE WORKERS
extend May Day Greetings to fellow workers in Britain, from Rank and File delegates.

CAV IS Factory Branch
sends fraternal May Day Greetings to workers in struggles everywhere.

CARWORKER
Rank and File paper of trade unionists in the motor industry sends May Day Greetings to all trade unionists. Stand firm in the fight against Phase Three, and all forms of incomes policy.

JOHN LAING HERIOT-WATT SITE, Riccarton, Edinburgh, Joint Shop Stewards Committee
We extend May Day Greetings to all workers everywhere.

YORK IS Busmen
Fraternal greetings to all peoples in struggle.

HALSTEAD Shop Stewards Committee
sends fighting greetings to all socialists and workers in their never ending battle against the bosses. United we fight!

SCOTTISH RANK AND FILE TEACHER
sends fraternal greetings to all trade unionists and readers of Socialist Worker.

The FERODO Branch of the TGWU
send their deepest sympathy to all who have to work on May Day.

IS BOOKS LONDON COVENTRY GLASGOW BIRMINGHAM
sends fraternal greetings for May Day. 'Knowledge is power'.

EDINBURGH TENANTS COMMITTEE
sends May Day Greetings to council and private tenants everywhere. Secretary: Jean Webster, 3/4 Hawkhill Court, Lochend.

WOODHEAD Shop Stewards Committee
send May Day Greetings to all our brothers and sisters. **UNITY IS STRENGTH.**

WOODHEAD IS Factory Branch
send May Day Greetings to all our brothers and sisters and comrades fighting for socialism.

GLASGOW CORPORATION ELECTRICAL WORKSHOPS COMMITTEE
Fraternal greetings to all trade unionists on May Day.

Fraternal greetings
to all comrades, Socialist Worker, and all workers. Keep up the fights for the workers' rights. Victory to the working class.
Coventry Chrysler IS

Teesside West Indian Association
May Day Greetings to all black workers. 'Black and white workers' power'.

SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT, Ireland
May Day Greetings to our comrades in struggle in Britain and throughout the world.

Socialist Worker and Redder Tape supporters at DVLC, Swansea
send May Day Greetings to fellow trade unionists everywhere.

The Shop Stewards Committee at Courtaulds Ltd, Spennymoor
send May Day Greetings to and wish to make contact with other Courtaulds workers. If interested please contact B Gibson, 7 Magdalene Place, Broom, Ferryhill, County Durham.

May Day Greetings to Socialist Worker from Basildon Trades Council

ESSEX UNIVERSITY STUDENTS UNION
sends May Day Greetings to all brothers and sisters in the labour and student movement and extends its warmest thanks to all who support the present struggle.

LSE IS Society
sends fraternal May Day Greetings to all students and workers fighting for socialism.

THE MEMBERS of the South Essex Branch of SOGAT
extend fraternal greetings to trade unionists everywhere.

May Day Greetings to the International Socialists
Towards International working class co-operation
SOCIALIST WORKERS' ACTION GROUP, Melbourne, Australia

John and Margaret Llywarch thank Socialist Worker and all those who gave their support during the Shrewsbury Trials, but there are still six men in jail for defending the right to picket—they must not be forgotten.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS to all comrades from Rita and John Carpenter.

Ealing No 1 Branch AUEW
sends warmest fraternal May Day greetings to all the world's workers.
UNITY IS STRENGTH

Socialist Worker printshop workers and editorial staff sends fraternal greetings to all socialists and trade unionists involved in the struggle for socialism.
Smash Phase 3
Free the Shrewsbury 6

UNITY IS STRENGTH



L GARDNERS AND SONS Joint Shop Stewards Committee sends greetings to all trade unionists and activists with good wishes for the future.

EDINBURGH TEACHERS Rank and File Association sends May Day Greetings to teachers and all trade unionists.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS to all workers in struggle from the Shop Stewards Committee of Plessey Telecommunications EETPTU (Telecommunications section), Nottingham.

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. Fraternal greetings from IS Societies at Glasgow University, Strathclyde University and Glasgow College of Technology.

COSELEY NO 2 BRANCH AUEW Engineering Section sends May Day Greetings to trade unionists through the British Isles. Step up the fight against Phase Three.

CANNON INDUSTRIES Limited AUEW Shop Stewards Committee sends May Day Greetings to socialists and active trade unionists throughout the British Isles.

PRESSED STEEL, Cowley, International Socialists Branch sends May Day Greetings to Socialist Worker. Keep up the good work.

CITY OF LEEDS and CARNEGIE COLLEGE Socialist Society: Congratulations to Socialist Worker on fighting the continuing battle against the filthy ideas of capitalist society. May Day Greetings to comrades everywhere.

AUEW TASS Keighley Branch sends fraternal May Day Greetings to all fellow trade unionists.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS to all workers in struggle from Plessey Installation Shop Stewards Committee, EETPTU.

MIDLOTHIAN RANK AND FILE TEACHER sends fraternal greetings to all teachers and trade unionists.

KEIGHLEY TRADES COUNCIL sends fraternal May Day Greetings to all fellow trade unionists everywhere.

SPEKE 4 BRANCH AUEW sends May Day and fraternal greetings to workers everywhere.

COVENTRY 74 AUEW: Fraternal greetings to all workers and Socialist Worker. Keep up the fight, victory to the working class.

MAY DAY GREETINGS to all Socialist Worker readers from the Students Union of Trinity Comprehensive School in Newham.

WIGSTON IS sends May Day Greetings to socialists and trade unionists everywhere. Victory will be ours.

LONDON TRANSPORT PLATFORM sends May Day Greetings to all London Transport workers and to all trade unionists everywhere.

ALBION WORKER sends May Day Greetings to all supporters and readers of Carworker and Socialist Worker.

MAY DAY Greetings to our six brothers in jail. May your freedom come soon. Blackpool Liaison Defence Committee for Shrewsbury.

To all Public Service Employees and other workers, May Day Greetings from the Edinburgh NALGO Action Group. No Social Contract!



**Clydebank
AUEW TASS**

May Day Greetings
Smash Phase Three
Build the Rank and File
Movement

**FRIGIDAIRE IS
Factory Branch**

The attacks on the working class affects both black and white workers—Frigidaire IS Branch sends May Day Greetings to all workers fighting for their rights.

**ISLINGTON
NALGO
in fourth
week of strike**

send fraternal greetings to all trade unionists.

**ASTMS
Publishing Branch
Make MAY DAY
a public holiday**

Meetings first Thursday of month, 7.30pm, Cumberland Stores, Beak Street, London W1.

**Society of Graphical
and Allied Trades
(Glasgow and West
of Scotland branch)**

sends greetings to all trade unionists on the occasion of our
**150th
ANNIVERSARY**
wishing peace and prosperity to the whole Labour Movement

Darlington District Hospitals
Shop Stewards Committee

**MAY DAY
GREETINGS TO
ALL HOSPITAL
WORKERS**

**WIGAN
TRADES COUNCIL**

sends May Day Greetings to all workers throughout the world. Fight for socialism, free from poverty and discrimination.

Fraternal greetings to all trade unionists and thanks for your solidarity during the miners' strike.

Cwm Lodge NUM

Llantwit Fardre, near Pontypridd

**FELTHAM
CLP CLUB**

sends fraternal greetings to members of the Socialist Movement.

This No 4 Divisional Council of
ASTMS sends fraternal

May Day Greetings
to all trade unionists everywhere.

**CRAWLEY
TRADES COUNCIL**

Greetings to all workers. Unite for the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, wage law and the release of Shrewsbury building workers.

May Day Greetings
from No 8 Divisional Council
(London) ASTMS

**BRADFORD
TRADES COUNCIL**

sends greetings to workers everywhere
Free the pickets
Fight price rises
Get out of the Common Market

May Day Greetings
to all Asian and black workers in their struggle for equality in the labour movement and for the united struggle to overthrow capitalism.

CHINGARI

MEETING
May 1, Thornbury Roundabout
12-2pm

MARCH
May 4, 10.30 Salt's School,
Shipley

**WOMEN'S VOICE
May Day Greetings**
to all women fighting for equality in the labour movement and to remove the social burdens which this society places upon them to take their full part in the united struggle to achieve socialism.

May Day Greetings from

**RANK AND FILE
Teachers Organisation**
London allowance claim must be met in full—£500 increase on basic rates for all teachers—For militant trade union policies in the NUT.

Internationalism

AN INTERNATIONAL one-day strike and demonstration by workers in all trades and industries in all countries. The aims: limitation of the working day to eight hours maximum and a demonstration of international working class unity against capitalists and capitalist governments everywhere.

That was the call that went out from the newly formed Socialist International 85 years ago. The date chosen was the first of May 1889. That was the first May Day.

Hundreds of thousands of workers came out in Europe and North America. In Britain the TUC, with characteristic cowardice, refused to support the action and called for meetings on the following Sunday. It is still doing so. Many decades and two world wars later we have still to achieve the aim of a real day of international solidarity.

Today the need is greater than ever. Multi-national corporations flourish. Big business is organising internationally. The working class must do the same. There is no way forward without working class internationalism.

**WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS
UNITE**

**THE
DOCKWORKER**

sends fraternal greetings to all workers

EDITORIAL BOARD · 24 FLORENCE ROAD · PLAISTOW · LONDON E13

**1st National Delegate Rank and File
Conference held on 30 March 1974**

The Organising Committee extends
May Day Greetings to delegating
organisations and Trade Unionists everywhere

**SMASH PHASE 3
FREE THE SHREWSBURY 6
BUILD THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**

Congratulations to IS. Keep it up and step it up! Build the Rank and File movement. We for our part have taken the modest but important decision of organising ourselves on a national basis.

**Best revolutionary
greetings from
SOZIALISTISCHE
ARBEITERGRUPPE**
(Socialist Workers Group,
Germany)

**May Day Greetings
International
Socialists (USA)**

express our solidarity with our comrades of the IS in Britain and with the magnificent industrial struggles of the entire British working class which brought down the Tories. We stand together with you in the effort to build a new, fighting rank and file movement, and a worldwide struggle East and West for revolutionary socialism and workers' democracy.

May Day
Greetings from
**JOURNALISTS
CHARTER**
Rank and File paper of the NUJ

**COVENTRY TRADES COUNCIL
May Day Greetings**
to all trade unionists

**May Day
is workers day**

Warmest May Day Greetings to all workers in struggle from

**ENGLEHARD
INDUSTRIES
AUEW ACTION
COMMITTEE**

**Fraternal greetings
to all
trade unionists**

Glasgow Corporation IS Branch
Smash Phase Three
No arms to Chile
Give Foot the boot

CHILE

Fraternal Greetings
to all trade
unionists from

7/266A
Branch
T&GWU,
Linwood,
Scotland

May Day Greetings

to Socialists
everywhere
from Branch
01/1692-09 Power
and Engineering
Group TG&WU



Pluto Press
sends fraternal
greetings to
all socialists

**The International
Socialists
National Committee**

sends warmest
May Day
greetings to workers
throughout the world

**Smash Phase 3
No incomes Policy
Free the
Shrewsbury Pickets
Repeal Industrial
Relations Act
International
solidarity with the
Chilean Resistance
Build the
Workers Party**

For workers
power and
International
Socialism



At the morgue in Santiago a family is given the mutilated corpse of their loved one—among the thousands tortured and murdered by the Junta.

GRIEVING FOR CHILE, I GRIEVE FOR SPAIN

Thin as a spine, in a richly
diseased continent
of dark jungle depths
and bright breathless heights,
a road is snapped in two.

Bullet holes in the head
leak blood from palace gates
to spread its flag in the streets as
the walls of the way forward
are knocked down and crush the builders.

The darkness of blood clouds
the present. The water of tears
drops like a ballot into
that great reservoir
as huge as history

Which is the suffering
of the people. The past
is bloodstained and the present
even now spurts blood . . .
But yet there is the future.

And there is always the people:
starved in belly and mind
or duped with reformist baubles
the people remain to make
that future which is not yet . . .

Not yet is that world built
with bricks of blood and tears
from the newly dead
workers of Chile, from
the long dead of Spain.

TONY KNIGHT

Financial Times NATSOPA Chapel

May Day is not just greetings

FOR millions of workers in Chile, suffering under one of the most brutal and terrible army dictatorships the world has known, the news last December was just great.

Even the extreme right-wing newspapers allowed under the ruling junta couldn't hide the importance of the event. 10,000 miles away in Liverpool, the dockers had begun a boycott of Chilean cargoes.

First-hand reports tell of the big boost to Chilean workers' morale and of the new resolve in the factories to fight back against the massive wage reductions, the sacking and shooting of trade unionists and the outlawing of strikes.

Today these same newspapers tell the Chilean people that Harold Wilson is holding out the hand of friendship to their murdering rulers. They tell of Wilson's decision to deliver warships worth £70 million to the junta.

They tell of the part played by the Labour government in securing international loans to bolster the Chilean economy—loans that were denied to the reforming Allende government overthrown by the generals in September last year.

This is the measure of Labour's shame.

The choice was clear. They could follow the dockers' lead and help the Chilean workers' struggle, or they could listen instead to the shrill demands of the handful of rich businessmen with investments in Chile who called for 'business as usual'. Clearly the principles of workers' solidarity mean nothing to Wilson when the profits of British capitalists are at stake.

ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER . . .

The Labour Party recognises the events in Chile for what they are, a savage blow to the aspirations of

the working people of Chile and a temporary victory for international capitalism. The indecent haste with which the British government recognised this present military junta is a source of shame . . . said Labour's statement in 1973—when in opposition.

Labour may want us to forget. The daily reports of the ruthless violence of the junta will not let us.

Millions face the threat of the sack and the blacklist. To be a union man is to face death. Like David Miranda, general secretary of the miners' union, who has been shot. Like the six dockers in Santiago also shot for demanding that their employers honour a manning agreement.

Socialists are hunted down, tortured in the prisons and concentration camps and then usually murdered. The streets have been littered with bodies. The growing reports of torture are appalling.

The advances made by workers during the Allende government have been wiped out. Factories and farms taken over by the workers and peasants have been returned to the parasite owners—often giant American firms like ITT who have been totally behind the generals. Food prices have been forced up to bring many workers' families near starvation.

Chilean workers are now paying the price for the mistakes of Allende's government in starting to challenge the wealth and privilege of the few in Chilean society but failing to challenge the hold of the rich on state power—the army, police and government officials. Instead of mobilising workers to defend the gains that were made, Allende relied disastrously on the army.

It is to all this that Harold Wilson gives Britain's military, financial and so moral support. The ugly fact is that as long as Labour pours its efforts into rescuing our tottering economy for the benefit of the present owners of industry, then we shall see again and again that it gives support to the most repressive regimes.

But we can stop them. A massive campaign now can force Wilson to step back from this shameful policy

and cut off the arms supplies.

Raise the question of Chile at your union branch—put resolutions supporting the blacking of Chilean goods and an end to arms supplies.

Press your shop stewards to black Chilean goods wherever possible.

Call on Eric Heffer to resign from the government and make his protests where they can have effect—outside parliament.

Join the demonstrations on Sunday 5 May.

A WORKER READS HISTORY

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome
Is full of arcs of triumph. Who reared them up? Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? And even in Atlantis of the legend
The night the sea rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.

Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven Years War. Who
Triumphed with him?

Each page a victory,
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many particulars.
So many questions.

BERTOLT BRECHT

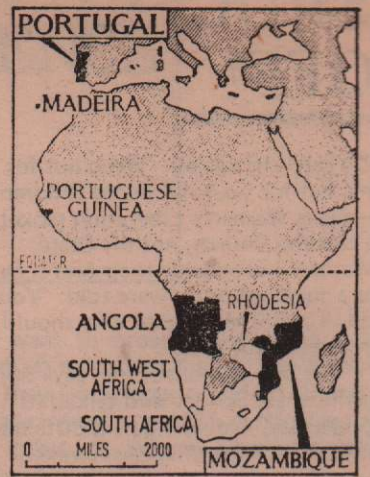


Freedom fighter?

GENERAL SPINOLA: freedom fighter? He fought as a volunteer for Franco's fascists in the Spanish Civil War and for Adolf Hitler on the Russian front. His most famous campaign was against Africans in Guinea-Bissau. He bombarded the population in the liberated areas, defoliating and burning crops. He was also the architect of the assassination of the PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral in January 1973.



Demonstrators driving through Lisbon. The banner reads: 'Public justice for the fascist criminals'



Portugal 'for the defence of democracy'

EIGHT and a half million people live in Portugal and there are another two million Portuguese workers abroad in European countries, one million in France alone.

The right-wing dictatorship was established by a military coup in 1926. The fascist 'corporate state' constitution dates from 1933.

Independent trade unions and political parties were outlawed. To go on strike was a crime.

Wages were kept right down. Plessey paid its Portuguese women workers £7 for a 47½-hour week. Passaldes, a firm making children's clothes for export, paid only £4 a week.

Propping up the fascist state were the secret police, the National Republican Guard, the Portuguese Legion—modelled on Mussolini's blackshirts—and the Portuguese Youth Movement, a sort of Hitler Youth. All are now abolished.

Portugal was a founder-member of NATO in 1949 along with Britain. NATO claims to exist for 'the defence of democracy'.

One soldier for every ten people

Angola has 5½ million people who live on an average income of £75 a year. It exports diamonds, iron ore—mainly controlled by West Germany's Krupp—oil—mainly Gulf Oil USA. Portugal maintains 70,000 troops there.

The eight million people of **Mozambique** have an average income of £70 a year. The country produces cotton, sugar, tea and sisal—and exports more than 100,000 labourers each year to the South African mines. There are 60,000 Portuguese in the country.

Guine has a population of 530,000 living on £27 a year average. There are 50,000 Portuguese troops—one soldier for every ten people.

A glimpse of the sunshine

FORTY-EIGHT years of fascist rule in Portugal came to an end last week when a movement of middle-ranking army officers staged a coup and ousted the hated Prime Minister Caetano.

They have now set up a provisional junta led by General Spinoza, an ex-Governor General and Commander of the Portuguese army in Guinea-Bissau.

The Caetano dictatorship had got into a blind alley. It was faced with unwinnable and extremely unpopular wars in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, and a rising mass movement in Portugal.

The liberation movements in these colonies, particularly PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique, with the declaration of independence by Guinea-Bissau in September already recognised by 82 countries, forced sections of the Portuguese ruling class to look for a way out that was not purely military.

Support

Sections of big business in Portugal, having done well out of the early stages of the wars, were, after 13 years, being held back by the high cost of the wars—half Portugal's budget. They saw their future expansion as within the Common Market, with a possible neo-colonialist solution in Africa where they were beginning to feel strong enough to hold their own, even if direct political control was lost.

General Spinoza was closely connected and backed by two of Portugal's biggest monopolies—CUF, which controls a tenth of Portugal's industrial capacity, and Champalimaud, which controls banks and the steel industry. The best-seller he wrote, *Portugal and the Future*, in which for the first time the fact that the colonial wars could not be won militarily was publicly admitted and the gradual transition to a 'Portuguese Commonwealth' proposed, was published by a company owned by CUF. The week before the coup the boss of Champalimaud, when reading

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)



by **ALVARO MIRANDA**

on behalf of the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee. Alvaro Miranda is also a leading member of the International Workers' Branch of the British Transport and General Workers Union

the annual accounts of his bank, Pinto and Sottomayor, gave public support to Spinoza's ideas.

The coup was not brought about only by the action of this section of the ruling class. The wars were already extremely unpopular with the lower and middle ranks of an army made up largely of underpaid conscripts and career officers who had already done several tours of duty in the colonies with no prospect of victory. They foresaw that they might have to carry all the blame for an eventual defeat, as happened after the Indian takeover of Goa in 1961.

Illegal

The wars were also unpopular with the Portuguese people. Tens of thousands of Portuguese draft-dodgers are living in Europe, mainly in France.

The Portuguese working class, faced with a rate of inflation of 21 per cent and shortages of essential goods, had also become extremely militant. In a country where strikes were illegal and put down by the mounted National Republican Guards, a wave of strikes swept a number of factories, including many foreign-owned, such as Plessey's, Babcock and Wilcox, Timex, Ford, British Leyland and ITT-Standard Electric. Demonstrations were held against the rising cost of living.

This was the background to the coup. Within the army, the 'captains' movement' led the coup, with the

only some of them. But the prisoners, in a movement of solidarity, refused to leave unless all were freed. The troops ignored the orders and freed everyone.

The rage of the crowd that attacked the headquarters of the political police, forced the army to arrest all the police agents and put them in the jails just emptied of political prisoners. Red flags and red carnations were being waved all over Lisbon.

The crucial question is still the colonial wars. The ruling class needs time to prepare its neo-colonialist solution. An immediate granting of independence to the liberation movements would endanger not only their own interests, but the interests of all who exploit the black people of Southern Africa.

But the mass movement the coup unleashed in Portugal is based on the demand for an immediate end to the wars. If this demand of the working class and the conscript army is carried forward, it will not just be fascism overthrown but the whole ruling class facing defeat.

When political prisoners were released from the Caxias prison, troops were under orders to release



A soldier guards part of the arms cache discovered inside Lisbon security police headquarters

SPUC OFF!

CATHOLIC killjoy—'Weep not for me but for your murdered children'—meets Women's Liberation picket ('Not the Church, not the State; Women must decide their fate'). Or as a squad of nuns were told: 'You don't play the game so why should you make the rules'.

The anti-demonstrators gave out leaflets last Sunday and talked to passers-by, explaining how difficult it still is for working-class women to get abortions—despite the Abortion Act and how women must have the right to control their own bodies. The Society for the Protection of Unborn Children stood in obedient rows in London's Hyde Park, shepherded by priests and oozing piety, to hear the Lane Commission denounced 'as a bunch of amateurs' and pro-abortion doctors called 'the most evil men in Britain'.

They then clapped politely, crossed themselves and marched off to symphonic extracts from Elgar.

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report).



'I'M ON FIRE' CRY - BUT NO ONE CAME TO PAT'S CELL

PATRICIA CUMMINGS died of carbon monoxide poisoning on Sunday 28 February. She was 20 years old.

Patricia, who was serving a life sentence in Holloway Jail, North London, for manslaughter, died in hospital after a fire broke out in her cell and thick smoke poured from a burning mattress.

The judge at her trial had said she was 'a dangerous young woman' but one day she might be able to return to society. The inquest into her death was held last week.

Of 23 witnesses at the hearing, only one was a prisoner, Sandra Ellaby. Sandra said she heard Patricia cry: 'I'm on fire!'

Sandra rang her alarm bell and beat on her cell door. Patricia too beat on her cell door. Other prisoners raised the alarm.

'Nobody seemed to come for ages,' Sandra told the court. 'It seemed like half an hour before anyone came but time drags in prison and I did not have a watch so I can't be sure.'

When the nurses and warders arrived Patricia was given artificial respiration. It failed and she died at the hospital.

£8 wage cut!

'We won't be pushed around any more' say nursery nurses

by JENNY TAYLOR

MANY working women with young children have been eagerly awaiting the expansion of state nursery schools promised by various governments. Some will be thinking of working as nursery nurses themselves, hoping for better working conditions and higher pay.

Even the infamous White Paper Education—a framework for expansion, says: 'The rapid expansion of nursery education will require more staff . . . and it will be necessary to seek new and imaginative ways of attracting into training as nursery assistants school-leavers and others.'

First prize for new and imaginative ideas goes to Leeds. The local authority there proposes to cut the wages of future nursery nurses by £8 a week—from £20 to £12.

Trainee nursery nurses at Thomas Danby College, Leeds, faced with a halving of their living standards, are fighting the proposals. Two of the organisers of the campaign are Jean Alexander and Janet Hales.

Power

'In most nursery classes, we're general dogsbodies. We work alongside the teachers. When the teacher's ill, we often take the class alone, and that involved just about everything, including teaching, which we're not trained or paid to do. It's written into your contract that the head teacher has the power to make you do anything.'

'Although we do two years hard training, we've no prospects. You

start off as a nursery assistant and that's it. You never get any further. When we heard about the expansion of nursery education we thought that would change. The last thing we expected was a wage cut.'

'You see, in Leeds the situation is different from everywhere else. Elsewhere nursery nurses get paid according to the national joint council scale—the same as hospital nurses—at the rate of £639 a year minimum. In Leeds we get four-fifths of the NALGO rate for school secretaries—£1,082 minimum, and that's low enough. Now they say that we've got to be brought in line with the rest of the country.'

'At first they tried to fob us off by saying that the lower rate was for fewer hours, 27½ a week—which would mean we'd done two years training for a part-time job. But it's nonsense, it's impossible to do the job at all in less than 35 hours, otherwise you'd have to go off and leave the kids alone.'

'NALGO doesn't seem to have done much about it. The first they heard about our action was when we were interviewed on local radio. An official was on the phone to us

like a shot!

'They say: "Don't worry, leave it all to us". But we're not that trusting. We've learned from this that, whatever the officials say, it's important for us to fight and stick together.'

'So far we've presented a petition to the civic hall, and we've been standing outside council meetings with banners, in silence, so they have to run the gauntlet when they go in. They didn't know what to make of it, seemed to expect young girls either not to be bothered or not to know how to get organised. One reason they let the proposal be suggested in the first place was they never thought we'd protest.'

Isolated

'Well, they're wrong about that. We're going to carry on fighting. And it's not just for us in Leeds—it's for all nursery nurses in this country. If we win they'll be able to claim a decent wage themselves. But we've problems, we're isolated in separate schools most of the time. We've got to push NALGO, and hope for support from other public service unions.'

The Leeds nursery nurses need all the support they can get. Give them this support.

ON THE TEMP

UNFORTUNATELY, I have had quite a lot of experience in working as a 'temp' for employment agencies and would like to point out the disadvantages of this type of lump labour. The reasons why I—and I'm sure many other women with children are forced to do this type of work is that the lack of nursery facilities makes it impossible to take a permanent job and its easy to get a job with an agency for a couple of weeks at a time to get some extra money.

The attractions in London are the high rates of pay, about £1 to £1.50 per hour, which sounds good, but what happens if you are off sick—no money. You only get paid the hours you work, so if you want to go on holiday—no money.

The agencies make huge profit from the girls. In London the firms are charged about £60 per week by the agency for hiring a typist, many of these firms employ temps all the year round, so if they can pay that sort of money to the agency, why can't they pay their own workers the same wages.

One of the agencies I was registered with obviously discriminate against employing black people. While I was waiting to be sent to a job one of the other branches phoned one through and she must have asked the interviewer what nationality I was as the interviewer replied 'Scottish, that's okay isn't it'.

'I can't find the job that needs me.' 'We need you . . . temporarily,' reads the advert from Office Overload, and when they don't need you—in the winter when there is not so much demand for temps, then that's tough—you're out of a job.—HELEN JEFFERY.

CONTACT

Why didn't anyone come? Why was Patricia, considered in a bad mental state, in Holloway?

All the cells have alarm systems. An electrician had come down to mend some of them a few days before.

But nobody came to Patricia's cell until it was too late. Which means either the alarm system is so bad that it broke down immediately it was needed, or nobody came because nobody had the time or could be bothered.

Patricia's last contact with the prison had been the warden, who had given her tea, a cigarette, and sedation. 'A majority of convicted prisoners are on tranquilisers,' said a former inmate, 'and setting fire to the mattresses isn't rare either.' The inquest returned an open verdict.

Various law and women's organisations demonstrated at the inquest. They are demanding action on the issue, and they have pointed out that Patricia's case wasn't one in isolation, and that other prisoners in the special annexe where she had died hadn't been called to testify.

WORSE

The prison system has a strange logic. On one hand it is assumed that any woman who commits crime must be in some need of psychiatric help—there are plans to turn Holloway into a 'therapeutic centre'.

This idea is being heavily criticised. It is pointed out that any woman who is put into Holloway will be in need of treatment after she has been subjected to the place. The prison only makes things worse. Much worse.

But more important in the case of Patricia Cummings is the farce of the 'psychiatric help' she got. 'The psychiatric unit there is useless,' said a representative of Radical Alternatives to Prison. 'The fact is that there is nowhere for people like her to go.'

The talk about aid for mentally disturbed patients is just that—talk. Broadmoor, the most famous—or notorious—institution, for mentally-disturbed men prisoners, has 800 prisoners, and just eight full-time psychiatrists. . . .

So what hope was there for Patricia, being 'cured' with tranquilisers, and being asphyxiated in her Victorian cell?

WOMENS VOICE



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Burke's Special uniform

THE Burke Special (BBC-1) used to be an intelligent series which asked intelligent questions and which allowed its studio audience to behave like rational dignified human beings. That is until a recent and significant brainstorm, a two-part series on 'Decision Making' in 'Today's Society'.

The programme opened with the audience being told by Burke they were to be put in the situation of dealing with urban guerrillas who had seized a government computer centre, had taken hostages and were thought to be armed. This 'news' came over a teletape machine, describing the guerrillas as armed with mortars and automatic weapons, demanding the release of prisoners in Greece and Japan.

Burke then went into a beautiful routine of showing the audience—who looked like a representative cross-section of ex-army officers, off-duty soldiers and members of the National Front's student group—an assortment of weapons and gasses at the disposal of the police and army. He then gave an affectionate rundown on various police forces and paramilitary groups abroad.

Altered

He used the Urban Guerrillas' Mini Manual as a 100 per cent guide to what would happen in such a situation.

He finally produced our old friend Richard Clutterbuck as his expert in these matters and between them they brought in not only the IRA Provos but left groups too. Burke in a complete turn-about from his normal eagerness to get the audience to ask sensible questions, threw questions at them, and before they could make any real contribution, either altered the question in mid-flight or cut them short on their answers. The only ones who got a fair crack of the whip were the ones who wanted to call in the army.

The second installment continued as the first, Burke produced a woman magistrate and doctor from the Royal College of Surgeons when gas, high frequency sound and flashing light equipment were discussed. Only one member of the audience said anything out of line and this was a young man who had got beaten by the Paris riot police in error. Burke suggested this only proved how cunning urban guerrillas are.

Burke always appears dressed in black trousers and shirt. One may well ask whether it is style or uniform.

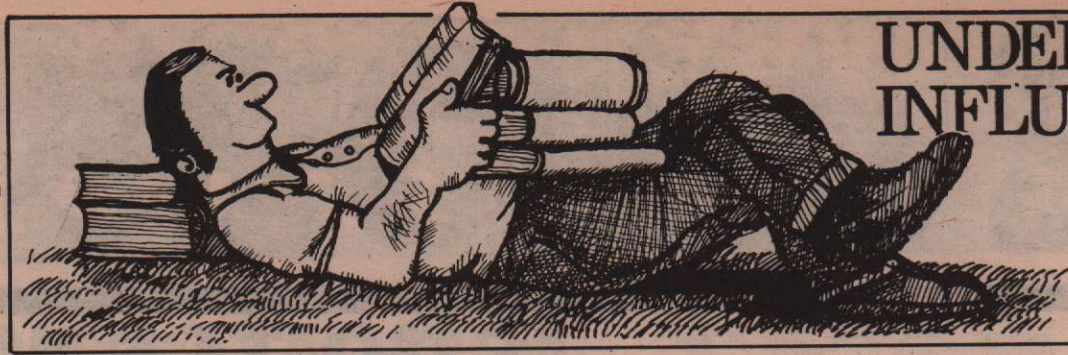
ARTHUR FULLER

...and next week

■ **SUNDAY:** ITV, 10.15pm. Keith Waterhouse, in the Daily Mirror, Fleet Street's best column of radical journalism, (come to think of it the only one). **THERE IS A HAPPY LAND**, in Granada's CHILDHOOD series of plays is autobiographical, about his childhood in Leeds.

■ **TUESDAY:** ITV, 8.50pm. Dedicated communist Otto Sling was shot in Pargue in 1952—by the 'Communist' regime, he had 'confessed' after two years of torture. 20 years later his son Jan, was in the same jail, on more or less the same charges. The son was released and now lives here. The story is told in **FULL CIRCLE**, a dramatised documentary with Jan, his mother and his wife.

■ **WEDNESDAY:** BBC-2. The last episode of **SHOULDER TO SHOULDER** is **SYLVIA**, on the work of Sylvia Pankhurst as a socialist, in the East End.



UNDER THE INFLUENCE

The start of a new series

IN THE last series of Under the Influence socialists wrote about themselves and the books which made them think about politics. Contributors included a London docker writing about Spartacus, the novel about the Roman slaves' revolt, a Coventry carworker on his discovering of a book about the Invergordon naval mutiny when he was at sea, an engineer on how he received his first copy of the Communist Manifesto, and a secretary and ex-Teddy girl on how folk music introduced her to socialism.

But it was clear that although books had helped reinforce and deepen socialist understanding, they seldom made people socialists in the first place. So in

this new series we want to broaden the scope and take contributions which talk about the real, unwritten influences, whether they were songs or strikes, friendships or fights. And we intend to publish extracts from the pamphlets or plays or poems that did the influencing, so that readers can get a taste themselves.

In the first, Dick Hall, a Nottingham collier, returns to that classic of socialist literature **The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists**, Robert Tressell's study of a group of painters and decorators and their families in Hastings about 1906. The book is published by Panther, price 40p. Available from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Rd, London N4. Add 7p for packing and postage.

A rich seam for Socialists

I WILL never forget the day a friend of mine lent me the gramophone record of Songs of Revolution, by a group called the Tolpuddle Martyrs. There was a particular song that I couldn't get out of my head. I found myself humming it continually.

It was called 'Working in a 3ft seam' and the last verse was so very apt that I began to wonder why it had never struck me before.

*'Bad conditions have prevailed for far too long,
So join the union and we cannot then be wrong,
Together we can tell the bosses all to go to hell,
For the union's voice is many thousand strong.'*

This happened just before the miners' strike of 1972. Before then the thought of ever going to a union meeting had never occurred to me. I quickly got myself elected on to the local branch committee of the NUM. I gained a place on a trade union release course in economics and sociology and joined the local Communist Party.

Power

My burning ambition was to help smash the system and eagerly catch up on my wasted years.

Our triumphant victory after seven weeks' strike was undoubtedly the big spot of my life. A feeling of sheer power and tremendous enthusiasm swept through the coalfields as we realised that we, the workers, could and would win.

Social Security payments to strikers are not large so as an economic measure I cancelled my daily papers, but not without a feeling of deep satisfaction as for some time I had been worried by the diabolical lies and libellous

accusations being slanted at the miners.

The Communist Party was a tremendous let-down personally. To me they were just like an extension of the two main parties and I felt completely cut off. Then I started to read Socialist Worker, Red Mole and other papers and was very impressed with the solidarity on various student picket lines and the way that Socialist Worker was always right behind us.

After the strike I, and later my wife, joined IS and a whole new way of life evolved. I started to collect a library and the first book I read still has a special meaning for me. It was Tressell's **The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists**.

A call to action

ALAN SILITOE wrote in 1965 about the book:

'I read an abridged edition of **The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists** when I was 19 and with the air force in Malaya. It was given to me by a wireless operator from Glasgow, who said: "You ought to read this. Among other things it is the book that won the 1945 election for Labour."

'It had been cut to half the length of the present full version, made to end on a note of despair suggesting that cranks who believed in socialism could do nothing better than think of suicide. The present edition ends the way the author intended.

'It isn't easy to say precisely the effect this book had on me when I first read it. It certainly had a great one, because it has haunted me ever since. Those whose life has touched the misery recounted by Robert Tressell can get out of it many things:

a bolstering of class feeling; pure rage; reinforcement for their own self-pity; a call to action; maybe a good and beneficial dose of all these things.

'Owen, the main character, tries with marvellous patience and tenacity to enlighten his workmates, to tell them how socialism could level out riches and give them not only a little more to live on, but also real hope of alleviating their inequalities for good.

'They won't listen, so he calls them philanthropists, benefactors in ragged trousers who willingly hand over the results of their labour to the employers and the rich. They think it the natural order of things that the rich should exploit them, that "gentlemen" are the only people with a right to govern. This theme is the soul of the novel, yet a mass of personal details keep it a novel and not a tract.'

It was so compelling that I couldn't put it down and when I was finished it I was ready to burst through the door, take on the capitalist society in which we live and tear it to pieces, bit by bit.

I also gained enormous pleasure from reading Benyon's Working for Ford, Orwell's Homage to Catalonia and Road to Wigan Pier, Sinclair's The Jungle and the one I am reading at the moment, Zola's Germinal, which is probably the best novel I have ever read. But it was Robert Tressell's book that affected me the most. It is moving and informative and I would heartily recommend it to anyone who is getting an interest in socialist and trade union ideas.

IN ONE of the most famous scenes in the book Owen mounts a step ladder to give a mock-lecture about 'The Real Cause of Poverty' to his workmates. They treat it as a complete joke at first but begin to get involved when Owen draws a diagram with a piece of charred wood showing the different social classes and the money they receive.

For a few minutes silence prevailed, each man's mind being busy trying to think of some objection to the lecturer's arguments.

'How could the small number of people in number one and two consume as much as you've given 'em in your droirin'?' demanded Crass.

'They don't actually consume all of it,' replied Owen. 'Much of it is wantonly wasted. They also make fortunes by selling some of it in foreign countries; but they consume a great part of it themselves, because the amount of labour expended on the things enjoyed by these people is greater than that expended in the production of the things used by the

workers.

'Most of the people who do nothing get the best of everything. More than three-quarters of the time of the working classes is spent in producing the things used by the wealthy.

'Compare the quality and quantity of the clothing possessed by the wife or daughter of a rich man with that of the wife or daughter of a worker. The time and labour spent on producing the one is twenty times greater in one case than in the other; and it's the same with everything else. Their homes, their clothing, boots, hats, jewellery, and their food. Everything must be of the very best that art or long and painful labour can produce.

But for most of those whose labour produces all these good things—anything is considered good enough. For themselves, the philanthropic workers manufacture shoddy cloth—

Charitable

that is, cheap cloth made of old rags and dirt; and shoddy, uncomfortable ironclad boots. If you see a workman wearing a really good suit of clothes you may safely conclude that he is either leading an unnatural life—that is, he is not married—or that he has obtained it from a tallyman on the hire system and has not yet paid for it—or that it is someone else's cast-off suit that he has bought second-hand or had given to him by some charitable person.

'It's the same with the food. All the ducks and geese, pheasants, partridges, and all the very best parts of the very best meat—all the soles and the finest plaice and salmon and trout—'

'Ere, chuck it,' cried Harlow, fiercely. 'We don't want to 'ear no more of it,' and several others protested against the lecturer wasting time on such mere details.

'—all the very best of everything is reserved exclusively for the enjoyment of the people in divisions one and two, while the workers subsist on block ornaments, margarine, adulterated tea, mysterious beer, and are content—only grumbling when they are unable to obtain even such fare as this.'

Next:

NEXT, printer Ross Pritchard will write about the effect **The Jungle**, Upton Sinclair's study of the Chicago slaughter-house trade, had when he read it as a young printing apprentice in Glasgow, and producer Pam Brighton will describe some of the difficulties in putting on her new version of St Joan of the Stockyard, a play adapted from The Jungle.

All those who have promised to write for Under the Influence or who have ideas about people who would, please contact Dave Widgery at Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

THE UNIONS

Close the coalhouse safe

THERE'S CASH INSIDE...FOR SOME

RIGHT-WINGERS on the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers—with some interesting support from those outside their ranks—have pulled off a most rewarding coup.

They have endorsed wage rises of up to £2100 a year, £40 a week, for national and area officials and area agents.

The rises have been backdated to 1 January. In addition, wage scales have been telescoped so that officials are paid the maximum salaries in the range after three years instead of six. The £60-a-year service bonus has been kept.

This gives the union's national officials £7100 a year. This is a rise of £40 a week. It gives most other members of the union's 27-man executive similar rises since all but three of them are full-time officials.

What is truly remarkable about the rises, apart from the huge wages they give the officials, is the way they were achieved. For the rises were pushed hardest of all by those gentlemen who before and during the recent strike were constantly calling for obedience to the Tories' pay law and betrayal of the miners' claims to the Tory government.

At the NUM executive meeting on 14 March the matter of officials' wage increase was brought up by Les Story, boss of COSA, the clerical workers section of the union and a dedicated Joe Gormley man. After a brief discussion, the committee's finance and general purposes sub-committee was authorised to settle the new salaries.

ERUPTED

The sub-committee met on Wednesday 20 March. At the meeting were Frank Smith, Lawrence Daly, Arthur Scargill, Walter Malt, Les Story, Dai Francis and Joe Gormley. Two members, Len Clarke and Mick McGahey were absent.

The only opposition to the new scales came from Dai Francis, the Welsh miners' leader.

Frank Smith, the Leicester miners' secretary who was so in love with the



SCARGILL: More than enough to buy another Saltley tie



DALY: Seizing the time for a £40 pay rise



GORMLEY: You should hear how much I got this year

law and the national interest when miners were fighting for rises of £8 to £15 a week, found himself in total agreement with giving himself a rise of around £40 a week.

The next step came at the April meeting of the full national executive, which was presented with a report from the sub-committee recommending the rises. This, after some considerable argument, they agreed to do.

The argument erupted when Jack Collins, the working miner who represents Kent on the executive, moved that the report recommending the rises be referred back. The rises are as big as the £45-a-week wage he earns as a faceworker.

Jack Collins' stand unleashed a flood of militancy from those who normally denounce its faintest whiff. Joe Gormley, union president, who said just before the 1972 strike started that he would sell the miners' claim for £3, insisted that the rises were fully justified.

But it was Les Story who rehearsed the arguments for the rises. Union officials' salaries should al-

ways be on a par with those of the people they negotiate with, he said. (This still leaves plenty of room for manoeuvre: Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra gets £350 a week). Story was one of those who, throughout the recent struggle against the Tories never stopped crying about the obedience to the law.

INSISTED

Indeed, the right-wingers who urged moderation throughout the miners' struggle for the beginnings of a living wage, were the ones who promoted their own rises most vigorously. Their own rises are of course in flagrant breach of the same law they were so busy upholding when it affected someone else.

But not only the right-wing pushed the rises through. Arthur Scargill, the left-wing Yorkshire miners' leader who apparently holds the patent on the flying picket, argued strongly for the rises. He insisted that officials were giving a service to the members which warranted this kind of money.

He was obviously referring to Frank Smith as much as himself and his argument could of course be extended outside the trade union movement. Take Derek Ezra, for example. Is he giving a service which warrants a rather larger salary than a working miner?

Dai Francis, the Welsh miners' leader and lifelong communist was the one man who opposed the rises on the finance and general purposes sub-committee. But he did not vote against them on the national executive. For the left-wing Welsh miners' executive had earlier voted to accept the rises.

Peter Heathfield, the Derbyshire miners' leader, spoke out against the rises. He insisted that the gratification and the pleasure of the job was more important than the money.

When the vote was put, only eight were against acceptance of the new wage scales. They were Bill Maclean and Eric Clarke from Scotland, Owen

Briscow and Peter Tait from Yorkshire, Joe Mackie from the Midlands, Joe Whelan of Nottingham, Peter Heathfield and Jack Collins. Mick McGahey again was absent.

The crowning absurdity of the arguments about the need to pay big money to get good negotiators and make them feel on a par with the employing class can be seen in the mines. In the past few years the success rate of 'the negotiators' has been zero.

Only the struggle of the miners themselves has changed their lot.

If the miners' lot is being changed there is no reason why the officials' salaries should not now be tied to the members. If this were so, certain gentlemen such as executive members Frank Smith and Roy Ottey, might suddenly discover fighting qualities they never knew they had. After all their own standard of living would be at stake.

The apex of the 'Keep 'em quiet' brigade

ONE UNION urgently in need of an infusion of basic democracy is APEX, the Association of Professional, Executive and Computer Staffs, formerly the Clerical and Allied Workers Union.

It is one of the few unions that still keeps a proscription rule which pretends to regulate the 'menace of extremism'. In fact it is used to stifle democracy and debate.

It is also run from the top down. The union's annual conferences are eloquent testimony to this. This year's, held at Blackpool two weeks ago, was no exception.

The most startling example of how the union operates at this conference centred on the move to force the executive to abide by a motion passed at the 1971 conference which called on the executive to dispose of all investments in companies with investments or interests in South Africa.

For three years now the executive has declined to do this. In a pitiful attempt to justify this, union treasurer David Rhydderach, CBE and Justice of the Peace, claimed that if APEX didn't invest in South Africa someone else would. On a card vote and after much passionate debate, the delegates voted to support the executive.

Another interesting aspect of this affair is the rule which allows the union executive to do anything it

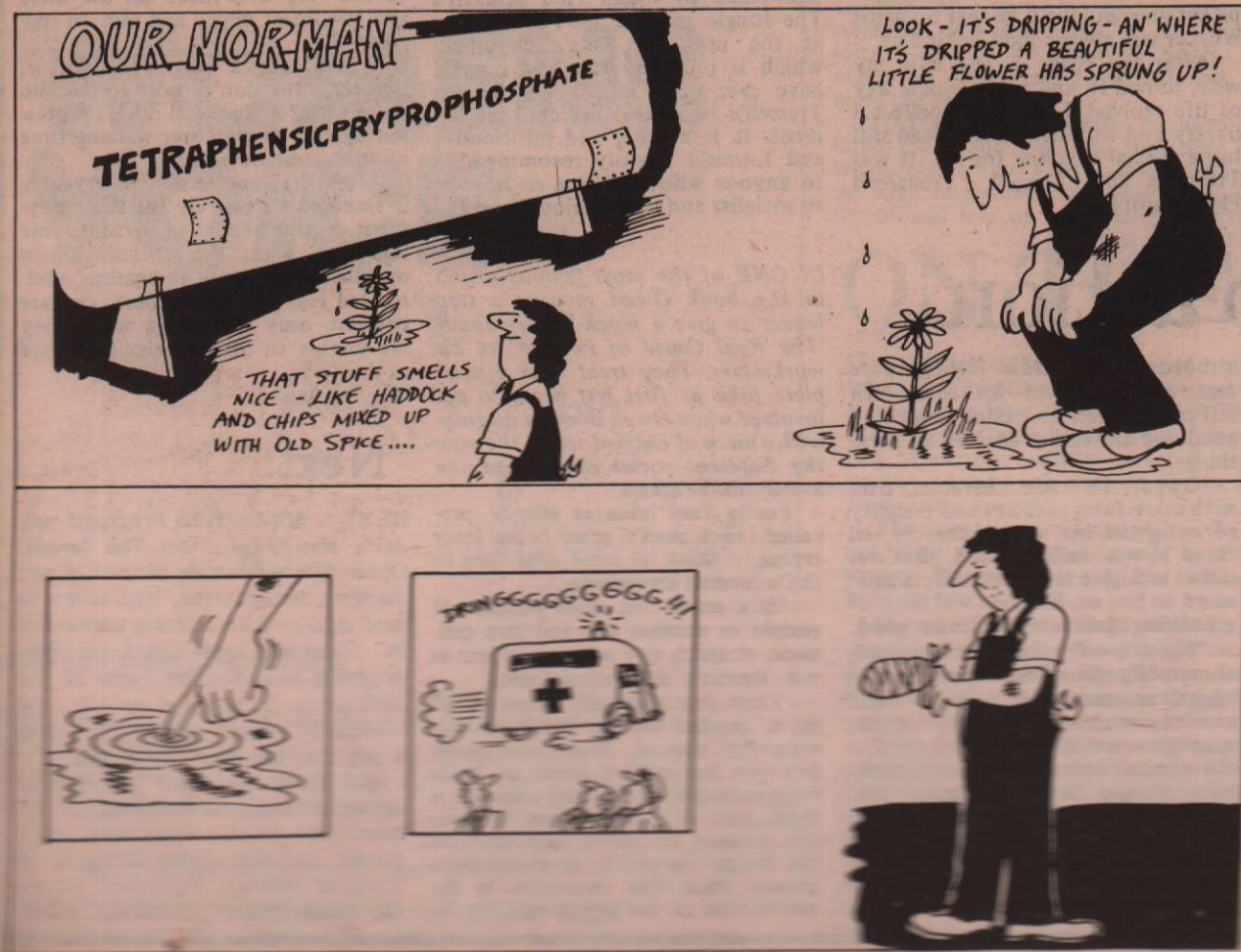
likes, including setting aside conference decisions. This is rule 39, which gives them powers to make regulations 'to meet special circumstances', whatever they may be.

The executive also succeeded in getting the conference to reject a resolution supporting the Shrewsbury pickets and demanding the repeal of the conspiracy laws. The executive argued that to repeal the Conspiracy Act 'would not solve everything', since some of the charges were under common law.

Debate

The executive's arguments against demanding that the Labour government stop the sale of gunboats to the Chilean junta was equally brilliant—contracts had to be honoured, they said.

Twisted logic became positively perverse during the key debate on the motions to end bans and proscriptions. Dennis Howell, MP and a member of the Wilson government, weighed in and spoke of how the union's members had to be protected from Communists and International Socialists. This convinced democrat didn't even move out of the chair to make his witch-hunting speech. This helped the executive win the day again, defeating the motion.



Getting hot under the white collar

By Steve Jeffreys

THE WHITE COLLAR SECTION of TASS the engineering union's broad left 'establishment' was dealt two surprise blows on Monday when its annual conference opened in Blackpool.

For the first time in years the executive was defeated on a major wages policy issue. The traditional approach to draughtsmens minimum rates was to provide a scale with annual rises every birthday from the age of 20 to 30.

Produce

Ken Gill, General Secretary-elect spoke in favour of keeping this 'age-wage' principle 'I feel we should exercise extreme caution', he said. 'What I think we have to do is to recognise industrial reality and operate accordingly'.

Two factors led to the rejection of this argument. There were more younger delegates present than in previous years. They sharply oppose the anachronism of having to wait for the full rate at 30. And the steady erosion over the past three years of the real value of TASS members' wages helped too.

Increases in wages, according to the TASS journal's editor averaged only £3.83 a week each year, barely above the Tory governments guidelines. So young and older TASS members see the fight for one high basic rate for all as being vital to correcting this situation.

The resolution finally adopted called for a minimum rate of £35 at 20 rising to £45 at 25 years, an assurance was given by the executive that it would campaign among the membership for the full rate at 20.

The second blow for the Communist Party dominated union establishment was the appearance of a daily Socialist Worker bulletin. Its aim was 'in a small way to keep the delegates in the picture with what is happening and to draw attention to what we consider are the main issues on each day of conference.'

Oppose

A moderate and democratic aim you might think. The opening remarks of Jack Davies, chairman of the standing orders committee, were however entirely directed to an attack on it: 'This is a document which is attempting to influence the decisions of this conference', he said.

'Until decisions are taken this sort of information should not be circulated', he went on. 'I hope delegates will rip them up and ignore their contents.'

A more serious attack on Socialist Worker came in a special article in the May issue of the TASS journal distributed at the conference on Monday. Editor and executive council member Harry Smith had stopped production and inserted a full centre page reply to the article which appeared in last week's Socialist Worker.

Veto sparks BSC strike

CHESTERFIELD:—200 maintenance men at the British Steel Corporation's Stanton and Stavely works voted unanimously last week to continue their two-week-old strike. The works are shut down and 2000 men have been laid off in the first major dispute since 1947.

The dispute arose after an agreement with local management over bonuses was vetoed by higher management.

A 12 per cent increase in productivity would have won wage increases of between £1.70 and £3. Higher management wanted proof of productivity increase and demanded the men worked the scheme for an indefinite period.

The negotiations have dragged on for two years, and this has made normally non-militant workers angry.

ESSEX STUDENTS FIGHT ON

COLCHESTER:—Students at Essex University voted last week to continue their four-month campaign against victimisation. A students' union general meeting also voted in favour of the re-instatement of all the expelled students and for the continuation of the picket on university supplies.

Over 400 students came from all over Britain to the mass picket in support of the Essex struggle organised by the National Union of Students last Wednesday. One of the sham disciplinary hearings was occupied and stopped, and the lecture

theatre block was occupied for the day to enforce an academic strike.

Last week also saw the continued use of police to break the picket. Students are effectively countering this by picketing shops on campus and many drivers are still refusing to cross the picket line.

The cases of the 105 arrested for picketing last term have been referred to the Director of Public Prosecutions. Their trials have been adjourned to the end of June and the police clearly wish to drag out the cases as long as possible.



BLACKLIST WHITEWASH!

by Bill Williams, EEPTU

SOUTH WALES:—The electricians' union faced with blacklisting in the electrical contracting industry, always falls back on the excuse that it is 'impossible to prove'.

The result hundreds of sparks on the dole.

So how much proof does the EEPTU need?

Crown House, contractors on Phase Two of the new Royal Mint at Llantrisant, are an eminently respectable organisation.

They are prominent in the Joint Industry Board for electrical contracting, the organisation through which the employers with the help of the union leaders police the industry.

INFORMED

Crown House are also openly engaged in blacklisting and victimisation.

I started at Crown House's prestige Llantrisant job four weeks ago. I got taken on because the foreman did not know me and he was starting men directly on the site.

There was no union shop on the job and one man due to become shop steward had been miraculously transferred. The lads were also informed

that 'the next one would be transferred to the Employment Exchange!'

A shop was formed, however, and I was elected steward. When Crown House realised they had employed me (I worked for them at Ebbw Vale before Christmas and was active in the union there) they openly set up their machinery to sack myself and other union men, even to the extent of using a miniature tape recorder, without our knowledge, while we were in negotiations.

We asked for permission to hold a meeting and I was told we were not to have one.

Men were threatened with £400 fines and six months in jail if we did have one. But this infuriated the men and we went ahead. For this crime of holding a meeting we all got the sack.

We were all re-employed on the Friday. But at 12.15pm that day, four of us, including the steward, deputy steward and shop chairman, were again sacked.

The four of us went to the area union office. While we were there the Crown House Area manager addressed the shop.

He told the lads that the steward (myself) was not interested in the men and was a professional agitator.

Crown House, he said, would make sure that he never worked for them in future.

He also stated that 'the union had washed their hands of him.'

The lads, who were unsure, were amazed at this blatant victimisation. They withdrew their labour and picketed the entrance. Electricians with the contractor Duncan Watson are refusing to cross the picket. We are now in the fourth week of our strike to beat the blacklist.

Crown House have stated they would give up the contract rather than reinstate the men.

In the three days of forming a shop we had asked for safety helmets and industrial gloves, toilet paper, proper steps to work on instead of bits of

PREPARED

wood balanced on top of breeze blocks, and proper washing facilities.

We had also asked, as per union executive instructions, for payment of a wage increase that had been frozen since last year.

All this makes us troublemakers and Crown House are prepared to deprive 40 sparks of their livelihood to smash union organisation on site.

'We need your messages of support and financial assistance. Send to B Williams, 12 Coburn Street, Cathays, Cardiff.'

300 ACT OVER JOBS THREAT

by Terry Tull

PLYMOUTH:—More than 300 members of ASTMS at Rank Radio International's factory at Ernesettle decided to ban overtime last week following warnings of redundancies.

They have been promised total support by their brothers and sisters in Rank Radio's factory at Redruth, Cornwall. G 'Hank' Wells (ASTMS) and Christine Beith, from the clerks' union, APEX, told Socialist Worker that they, too, have been warned of possible redundancies.

Connie Tull, convenor of the manual workers who are organised at Redruth in the electricians' union, EEPTU, has promised full support for the staff workers.

On show... weapons of torture

IAN MILLS, Secretary of the Joint Action Committee Against Forcible Feeding, demonstrating the surgical instruments used on the Irish hunger strikers. Every morning, for the last 158 mornings, they are taken by force to a special cell, bound to a chair, have their jaws clamped apart, their teeth wedged open, and a greased rubber tube rammed down their throat.

'I know it's sickening,' said Mills, 'and if only the British people realised the barbaric things that are being performed in their name, there would be tens of thousands with us today. But the TV has turned itself off and the liberal press, so quick to speak out against torture as long as it's many thousands of miles away, are wallowing in respectability when it comes to Ireland.'

'But if they get away with this torture of Marion Price today, it will be Joan Smith or the Shrewsbury men tomorrow.'

The hunger strike is to demand political status for Hugh Feeney, Gerry Kelly and the Price sisters and for a transfer to an Irish prison. 500 marchers, mainly Irish working class people, went to the Home Secretary's mansion.

'Roy Jenkins claims he is a socialist and a man of feeling,' said Mills, 'so we are going to embarrass him until he acts like one.'

Picture: CHRISTOPHER DAVIES (Report)

'Tyrant' firm sack 24

YORK:—24 members of the print union SLADE have been picketing Ben Johnson's (Printers)—described as 'one of the most autocratic and paternalistic' firms in York—after being given notice.

Johnson's took advantage of the three-day week to break the union's house agreement and the men's contracts of employment. The SLADE men, some of whom have worked 30 years for Johnson's, answered this by 'withdrawing co-operation'. The sackings followed.

24-hour pickets were mounted last Monday when the men came out on official strike. Joined by fellow members from other parts of Yorkshire, they have had some success in turning away delivery wagons and are now assured of full co-operation from T&G drivers.

Some fellow workers, mostly NGA members, confused by the lack of information from their union leadership have been crossing picket lines, however.

Presses are likely to stop soon though, when the blacking operation on all Johnson's work throughout this country, Europe and America begins to bite.

Messages of support to SLADE & PW, 6 Clifton, York.

International Socialists



If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to: The International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Name _____

Address _____

Trade Union _____

Sacked! - for rank and file paper

by Ian Linn

DUNDEE:—Jim Barlow has been sacked from the new Ninewells Hospital. His crime—putting out a rank and file hospital workers' paper.

The first issue of the paper concentrated on the wage chaos which has persisted since the hospital opened 12 weeks ago. This has meant some workers have been taking home as little as £8 or £9 a week. Thanks to management inefficiency these were not put right the same day.

This slowness ceased immediately when it came to getting rid of Jim. He was given a packet containing £71 and escorted off the premises.

The sacking was made easier by the local Transport Union officials, worried by increasing militancy and the appearance of a rank and file paper. District secretary John Johnson, with the backing of the district sub-committee, removed Jim's stewards' credentials because of a complaint by hospital management. At no stage was he told of the complaint or given a chance to answer the accusations.

Persuade

The officials told management Jim was no longer a steward before they told Jim himself. Jim was sacked the same day.

But management and union officials completely underestimated the solidarity of the workers behind Jim. At lunchtime the following day the stores staff decided to strike. By evening 100 workers were out.

The convenor, Ella Cox, tried to persuade the workers to return. Faced with an angry crowd she dissociated herself from the strikers and told them: 'If you want to be militant, go and work in Timex'—a Dundee factory with a recent history of militant action.

At a mass meeting last Wednesday of 150 workers, now including engineers and electricians, management and officials backed down significantly. Management are now saying Jim was not dismissed but is suspended.

Full-time official John Knox assured the workers that if Jim was not re-instated after an appeal, to be held within a week, a mass meeting of all the hospital's workers would be held to decide further action. The meeting decided to return to work but not before they had passed a vote of no confidence in the convenor.

Support grows for evicted workers

EASTLEIGH, Hants:—Workers evicted from the Strachans engineering factory have been visiting key industrial centres throughout the country to build up support for their struggle to save jobs.

At the factory there is a 24-hour-a-day picket. This is a considerable setback to the bosses, who clearly hoped that the dispute would fade away once the workers were evicted. The pickets operate from a make-shift hut built near the factory by the workers. It has been equipped with portable heaters, a cooking stove, TV and camp beds.

While the pickets have kept a guard over the plant delegations have been visiting factories in the North East, Yorkshire and the Midlands.

Mike Marshal, secretary of the Joint Union Committee, paid tribute to IS member Sheila MacGregor for providing the delegates with contacts at factories in Yorkshire.

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Tycoons in distress

HUNDREDS of millions of pounds of workers' pension money are being used to bail out property speculators who have fallen on hard times.

City publicity men are trying to hush up what is rapidly becoming one of the biggest financial scandals since the war. They are even trying to get the Labour government to cough up £300 million to help soften the blow.

Last week the ICI Pension Fund had to pay out nearly £14 million to help the property speculating Lyons Group pay out loans on

THEY'RE SHORT OF CASH—AND WANT YOUR PENSION TO HELP

which it had defaulted.

But that's just the tip of the iceberg.

Last month's report on pension funds by Counter Information Services pointed out how much workers' pension money was being sunk in dubious property outfits. The report asked: 'What happens when these firms' funds run out?' Now we're getting the answer.

The miners and the Post Office workers have suffered worst.

The National Coal Board pension fund was one of four rescuers of Cedar Holdings—a second mortgage concern whose main business was making money for its directors. With the pension funds for workers in electricity, Unilever and Phoenix Assurance, it chipped in £72 million to save Cedar—even though the

miners' original contribution to Cedar was almost worthless.

The miners have also lost £2 million because their pension fund bought shares in J H Vavasseur, another 'fringe' operator.

The Post Office workers have lost up to £15 million in deals with tycoon Jim Slater. Slater made vast profits from selling them hunks of his satellite companies—which are now collapsing.

Fallen

The pension funds of Standard Triumph, BICC, the Thomson Organisation, Pilkingtons, London dockworkers (150,000 shares) and ICI (three million shares) have holdings in Town and City Properties, whose shares have fallen by 70 per cent in six months.

This unspeakable robbery is the result of private management of pension funds. It's the result of workers handing over enormous fortunes to a handful of speculators.

The workers must control their own funds. Trade union branches and shop stewards' committees must take their pension funds out of the hands of capitalist enterprise and use them to assist workers, not their enemies.



TWENTY THOUSAND teachers marched through London on Monday in the biggest teachers' demonstration ever known. This reflects the growing militancy of London teachers. The demonstration was supported by large groups of NALGO members and technical college teachers who are also fighting for increases in London weighting allowances.

The teachers are demanding recognition of their right to an increase from £118 to £350. The allowance has not been increased since 1970. Unless there is an award soon the staff

shortages in London schools will become even more acute. Already one school in three has classes on part time.

Teachers are now voting on future action. Only extended strikes will show the government that teachers mean business and win the claim. The march was also important because it showed that teachers and town hall workers recognise that they have a common cause. It should be a stepping stone for joint action in the future.

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

NALGO STRIKE WAVE WORRIES 'LEADERS'

by Geoff Woolfe (NALGO)

ENTHUSIASM for the £400 London weighting allowance battle is rising daily among rank and file NALGO members—despite renewed 'social compact' appeals from the TUC leaders.

Islington's 1500 NALGO members, in the fourth week of their strike, are as solid as when they came out, while Tower Hamlets is demanding to be brought out on total strike.

Members at Hounslow, Islington, Greenwich and Lewisham have been picketing the swearing-in of blackleg volunteers to cover the local elections.

The NALGO leadership, shocked by the rank and file response, have been trying to undermine our action.

At the union's London district council meeting, delegates from three major branches demanded the executive step up strike action.

But Mike Blick, chairman of the union's London weighting panel, claimed the union couldn't risk it since it might be let down by the members.

Two days earlier, he was reminded, his own union branch had voted 750-50 to reject any move to call off the action.

By appealing to the backward delegates, the right-wing kept control

NALGO Action, the rank and file group, is calling on all members to lobby the executive this Friday for an escalation of the action and unity with other public sector workers fighting similar struggles.

Claws out for Clore

by Jim Tolton (AUEW)
Leicester District Committee

LEICESTER:—A long-standing pay dispute at Economic Stampings, part of the Bentley Group and of Sir Charles Clore's empire, erupted in strike action last Friday.

The 50 toolmakers want to be paid the average wage for the group. We now get £5 less than this. The national agreement can't operate because there are no skilled production workers in the factory. The bosses have tried to link us with semi-

skilled operators, even though they get less than we do!

The rate-fixer has been newly-appointed from the shop stewards' committee. He knows the complex piece-work system inside out, and all sections of the factory are under threat of further attacks.

Ted Scott, AUEW district organiser, has expressed sympathy for the employers' proposal and indicated that he doubts whether the strike will be made official. So the striking toolmakers will be lobbying the district committee on May Day.

Remember May Day

MAY DAY is workers' day. A day of solidarity. We think solidarity begins at home. Send us some May Day money, money for your struggle, money for your paper!

Amongst the contributions this week have been one from the York busmen in the 9124 TGWU branch. The money, £2, was raised by weekly collections using the Fighting Fund collection cards we have produced.

Everyone donated 5p or 10p, weekly, and as the collector says, 'most busmen when approached willingly cough up... it's not much but it all helps.' Socialist Worker readers at Manor House Hospital also collected £2.30. The total was £274.22 for the week, bringing this month's total to £1411.15.

If you think you can raise a regular collection at work for Socialist Worker then write to us for some collection cards. Or we have sheets for special collections. However you collect it, send it as soon as possible to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London, E2 8DN.

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