

workers' ACTION

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10p

THE General Council of the TUC has now pledged support for the strikers at Grunwicks and urged all unions to continue and intensify financial and practical aid.

As we go to press, Yorkshire miners are planning to strike and join the hundreds of other trade unionists and left activists that are already on the Grunwick picket line.

The spirit of 1972 is with us again: the overwhelming physical power of working class solidarity; the elation generated at the victorious mass picket of Saltley Gates during the miners' strike of February; the feeling that was alive in the thousands who marched on Pentonville Prison in July to free the five jailed London dockers.

The spirit of the years of the Social Contract — of a working class accepting the conditions of defeat without even losing the battle — that tired spirit has been drowned out by the reverberating echoes from the Grunwick picket line.

George Ward, the little boss of Grunwicks, and his Tory friends and advisers cannot defeat this new spirit. Rather, the danger comes from people like Roy Grantham, General Secretary of the strikers' union APEX. He has declared his readiness to call off the mass picketing if Ward so much as agrees to talk.

That attitude — whether born of timid routinism or treachery — is the path to defeat.

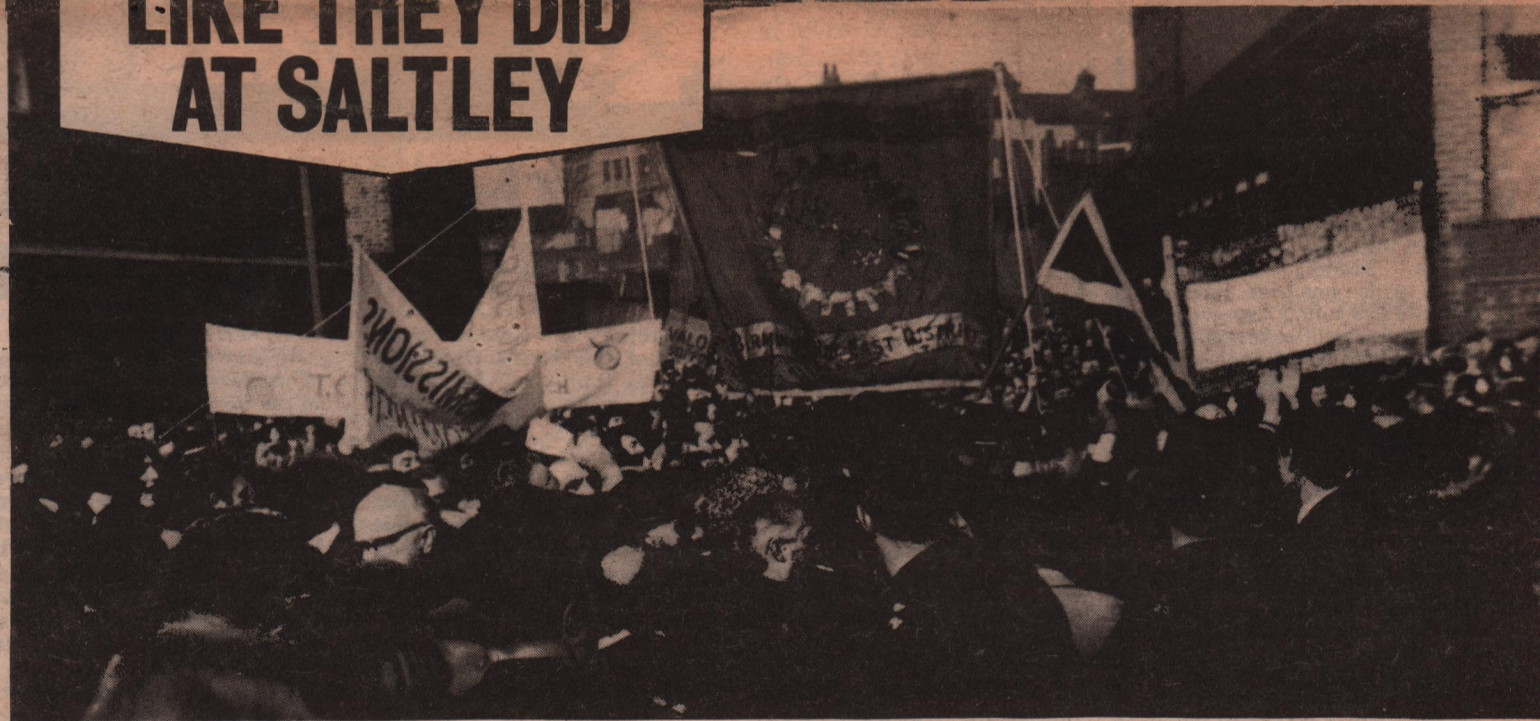
The road to victory is the mass picket, and its strengthening until the strikers have won all their demands.

The spirit that shut the Saltley gates can shut the gates at Grunwicks too.

■ VICTORY TO THE GRUNWICK STRIKERS!
■ STEP UP THE SOLIDARITY, STRENGTHEN THE PICKET!

Close the gates!

LIKE THEY DID AT SALTLEY



ERIC HARRISON

BALANCE SHEET OF PHASE 2

OVER THE FIRST nine months of Phase 2 of the Pay Code, earnings rose by 7½%, while prices went up by nearly twice as much. These were the findings in the official Department of Employment Gazette.

At the beginning of Phase 2, Chancellor Healey promised a rate of inflation in single figures. That promise, like all the others, was a lie.

The result is that the standard of living of working people, which has already declined substantially, will go on falling. According to government figures, by the end of Phase 2 real disposable income will have fallen by 5-6% in a year.

And that is for those with work.

The figures for unemployment this June are the highest since the war for June, and not all the newly unemployed were school leavers: 104,000 young people did leave school and join the dole. But a further 4,362 workers simply lost their jobs.

Next month the official figures, now at 1,450,000 (6.2% of the working population) will jump to more than one and a half million as hundreds of thousands of youngsters leave school with no job in sight.

QUEEN'S GUARD RAPIST FREE

ON FRIDAY June 17th, three Appeal Court judges freed Coldstream Guardsman Tom Holdsworth from a 3-year prison sentence he had received for grievous bodily harm and indecent assault.

Holdsworth had tried to rape 17-year old Carol Maggs. He had attacked her with such ferocity that her earrings were ripped out, her ribs fractured, her kidneys damaged and her vagina injured. Holdsworth had bitten her breasts and thighs, and badly bruised her neck and ankles.

Carol Maggs fainted in pain during the wild assault which lasted over an hour. She had to have psychiatric treatment for six months after the attack.

The judges decided to overturn the three-year sentence and substitute for it a three-month suspended sentence ... so that Holdsworth could follow his "promising career" in the army. One of the judges advised him to "go back to your unit and serve your country."

Judge Wien in his judgment treated the attack as an under-

standable expression of the soldier's "enthusiasm for sex". This is typical of the indulgent view taken by judges to sexual attacks on women. In fact such attacks are vicious expressions of hostility and a desire to degrade and humiliate the victim.

The judges also argued that Holdsworth had previously been of good character, and that he was in danger of getting "a criminal instinct while serving his sentence". Ignoring the fact that Holdsworth was clearly **already** a criminal, and had as like as not been encouraged in brutality during his "promising career" in the army, what would these judges have done to Holdsworth if his first offence had been grievous bodily harm to a ... judge? The evils of the prison system would then have been considered not nearly harsh enough to "fit the crime".

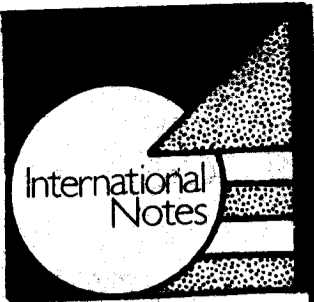
A number of MPs have tabled a Commons motion demanding the dismissal of the three judges, Wien, Roskill and Slynn. Labour MP Jack Ashley denounced the "inexcusable chauvin-

ism shown by some judges in cases of rape." And Robert Kilroy-Silk compared the 6-month suspended sentence on Holdsworth with an actual 6-month sentence being served by a woman constituent of his for stealing one pair of nylon tights from a supermarket.

A group of women, outraged by the Appeal Court decision — which gives the green light to other such attacks, especially by soldiers — painted slogans outside the law courts in the Strand and on a Royal Artillery war memorial. The international meeting to discuss rape law which is to be held at London's Conway Hall this Friday, will focus on the case.

Cases of rape in Italy and in the USA have recently highlighted the judicial indifference to the human rights and dignity of women, and set off militant campaigns against judicial double standards.

The women's movement — and in fact all socialists — should campaign for the reversal of this decision and for the dismissal of the three judges.



WHEN 35-YEAR OLD Omar Abdel-Karim was released in February after five months in the hands of Israel's military occupiers of the West Bank, he looked like an old man. He could barely speak, and didn't recognise his wife and his brother. After two months' intensive hospital treatment, he could still hardly walk. Abdel-Karim's lawyer, Felicia Langer, described visiting him 6 weeks after his arrest: "He was unable to walk by himself... He did not know his age, address, or whether he had children. ... It seemed to us that he was in another world."

The story of what happened to Abdel-Karim after he was arrested on October 3rd 1976 comes in a 4-page feature by the *Insight* team of the *Sunday Times*, which appeared last Sunday June 19th. After a 5-month investigation, they concluded that Abdel-Karim's case is typical, and that the Israeli authorities use torture systematically.

They say that torture takes place at six centres, two of them in Israel (pre-1967 territory) and four in the areas occupied since 1967; that "All of Israel's security services are implicated: the Shin Beth, roughly Israel's MI5 and Special Branch in one, which reports to the Prime Minister; Military Intelligence, which reports to the Minister of Defence; the border police; and Latam, Israel's "Department for Special Missions", both of which report to the Police Minister."

The *Sunday Times* report

It was loaded, but it was real

The elections in Spain, the first in 41 years, have given close to a majority (34.5%) to the Centre coalition of groupings led by Adolfo Suarez, and have established the 'Socialist' PSOE as the main opposition party with 26% of the votes.

The Spanish Communist Party, which has been indispensable to the ruling class in ensuring a peaceful reformation so far, won only 7.5% of the vote. This does not reflect its real strength, measured for example in the Workers' Commissions. But then the whole electoral system was tilted in favour of the 'Conservatives' and against the CP and Socialists. For example in the agrarian region of Soria there will be one Deputy for 33,500 (largely conservative) votes; in Madrid it requires 141,250 (largely left wing) votes to elect one Deputy.

Nevertheless, Spain appears to have been transformed from a decrepit and aged fascist dictatorship into a recognisable bourgeois democracy.

It still lacks a new constitution — and this will be one of the central tasks of the Deputies returned in this month's election.

Immediately, a crisis for the new Suarez government arises from a pledge by 22 out of a total of 42 Basque Deputies to support the "Government in exile" which has declared itself the legitimate government of the Basque region ever since the fascists overran the autonomous Basque area in 1938. In fact, however, the Basque Nationalist Deputies and also the Catalan Nationalists are said by commentators to be most likely to compromise "for now" on their basic demands for a restoration of autonomy (the Catalans) and for independence (the Basques).

Sunday Times reveals

Thousands tortured by Israel

is the first full independent investigation that has been done with access to the West Bank. In its view torture is used for three purposes:

- to get information;
- to terrorise the occupied areas into passivity;
- and "to induce people to confess to "security" offences, of which they may, or may not, be guilty."

The use of torture as an adjunct to the "judicial" system (reminiscent of Stalin-era "confession-trial" methods) is perhaps the most revealing. It certainly means a very wide degree of involvement and collusion, and points to an extreme cynicism in the use, acceptance and cover-up of torture. It also points to the extent of it, if various parts of the *Sunday Times*' revelations are added up together.

Though Israel's "security forces may interrogate prisoners for up to 6½ months, longer term detention is not employed. Not wishing to set up concentration camps, the Government ordered that all prisoners were to be tried and convicted.

COURTS

In the military courts that have sentenced the 3,200 Arabs that Israel currently imprisons for "security offences" (and those who have been sentenced and since let out), "most convictions ... are based on confessions by the accused; most of those confessions, the lawyers are convinced, are extracted by ill-treatment or torture; almost without exception the courts reject that contention."

Later, the report contends that "the prosecution is almost invariably equipped with a statement, signed by the suspect, confessing to at least some of the charges" and it quotes Wasfi Masri, a 60-year old lawyer from Nablus and a senior judge under Jordanian rule, saying "In 90 per cent of cases I have, the prisoner had told me that he was beaten and tortured."

Over the past ten years, many stories have come out of Israel about the torture

and brutality meted out to Arab prisoners. It was the logical outcome of Israel's policy of territorial conquest. These reports could either have been isolated incidents, or the tip of an iceberg.

The *Sunday Times* report



THE COALITION THAT HAS EVERYTHING

According to opinion polls, 70% of the French electorate believes that the Union of the Left — an alliance of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals — will come to power after the 1978 legislative elections. But the polls also show that most people think that the victory of the Union of the Left will not make much difference to their living standards.

The problem for the parties of the Left is to generate more enthusiasm for their victory without creating expectations that could cause problems for a Left government trying to run capitalism. It is particularly a problem for the Communist Party — the French capitalist class has long distrusted the CP, and will let it in to the government only if keeping it out would be even more troublesome.

Moreover, given the coalition framework the CP has to convince its worker militants that it really is standing up for their interests, and won't just let the Socialist Party reap all the benefits of the Union of the Left.

Thus the process of "updating" the "Common Programme" of the Union of the Left, which started on May 31st, has been the occasion for a round of jousting between the Communist

Party and the Socialist Party. In May the CP produced a set of proposals for putting figures to the promises in the Common Programme. Enumerating a minimum wage of 2200 francs (about £250) a month, a 40-hour week (already, in theory, gained in 1936!) and 5 weeks of paid holiday, they say these can be paid for by increased taxes on the rich, by curbing state hand-outs to industry, and most of all by a 6% per year rate of growth in 1978-80.

To assure the bosses that the CP was still 'responsible', the CP also announced that it supported nuclear armaments for France.

BLOOD

With these proposals in hand, CP general secretary Georges Marchais took the Socialist Party to task: "Let us just say that the slightness of the proposals of the Socialist Party and the statements of certain of its leaders are not calculated to reassure us". In a number of factories the Communist Party has organised workers' polls: For or Against the updating of the Common Programme.

Marchais received an acid reply from Socialist Party leader François Mitterand. "George, calm down, relax and beware of optical illusions: the slightness of our proposals is exactly equivalent to the substance of the Common Programme itself."

Mitterand has laid his em-

phasis on the idea that in conditions of crisis, a Left government will not be able to do very much very quickly.

At the same time, talks are going on to extend the flanks of the Union of the Left. Various "left Gaullist" groupings are gathering themselves together into a possible "fourth component" of the Union. And the left-Socialist PSU (Unified Socialist Party) announced "a wide range of agreement" between itself and the CP after a joint leadership meeting on 10th June.

The adherence of the PSU is significant not so much on account of the PSU's own small forces but for the CFDT trade union federation, within whose bureaucracy the PSU has a substantial influence.

RACHEL LEVER

No wonder most people think that the Union of the Left will win; and no wonder the workers have little to hope for from that victory. This is surely the coalition that contains everything: a mass workers' party (the CP) whose base expects a defence of workers' interests; a radical left (the PSU) which promotes workers' self management; a sprinkling of solid Gaullist men of affairs; and, in charge of the whole enterprise, a skilled bourgeois politician, François Mitterand, as the best possible safeguard of capitalist interests.

COLIN FOSTER

PAISLEY AND MASON NEED LOSE NO SLEEP

Last Thursday's Irish election recorded a sweeping victory for the main southern capitalist party, Fianna Fáil.

Fianna Fáil differs from the defeated coalition in paying lip-service to the idea of a united Irish Republic, a thing that Fine Gael and Labour don't go in for themselves.

Though the British occupation and military rule of the North appeared to play little part in the election campaign, the result will perhaps unsettle relations in northern Ireland by giving fuel to Paisleyite agitation about the "danger from Dublin" and by encouraging Republicans for a short time until disillusionment sets in.

Certainly while the war in the North was not a serious issue in dispute between the parties, Conor Cruise O'Brien (prominent Labour Party member and a Minister in the coalition government) who chose to take a vigorous public stand against the whole tradition of Ireland's struggle for independence, lost his seat. So did Minister of Justice Patrick Cooney — responsible for

the repressive laws aimed at Republican activists.

The scale of Fianna Fáil's triumph is unprecedented in the history of the southern statelet. It notched up 84 seats in the Dáil, with 43 going to Fine Gael, 17 to Labour, and four independents, giving Fianna Fáil an overall majority of 20.

The opinion polls had been predicting a victory for the Fine Gael-Labour coalition. With hindsight it is not difficult to see why this did not occur. As the *Financial Times* put it "Discontent with rising prices" (going up by 14% a year) "and joblessness" (11% of the workforce) "has apparently cancelled out the coalition's in-built advantage of having redrawn constituency boundaries."

Fianna Fáil had concentrated its fire on the coalition's abysmal economic record, and probably did well out of an eve-of-poll forecast of a rise in the inflation rate to 20%. And it was able to present itself as the only alternative, with Labour

disqualified as an independent force by entering into the coalition,

But dealing with the economic problems of the 26-Counties will not be an easy job for Fianna Fáil leader Jack Lynch, as his policies may well drive up the inflation rate and fail to generate 20,000 jobs immediately as promised. And the most the republican forces can expect from Lynch is the repeal of the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act of 1974, which allows southern courts to try people suspected of committing offences in the Six Counties.

Even this bone may not be thrown to the Republicans. During its 32 years of office Fianna Fáil has been just as ready, if not readier, than its Fine Gael opponents when it came to suppressing republicans: despite all its "republican" bluster, it has interned, hanged and shot republicans.

Ian Paisley and Roy Mason needn't lose much sleep over these results.

CHRIS GRAY

Editorial

Small revolt but Labour loses control

THE Tories are calling on the government to resign. The Liberals are threatening to end their pact with the government, and Callaghan may try to appease these mini-Tories by disciplining the two left wing MPs who voted against the government on a section of the Budget.

The two, Jeff Rooker and Audrey Wise, got the support of the Tories when they put an amendment to the Finance Bill in a committee session on June 14th. Their amendment will increase the amount of non-taxable pay; it will particularly help the lower paid.

This wasn't a big blow to Healey's Budget. But it adds to the picture of a government that just can't govern.

Callaghan has already withdrawn one part of the original Budget plans — higher taxes on petrol — because the Liberals said they wouldn't vote for it. Bill on devolution and "industrial democracy" are out for this session. And the government has been forced by the Liberals to push their chosen proposals for voting procedures in the direct elections to the European parliament; while at the same time being forced by Labour back-benchers to offer a free vote on the issue. And in the Cabinet itself, neither Foot nor Benn will agree to support the direct election plans favoured by Callaghan and the Liberals.



In addition to having to whip Labour MPs into line to support policies dictated by the IMF and the Grand Generals of British capitalism, Callaghan's government is now having to herd them into the voting lobbies to suit the Liberals. And if any of them step out of line, in steps John Pardoe to read the Riot Act and demand a tighter rein on Labour's ranks.

A parliamentary situation like this is full of uncertainties and unpredictability. The ruling class don't like that. It would not tolerate it unless the Callaghan government, for all its ragged impotence, served some useful purpose for British bosses.

That purpose was spelled out last week by *The Times*: "If they could get a phase three of substance so much the better: if none was available it was better that they should prove it. Otherwise an incoming Conservative administration would find their authority and confidence undermined from the outset by the belief that if only Labour were still in office, wages would be so much more under control."

The other sign that worries the ruling class is this "incoming Conservative administration". They know it will mean fiercer class struggles. And it will possibly be over a barrel on devolution just as much as Labour is.



What of Rooker and Wise?

We have said time and again that Labour MP's should vote for working class measures and against attacks on the working class. If such votes endanger the life of the government, or bring its life to an end; the blame rests with the government itself. Its days are not numbered because of any "disloyalty" of backbench MPs, but because of its own disloyalty to the interests of the working class.

If the government hadn't done everything it could to grind down the working class, it could confidently rally the support it needs to go to an election now. Instead it leans further to the right, clinging to the Liberals and their fear of an election.

Where Jeff Rooker and Audrey Wise are wrong is in the limit of their revolt. Audrey Wise says she will oppose the government to get tax relief for one parent families, while Jeff Rooker wants to see more tax concessions for the disabled. But while these amendments are welcome in themselves, they will not be enough to give direction or impetus to any fight within the Labour ranks against the government's right wing policies. By limiting their opposition, Rooker and Wise have for the present squandered an opportunity to do this.

□□ By "a lucky piece of queue-jumping" William Benyon's anti-abortion Amendment Bill has taken a further step in the parliamentary process, going into its committee stage some two weeks earlier than had been expected.

As it does so, Health Minister David Ennals has made public his objections to the Bill, in response to an appeal by 2,000 doctors who got together to oppose further restrictions on abortion. (They include half of all professors of obstetrics and gynaecology in Britain.)

Ennals states that any "abuses" of the 1967 Act have been eliminated, and that since 1974 only two private clinics have failed to come up to standard and didn't get DHSS approval.

The anti-abortionists make a big thing of late abortions, and the Benyon Bill would put a stop to all abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy. Ennals comments "Many of those consulted felt that the upper time limit of 20 weeks would prevent some of the women in greatest need from having their pregnancies terminated. I share that view."

The figures published last week show that less than 1 per cent of abortions are done after 20 weeks, and of these most are for girls under 15 or women of 45 or over.

In 1975, 79.7% of all abortions took place within 12 weeks of pregnancy.

Ennals' memorandum didn't concern itself with all the abuses of the 1967 Act by anti-abortionists, by doctors and consultants who abuse and insult women who ask for abortions, and by consultants who refuse to do abortions at all and organise others to refuse, leaving whole areas of the NHS hopelessly equipped to comply with even the 1967 Act.

■ ■ ■ And from the other end, so to speak, of the political spectrum, another story of offended sensibilities.

The French government puts up the money each year for the "Scott-Moncreiff Translators' Prize", awarded every year for the translation of a contemporary French work.

Last year the prize was won by Brian Pearce. And he was due to get it this year too, for his translation of Edouard de Blaye's "Franco and the Politics of Spain", recently published by Pelican.

There were ructions when the French authorities saw the book as published, showing on the cover a model of Franco with a skull and a bomb for medals and bits of a human skeleton for epaulettes.

No way, they proclaimed, were they going to patronise this depiction of the respected Spanish leader. Now they're threatening to take their money elsewhere.



□□ Rob McNulty, one of the 38 people arrested at the picket of the Randolph Hotel in Oxford, when fascists tried to go in for a meeting in support of the Trust Houses Forte bosses, was acquitted after the police had run rings round themselves. One officer said Rob was "too violent to handle", while another told the court that he had behaved quite mildly. Later, a police cadet gave evidence about a conversation outside the court with another police officer — who came to the witness stand next and denied ever having such a conversation.

Another defendant, Sue Lukes, was said to have obstructed a passer by, and then to have felled to the ground this passer by and the policeman who came to his assistance! With the alleged passer by not in court (and perhaps not anywhere else either) as a witness, the case was adjourned.

So far, 3 of the 38 have been acquitted. Other cases are yet to come up.

■ ■ ■ We stated in last week's *Workers Action* that at the Scottish Miners' Gala in Edinburgh on June 11th Mick McGabey "Made hostile references" to that morning's anti fascist picket of NF leader Tyndall's press conference. We have been informed that this is incorrect, and that in fact McGabey directed his remarks against the National Front. Apologies to Mick McGabey!

□□ On Wednesday June 15th Scotland played Chile in the Santiago football stadium. Chile's workers gave their comment on the match when they left 3 out of 4 seats empty in the 85,000 capacity Stadium. A reader of *Workers' Action* sent us a further comment on the match:

If any time I should be beaten
Or tortured or killed for my beliefs
I pray that you will bury me quickly,
Not leave me in the stadium
Lest I be in an offside position
When the next International is played
And spoil the innocent enjoyment
Of a civilised world.
For politics must not interfere with sport
Even when that sport is the massacre of the innocent.
AMEN.

■ ■ ■ A radio news item on Wednesday night reported that George Davis [as in "George Davis is Innocent OK"] had been arrested and would probably be charged the following morning. Not the least interesting part of it was the announcement itself; according to the law as it is writ, an arrest must be made on a specified charge; until a person is charged, they can't be arrested and are, in theory, free to go. Hence the better known formula "helping police with their inquiries". The actual practice is very different of course. But when radio news broadcasts start to change the formula, it's a sign that things are changing fast. In fact, a recent legal precedent may mean that the law will be brought into line with police practice, allowing a new class of arrest: detention for questioning.

■ ■ ■ The inquiry into Ronan Point, the tower block in Newham which collapsed killing 4 people and injuring many others, has finally been fixed for April 24th 1978! By that time, more than ten years will have passed since the disaster happened. It's amazing how long the law takes when it comes to fixing blame for criminal negligence on employers, or in this case an unboly alliance between Newham Council and cheapshate building firms.

When it's in the interests of the ruling class, of course, the wheels of "justice" move rather more quickly.

J.B. Homewood

SOLID POV



THE magnificent support for the Grunwick strike is still spreading. Where once an "acceptable number" of pickets was defined as "around half a dozen", now fearful pleas go out for "only" 500 on the line! No wonder that concerned voices are calling for "new guidelines on picketing".

But apart from the hundreds of supporters (some days over a thousand) who have made their way to Chapter Road each morning, many other blows have been struck for the strike.

Postal workers, members of the UPW, at the Willesden and Cricklewood sorting offices decided last week to black all Grunwick's mail. This is a major gain, as most of the film processing plant's

work comes and goes by mail.

Tom Jackson, the UPW leader who months ago accepted a court ruling forbidding the union to black Grunwick's mail, immediately cabled his members an instruction to "work normally". But the sorters have

stood their ground and rejected the instruction — and in fact threatened to strike rather than lift their blacking

Elsewhere in London, post office workers have said they won't allow Grunwick mail to be re-directed through other sorting offices.

And telegrams of support

We do what we have to do to win



LOTS OF well intentioned people have been shocked and surprised at the actions of the police at the Grunwick mass picket. They hadn't seen this sort of brutality before from the police — the limb-twisting, the hair-dragging, the viciously aimed kicks and punches, and the obvious relish at mauling their victims. Audrey Wise, MP, certainly got a surprise when, after she intervened in one gratuitously violent arrest, the police took her in instead, saying "You'll do just as well, lovely".

Nor did newcomers to the situation expect to see such open partiality from the police, as they popped in and out of Grunwick's to have a cuppa in the canteen, or condoned the reckless driving of the scab coach.

The use of non-uniformed police provocateurs to create violent incidents, and the arbitrariness of the arrests, have also been criticised by sober and careful "public figures".

Eight Labour MP's have called for an Inquiry into the behaviour of the police.

But it is no use pretending, as too many people have, that if only the police kept away then the picket would settle down to the business of peacefully persuading the scabs not to work, which is how picketing is defined in law. Like hell it would!

The Grunwick mass picket is there to STOP the scabs, and if that isn't legal according to the laws framed to suit bosses and cautious labour bureaucrats, then that's just too bad.

If the working class had tailored its struggles to the statute book, then the miserable wages George Ward paid the Grunwick workers would be all any worker would be getting.

Clashes with the police, who have sided with strikers about as often as the sun has risen in the west, are a fact of life of working class struggle. The point is not to promise to be good and legal if only they'll be kind and gentle. The point is to do what we have to do to win, and to do it in the face of police violence if necessary.



"YES I'M A POLICEMAN AND I'M PROUD OF IT", this man said before he ran away



THIS MAN is an agent provocateur. He was photographed last Friday leaving the Cooper Road picket soon after two of his colleagues in plain clothes had been rescued from the crowd, who had grown suspicious of their activities. A minute or so before, a bottle had been thrown at the scab bus, triggering off a wave of fighting and arrests.

On Monday a similar incident occurred.

A woman in the picket who first identified the infiltrators was made to suffer for it. As she left the scene of the picket some time later she was waylaid by the men she had pointed out, and beaten up.

These troublemakers have been the subject of a lot of coyness. Police Federation adviser Eldon Griffiths MP said yes, of course there were detectives there, and they don't wear uniform. Nor dirty old anoraks!

And the BBC persistently described them as "heavily disguised" policemen...



During last week's mass picketing WORKERS ACTION talked to some of the Asian girls in the Grunwick strike.

We asked them what conditions were like inside.

"It's an awful place to work. We thought it would be freedom to work. It's terrible."

The managers, all of them white and male, really pushed the women workers around, and would play on the fact that some couldn't speak English very well. One of the girls we talked to had been made a supervisor after she'd been there for just one month, because her good English was useful to the management for translation. But this hadn't meant she was equal to the other supervisors. "If someone wanted to go home early they would tell me. But the managers, they wouldn't listen to me. Once I said to the manager we should have a union. 'Don't talk about the union or you'll get the sack', he told me.

This isn't the first union struggle at Grunwick. The girls told us that three years ago there was a strike over trying to organise a union, which led to all the people involved getting the boot.

Petty harassment, poor wages and bad physical conditions prepared the way for the present strike. The continuous picketing has caused difficulty with parents and neighbours in the strict Asian community.

"What we have to do is stay

We'll have women stewards when we go back

SOLIDARITY IS POWERFUL

have been flooding in for the London postmen from other workers, promising mass strikes if legal sanctions are taken against them.

At the Sunday Telegraph, print workers struck last weekend to insist that a reply be printed alongside the Telegraph's anti-working class

rant on Grunwicks.

Civil Service Union members who drive the police coaches are reported to be refusing to continue transporting these strikebreakers to Grunwicks. The action is said to be in response to police brutality against the pickets. But these police-bus

drivers must have seen plenty of that before now. Their act of solidarity is a sign of the deep feelings this strike has evoked in very wide sections of workers.

Not wanting to divert police patrol drivers to the buses, private coach companies have been pressed into

service to shift coppers to the picket. But now the TGWU has "passed on a message" to its members who work for the George Ure group of coach companies (which includes Grey-Green and Worldwide coaches) asking them to stop carrying police to the picket line.

After protests by members of the college teachers' union NATFHE, the police Special Patrol Group was thrown out of the base it was using in the grounds of Willesden Technical College.

Camden Direct Works Department staged a one-day stoppage on Friday June 17th in support of the Grunwick strike.

And the Executive of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils is urging the cutting off of electricity and water to the Grunwick labs. And they've called on all trade unionists to go to the mass picket.

Blacking and solidarity actions are not an alternative to the mass picket which must, of course, be continued and strengthened. Rather, they are a direct product of the atmosphere of wide trade union sympathy with the Grunwick workers that has been created by the daily mass picket.



"...the policeman, once again, is caught as a pig in the middle..."

Eldon Griffiths, Tory MP and adviser to the Police Federation

HE OUGHT TO KNOW...

The cash behind George Ward

A month ago one of the workers at Grunwick walked out to join the strike. He revealed that the firm was currently processing 8,000 films a week.

At the same time last year the figure was 10,000 a day. And since the mass picketing and postal boycott began, business must be down nearly to zero.

At the same time, Grunwick boss George Ward is paying the scabs who still work for him at least 25% more than he was prepared to give a year ago (never mind the Pay Code, if you've got a strike to break).

On top of that he is reported to be running a private plane to smuggle raw materials into Britain past the airport and docks blacking.

In the last day or so it seems that he has hired new "employees" to keep up the numbers prepared to run the gauntlet of the picket — even though they have nothing to do when they get inside.

Altogether, strikers estimate that Ward has lost something in the region of a million pounds in pre-tax profits since the strike began.

And that figure is rising daily.

It is safe to assume that however rich he is (and his exploitation of Grunwick workers has certainly made him a wealthy man) he can't afford that sort of money.

So WHERE IS IT COMING FROM?



One place to look could be his "advisers" in the National Association for Freedom (NAFF).

NAFF is a growing organisation of the middle class. Heir to the mantle of such late and lamented ventures as Tory MP John Gorst's "Middle Class Association", NAFF can boast at least temporary success in reconciling star-studded pressure group politics with an attempt at mass membership.

It has an expanding individual membership, at the same time boasting of familiar names.

Gorst appears again. So does Brian Crozier, director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, which specialises in Cold War propaganda.

There is Norris McWhirter, brother of the late Ross. There are assorted military men. There is, of course, John Gourlet.

And there is Robert Moss.

Moss is a man of many parts. He used to run an outfit called FORUM WORLD FEATURES, a "news agency" which shut up shop very suddenly when it was exposed in the aftermath of Watergate as a CIA-funded front.

Two years later Moss was still at the wheel of one of Forum's offsprings, a firm called Rossiter Publications. Rossiter generously promoted a book by Moss on Allende's Chile. The Pinochet regime like it so much that they give it away free to all who ask.

NAFF has a lot of cash to throw about. High Court actions against postal workers on behalf of Grunwicks and South Africa aren't exactly free. And new money doesn't all seem to come from individual membership subscriptions.

Robert Moss has known in the past where to find big money. His know-how is doubtless put to good use by NAFF.

And by George Ward, too, perhaps?



PHOTOS ON THIS PAGE AND PAGE ONE BY MINDA

outside all day long. All the Indian groups, they'll start talking about it, saying 'Oh yes, now look at her! She's going off with just about any stranger'. I know they talk about me, but I couldn't care less. I was brought up in this country — so that's what I tell them."

This girl considered that her parents were quite "modern". But still she fears gossip, and after spending all day on the picket she can't go out in the evening with boys.

But when they got to talking about Grunwick boss George Ward, there was no trace of timidity. They were emphatic that they didn't fear any reprisals for the strike, and they treat his abuse with contempt. He regularly has come up to them as they stood on the picket line, reviling them in Hindi. "He calls us 'sons and daughters of bitches', 'donkey', 'rent-a-mob trash' and so on. He even has the nerve to tell us to go back to our own country! Yet he comes from Calcutta himself."

They get a lot of racist abuse from the police, too, on the picket line. "I shut them up and just tell them that we have a right to be here. Then they leave us alone, but pick on someone with less English or who is shy, instead of me."

Before the strike, her friend said, she'd had no particular opinion of the police. But when she tried to describe how she feels about them now, she had to make

an effort to stay within the bounds of her restrained upbringing. What really outraged her was that as well as abusing the pickets the police would try to chat them up during the slack periods on the picket line.

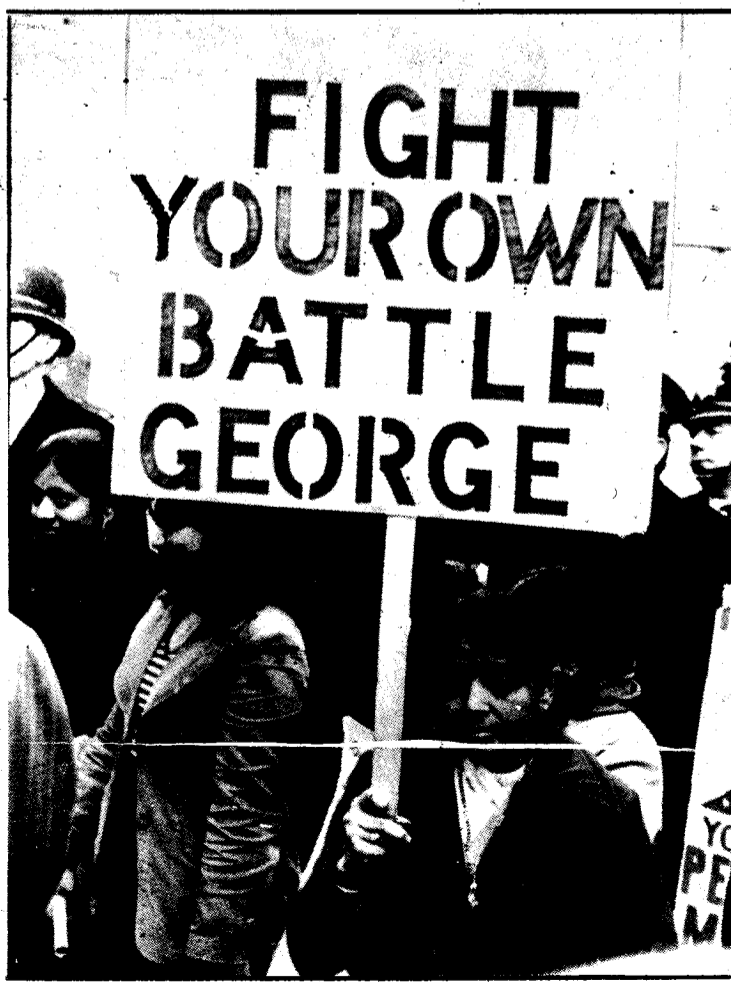
What about the scabs. "I don't understand them — what they're after. Either they're just after the money, or they just don't care what they're doing. I think they know what they're doing."

Nor were they just workers who, as the press put it, "chose not to join the strike". We were told that all of them had walked out in the beginning, with those who went back in being mostly older workers.

How has the strike changed them?

Before the strike the women were divided among themselves. They were given different wages for the same job, and gossip and 'tale-telling' was rife. In conditions like that "You're on your own. You've got to be careful about what you say and do". Now with the strike and joining the union, they're united together in their determination to win.

Indian women are brought up to defer to men and let them lead. But these girls were now emphatic that they will have women shop stewards when they go back to work. They intend to remain active in the union: "We'll have to, to know what's going on". And even within the family, they said, "no way" should the man be boss.



THE POLITICS OF THE SUFFRAGETTES

The East End Suffragettes

THE mainstream of the suffragette movement, led by Emmeline Pankhurst, was self-definedly bourgeois, accepting class privilege even in its demand for women's votes — which it limited with property qualifications. But a left wing emerged in this movement too. It defined itself initially by its chosen field of work in the slums of the East End of London. Personified by Sylvia Pankhurst it became explicitly communist with the Russian Revolution — and then went on to the extreme of dismissing the whole electoral and parliamentary system.

In 1912 Sylvia Pankhurst — who had always refused to separate the struggle for women's emancipation from the class struggle of working women, took the struggle for women's rights into the East End and formed the East London Federation (ELF).

The ELF began as an affiliated organisation of the bourgeois Womens Suffrage and Political Union. But its links with working class struggles made a break inevitable. In 1913, for instance, Sylvia Pankhurst spoke together with Irish Marxist James Connolly in a campaign to release James Larkin, who had been jailed during the great Dublin Lockout. When it became clear that the ELF was campaigning to extend the 'suffrage to all men and women — not just female householders, as the WSPU was demanding — Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst insisted that the ELF sever all links with the WSPU.

Pacifist

But it wasn't long before the ELF was left to carry on the fight alone. At the outbreak of war the WSPU postponed the struggle for the vote and threw its energies into recruiting and working for the imperialist war effort.

Sylvia Pankhurst's paper, *Workers' Dreadnought*, was meanwhile campaigning on the wages and conditions of women workers, and for maternity and child care. The ELF continued its East End work, which included running cost-price workers' restaurants.

Against the patriotic barrage, *Workers' Dreadnought* attacked the war and opposed the patriots. But its main slogan "Peace without Victory" was basically pacifist, and could even be taken as "Peace without defeat".

By contrast with this posture of asking the existing, war-making bourgeois governments to make peace with

FRAN BRODIE this week concludes her series on the class divisions in the movement for women's right to vote

each other and return to the status quo, the position of communists was summed up by Lenin. "The main enemy is at home" he said and called on workers not to be passive but to "turn the imperialist war into civil war": that is, fight the ruling class of your own country.

But Sylvia's politics were yet to develop fully. And it was the triumph of the October Revolution that really brought major changes in her organisation, which now became the *Workers' Socialist Federation (WSF)*. From women's votes its aims were now international working class revolution. And in the teeth of anti-red witch-hunts Sylvia declared "I am proud to call myself a Bolshevist".

The WSF, however, was among those communist trends (which in Britain included many of the most prominent leaders of the shop stewards' movement) which Lenin called ultra-left. The WSF took up a typically ultra-left position on Parliament and on the Labour Party.

Soviets

In July 1919 Sylvia Pankhurst expressed this position in a letter to Lenin. She was alienated by a Labour Party full of Christian Socialists like Lansbury and pathetic office seekers like Ramsay MacDonald. She and her supporters were becoming

more and more disinterested in Parliament, even for significant reforms. The working class, she believed, must immediately form its own instruments of government and ignore that of the bourgeoisie. And only her own

that if it wants to conquer the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train its own proletarian "class politicians". Soviet propaganda had to be carried out both inside and outside the bourgeois parliament.



Sylvia Pankhurst addressing a WSPU meeting in 1912 and (below) in the days of the ELF

WSF, the Shop Stewards Movement and the South Wales Socialist Society could be counted on not to compromise.

The WSF joined in the negotiations to form a Communist Party, together with the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, and the South Wales Socialist Society. The greatest obstacle to the immediate formation of a united Communist Party was the disagreement on the question of parliamentary action — and whether the new communist party should affiliate to the trade union based, opportunist and patriotic Labour Party

Lenin replied to Sylvia's articles and correspondence by saying that she had understood excellently that it is not parliament but workers' soviets that alone can serve as instruments for achieving the aims of the proletariat. Of course, he wrote to Sylvia, those who failed to understand this up to now are hopeless reactionaries. But he went on to point out that she had failed to understand that "politics is a science and an art that does not fall from the skies, is not acquired for nothing, and

place in July 1920, and instead proclaimed in *Workers' Dreadnought* that the WSF had, unilaterally, changed its name to the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International).

And Sylvia proceeded to turn up at the Second Congress of the Third International (which opened in Moscow on the 15th of that July) to argue her case and to stake her claim.

Tactics

And there she met Lenin. Her biographer David Mitchell describes the meeting: "The picture of an arrogant bureaucratic bully which she had formed vanished in the presence of the original. ... She and Gallacher restated their objections to his theses. Lenin bantered them. Why so heated? It was only a question of tactics, of the most expedient way to put principles into practice. ... If the decision to affiliate to the Labour Party, and to infiltrate the Parliament proved wrong, it could always be changed. Left wingers like Sylvia would be needed to keep a close watch on the 'tacticians' and see that principles were not swamped in a sea of expediency."

Sylvia did not quarrel with this; and Lenin was able to announce to the conference that agreement had been reached — even the British section, even Sylvia, had seen reason.

Ultraleft

But the unity did not last long, and before long Sylvia Pankhurst moved away from Communism. She had got herself into a blind alley of ultraleftism — and perhaps of egotistical self-concern — and could see no way out of it. She never managed to understand the role of the revolutionary party, seeing it only as a constraint: "I desire freedom to work for communism with the best that is in me. The party could not chain me". Yet when she broke the chains, she was headed away from communism. For a time she owned a small cafe. Eventually she wound up in Ethiopia, where she ended her days as an ardent supporter of the feudal dictator, Emperor Haile Selassie.



Lenin suggested that the four organisations (all very weak and some of them very weak indeed) should unite into a single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of obligatory participation in parliament. He warned that to obstruct the formation of a unified Communist Party over this issue was a mistake and a sign of political immaturity.

Sylvia Pankhurst nevertheless refused to take part in the Communist unity conference which was to take

WORKERS' ACTION

supporters' groups

BASINGSTOKE, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL, CAMBRIDGE, CARDIFF, CHELMSFORD, CHESTER, COVENTRY, EDINBURGH, HUDDERSFIELD, LEICESTER, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, MANCHESTER, MIDDLESBROUGH,

NEWCASTLE, NEWTOWN, NORTHAMPTON, NOTTINGHAM, READING, ROCHDALE, SHEFFIELD, STAFFORD, STOKE.

Write for details of meetings and activities to:
WASG, 49 Carnac Street, London SE27

FASCISTS ATTACK LEWISHAM 24 MEETING

The National Front last Saturday (18th June) disrupted a street meeting in Lewisham High Street, which had been called as part of the campaign to defend the "Lewisham 24".

These 24 are 21 black youths who were hauled in by police in a "dawn raid" three weeks ago, and faced with charges, including conspiracy, in connection with "muggings"; and three of their supporters who were later arrested at a street meeting.

Last Saturday's event was publicised at the public meeting organised by the defence campaign the week before. Although that meeting was attended by about 200 people, it was high on rhetoric and rather lower on practical proposals, with very little time for discussion of tactics and action. Perhaps this partly explains why there were only 30 people at most, at any one time, at last Saturday's meeting.

At first about 10 members of the National Front turned up, but their ranks grew quickly. Just five yards away on the other side of the pavement, they sold "National Front News",

shouted parodies of our slogans ("The National Front is a racist front, join the National Front"), and openly invited a fight.

When a fight did start, one girl, a member of the SWP, was knocked unconscious and had to be taken to hospital in an ambulance.

The police kept away, leaving the field to the NF bully boys. Which is as well, because on every single past showing (including Lewisham itself two weeks earlier) they would most likely have just piled in on top and arrested us.

Especially given the nature of the Lewisham campaign, against a mass arrest operation, its members neither expect nor wish for police 'protection' against fascists. The Campaign will have to defend its own meetings, with forces capable of maintaining the peace.

Another street meeting, starting at 10.30am, is planned for Saturday 25th. And there is to be a demonstration on the following Saturday, July 2nd, from Clifton Rise, New Cross Station, starting at 2pm.

BOB SUGDEN

Sit-in gets the rates bill

At Greenwich, the occupation of British Steel Corporation's plant in support of the re-instatement of six sacked men continues. Nalگو conference voted to send them £6,400, and, after pressure by rank and file activists, NUPE are after all coming across with the sum of £6,500 as recommended by Conference.

Last week the occupiers were amazed to get a rates bill for £26,000. But it turns out that in the 3 years BSC have been at Greenwich they haven't paid any rates at all!

Pickets on the menu for Chloride

IN A swashbuckling little operation, 24 Chloride strikers picketed, and then boarded for two hours, their bosses river cruise boat on the Thames where a slap-up dinner at £50-a-head had been planned for last Saturday night (18th).

The picket had been a well-kept secret for the last three weeks.

Michael Edwards, National Enterprise Board member and head of the Chloride group of companies, who has refused to negotiate with the strikers, was deeply embarrassed and angered by this challenge to his prestige in front of an international gathering of big bosses.

The action brought to an end the fifth week of occupation of Chloride plants. It was a great morale booster, to add to the national campaign to 'strangle' all Chloride-owned companies.

Lorivals of Bolton will be laying off its workers this week. Next for the 'treatment' are Chloride (Technical) in Manchester, ALCAD in Birmingham, Chloride (Metals) in south east London and the group's Wakefield plant.

Chloride batteries are being blacked at all Vauxhall Motors plants and at the Chiswick and Hainault depots of London Transport.

The strikers' attitude to the bosses has hardened after the abortive "negotiations" of last week. Now, they say, all approaches for talks will have to come from management.

The strikers are in total control of the occupied plants, and support is flooding in all the time (though the AUEW and EETPU have still not made it official). They have now made links with the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law, which is fighting the section of the Criminal Law Bill (now before Parliament) that will hit at workers' occupations of factories.

The occupations involve 4,000 workers. They need funds to last out what might be a long fight. Send donations, messages and offers of help c/o: S. Mackinder, 59 Buckingham Road, Clifton, Manchester.

Last of the THF sell-outs

A strike for union recognition that has been running almost as long as Grunwicks was quietly sold out last week. 41 workers at the Trust Houses Forte Grosvenor Hotel in Sheffield were paid a few hundred pounds each in compensation and told they'd be "favourably considered" for re-employment. And the T&GWU will still not be recognised by the Grosvenor, except to represent workers on an individual basis.

The sell-out terms were remarkably similar to those that recently ended two other long-running strikes for union recognition at THF establishments in Oxford and Birmingham.

To underline the defeat, Grosvenor Hotel manager Geoffrey Tallis told the press: "We have no vacancies here at the moment".

T&GWU District Organiser Jim Holmes, however, regarded the settlement as "a draw". But then he hasn't lost his job after six months of picketing. For the strikers, it hasn't been such a game of cricket...



NALGO SHOWS ITSELF A FEEBLE GIANT

AT last week's Conference of Nalگو (the local government workers' union) the right wing scored a number of victories.

They defeated by three to one the main composite motion against a Phase 3. With the NEC's own motion for conditional acceptance of a Phase 3 knocked out on a technicality, this leaves the NEC's hands completely free to accept more wage curbs under the guise of "an orderly return to free collective bargaining".

The Conference went on to lift the compulsory instruction to branches to support the Union's overtime ban, which had been launched by a Special Conference in January against the cuts.

Already, the right wing had been sabotaging the ban, with an open campaign to get branches to ignore it. Now those branches where the ban had been in effect are left to go it alone.

The January Conference had also voted to order all members to refuse to cover for staff vacancies. In many ways this was the more crucial action — many councils are making cuts in services and saving 10-13% of their wages bill by leaving posts vacant. A lot of right wing (and Chief Officer dominated) branches are collaborating in this, in return for verbal "guarantees" of no redundancies.

This sort of wheeling and dealing in no-way helps to shorten the dole queues or save social services — but we're likely to see more of it now.

Once again Nalگو, one of the biggest unions in the country, (with over 700,000 members) has shown itself to be a feeble giant. Yet a whole series of local actions such as the occupation at Hounslow Hospital — made official by Nalگو, show the potential when Nalگو members do fight.

Part of the blame for the Right's conference victories must go to the 'left' Executive and Regional Committee members, who have failed to lead a counter-campaign to implement the ban, leaving the Right free to carry on its sabotage.

Some useful measures did get through Conference. Militants should take up its recommendation to adopt shop steward systems as a means of breaking one of the Right's main supports — the passivity and ignorance of members about Union affairs.

The immediate task is to fight for the NEC to set up a Special Committee of representatives of branches operating the overtime ban and no-cover, to coordinate and support their action.

And we must fight for a pay claim that will fully compensate for inflation, rather than one that settles for peanuts in return for vague promises of price control.

G.L.

MEETING

REPORT BACK of London delegates to Conference. 30th June, 7.30pm at Euston Tavern, Euston Road.

JAMES DAWSON

THE UNIONS



Firemen's conference excludes Rank & File delegates

THE so-called lefts of the EC of the Fire Brigades Union are responding to criticism in the time-honoured way of bureaucrats — under pressure from a disaffected rank and file — suppression.

FBU members Ronny Robertson and Terry Seegers, both elected delegates, were excluded from the Union's annual conference at Bridlington. Confronted by a demand by the Executive to "disassociate" themselves from the publication "National Rank & File Fireman" they refused, and were summarily excluded from the Conference.

Acocks Green branch of the FBU has responded with the following resolution:

"This Branch opposes the attempt of the FBU EC to suppress the publication "National Rank & File Fireman".

"We reject the argument that it undermines the union, and on the contrary say that the fullest debate and discussion is necessary for the building of a strong and democratic Union.

"This Branch calls on the EC to immediately reinstate Bros. Ronny Robertson and Terry Seegers to their elected position in the Union, and condemns their undemocratic exclusion from the Annual Conference at Bridlington."

WORKERS IN ACTION

'80% LAY-OFF PAY OR BUST' - FORDS



SOWETO
'Living with their guns'

2,000 people marched through London on Saturday 18th June to commemorate the dead of the past year's massacres in South Africa, which began in the township of Soweto last June 16th; and in solidarity with the continuing struggle against the Apartheid state.

The demonstration was supported by a large number of overseas students' organisations, but unfortunately few trade union banners were there.

WORKERS' ACTION supporters formed one of the contingents with several banners and placards bearing the slogan: "Don't arm the murderers! Arm the black revolt!"

The Communist Party dominated NUS leadership, which had organised the march, refused to allow Soweto student leader Tsietshi Mashinini to address the rally. So two thirds of the demonstration attended the alternative rally to hear Barney Mokgatle of the Soweto Students' Representative Council.

This body now virtually runs Soweto. It has won the leadership of the 1½ million population, organising work stoppages for political demands, opposing massive rent rises, and busting the demoralising beer-halls. It marked the first anniversary of the revolt with school boycotts and, most important of all, by closing down the puppet black Bantu Urban Council.

One Soweto student summed up the year's experience: "We have learned to live with their guns". And the guns were out again as Vorster's police claimed the lives of over a dozen more black youth in the eastern Cape township of Kwanobuhle.

TIRED OF being treated like casual labour, Ford Body Plant workers have occupied their works, and other sections are picketing the estate in support of their demand for 80% payment for lay-off periods.

The action has led to more than 14,000 Ford workers being laid off at three Ford plants — at Dagenham, at Langley and at Southampton. Soon the Ford plant at Halewood on Merseyside will be affected, as will a number of Ford overseas sites which depend on Dagenham for engines.

The "payment for lay-off" issue is an old one at Fords, where workers only receive lay-off pay where the cause of the lay-off is external to the factory. Last September Body Plant 'B' shift men showed their rage at being sent home for a night without notice and without pay for the fifth week running by occupying the Body Plant overnight and smashing up the bosses' canteen.

In February and March of this year the issue flared up again in the Assembly plant.

Assembly plant stewards decided that: "In the event of further lay-offs due to disputes outside the Assembly plant, a total stoppage of all work is to take place. The factory is to be occupied. Pickets are to be set up at key points on the Dagenham estate to seek the support of the transport drivers. This action is to continue until the Company agrees to paying 80% of basic pay to the men laid off."

That plan came into effect on June 10th, when 70 men walked off the job after a Body plant worker had been suspended. Management quickly laid off some shifts. In the course of the week the picketing Assembly plant workers brought the whole complex to a standstill. On the Wednesday night the Body plant workers had marched round the site calling workers out. Clearly, pressure was coming from the rank and file for action.

A week later, on Friday 17th, a Body Plant meeting attended by over 1200 'A' shift workers voted:

- to strike for 80% lay-off pay;

- not to sign the 1977 pay deal unless the lay-off claim is conceded;

- and to occupy the plant and organise pickets.

Immediately, the gates were barricaded with forklift trucks and palletes.

When the Body Plant day shift reported for work on Monday they were told they were laid off; so were workers in the Engine plant and Foundry — for them, it was the second time in four days.

Overwhelmingly, they carried the same resolution their mates on the 'A'-shift had carried on Friday, and joined the occupation.

There is some speculation that management wanted a strike now. They certainly knew one was coming sooner or later on the lay-off issue, and it's possible they chose the present time because of the occupation at the next door Chloride plant [see

by John Bloxam

report on page 7] which supplied Ford with batteries. Before long that occupation would have meant lay-off with pay (being an external dispute).

A strike now would save them paying out. No doubt management also saw the closeness of the summer shut-down as a factor in their favour.

Whatever the truth of this, management looks like coming a cropper this time. All their attempts so far to play off one group of workers against another have failed. And in the Assembly plant their plans to use scabs to finish cars failed as production dropped from the usual 900 finished a day to 163 on Tuesday 14th to 57 the next day and finally to 3 on the Thursday.

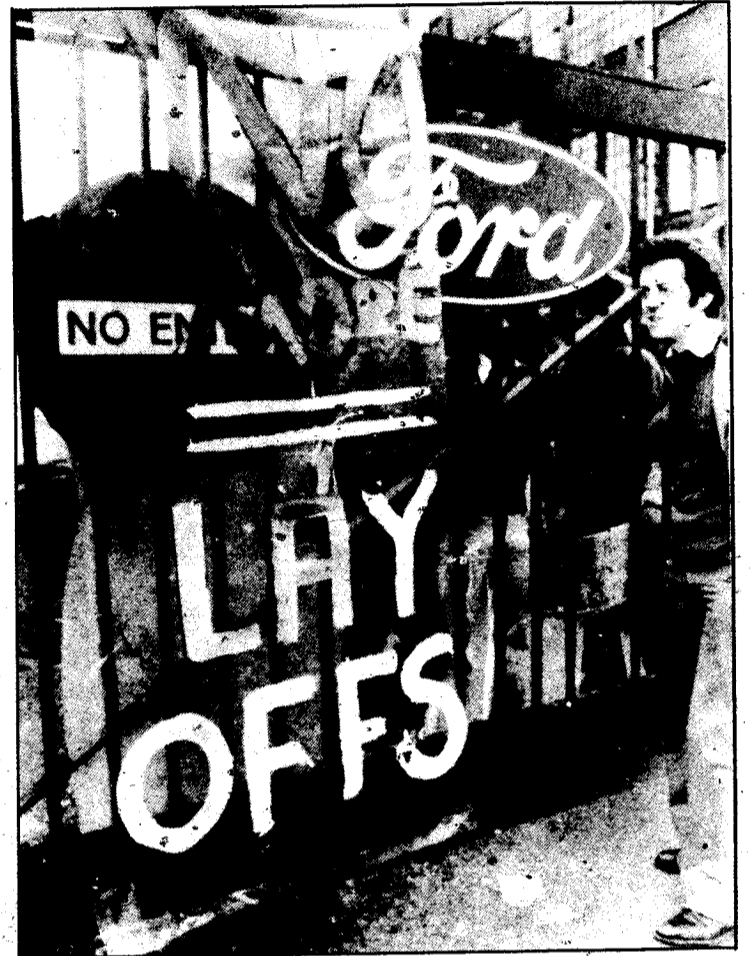
The weakness on the strikers' side doesn't lie in any division between the different plants and groups of workers. It lies in the pussy-footing attitude of the union convenors. Their reported request of a "bridging agreement" in exchange for discipline on the shop floor has two things wrong with it:

- it fails to insist that the 80% must be paid as from now;

- and it turns the stewards from being representatives of the shop floor into policemen of the shop floor.

As it happens, the convenors' request was rejected by management, who still think they can get their way by playing tough.

The strikers' main strength lies in their newly forged unity. Now that unity



FRIDAY EVENING, June 17th, Dagenham Body Plant: Placards and banners reading "NO LAY-OFFS" and "OCCUPY FOR 80%" festoon the front of the main body plant gates, which have been reinforced by a barricade of forklift trucks.

The gate to the side is picketed constantly and many militants have made extra placards to back up the message that they want nothing less than the 80%.

Men I spoke to were clapping their hands and chanting, urging their mates to attend the mass meeting being held in the canteen after the night's lay-off.

The 'Security' had agreed to go home and 5 men were standing on the check point

building with a loud-hailer, giving an extra urgency to the coming fight.

When the night shift was laid off the call for the canteen meeting was even louder, and every time someone decided to stay and join the occupation a great cheer and clapping went up from the crowd.

Meanwhile management, with the lights turned off, was peering out to see what went on. They hid themselves from the growing occupation below.

Most of the men weren't concerned with the initial dispute concerning one man — they wanted guarantees of work and if not work, of 80% lay-off pay.

SUSAN CARLYLE

has to be extended beyond Dagenham.

Calling a recall meeting of the Ford national shop stewards' conference, with representatives invited from continental plants, would be an immediate practical way of building this unity. Meanwhile within Dagenham, that unity is best strengthened by the calling of regular sect-

ion and mass meetings of the workers in occupation.

- NO RETREAT ON 80% LAY-OFF PAY NOW!

- NO STRINGS, NO DISCIPLINE CLAUSES!

- REMEMBER: 80% is the first big step towards FULL PAY FOR ALL LAY-OFFS.

CRAZY! — TILL YOU KNOW THE TRUTH

The press and TV enjoy making fun of workers' struggles. They try to make us look like silly children. And they go quite wild when they can "trace" a massive struggle of thousands and a big shut-down to just one man.

Although the present Fords dispute could have been started by any lay-off over any issue, it happened to be sparked off by lay-offs caused when workers walked off the job when one man was suspended over how he was to work his machine.

Of course the press jumped

on this. They make it look like here's this man who comes onto a job and refuses to work a machine the right way. Crazy! His mates walk out when he is suspended. Also crazy! So — it looks like these workers will strike for anything and the boss as usual is all sweetness and light.

What's the truth then?

This worker in Body Plant B was told to increase productivity on the machine he had been operating for three years. They wanted him to use his stomach

to operate a bar and use his left rather than his right hand for another part of the operation.

He said no. This change would be an additional health hazard and he couldn't use his other hand because that wrist is weak.

So he was suspended. That is why the others walked out in sympathy, and also because you can't have the bosses walking all over you like that.

So now, who was being unreasonable!?