

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Slap in the face for Prentice/Tory coalition

# RAILMEN: THE SIGNAL IS GO!

THE national strike call from the executive of the Railwaymen's Union this week is a tonic to every worker in the country. It is a slap in the face for the sinister alliance of Tories, Liberals and right-wing Labour Ministers as they were preparing to celebrate a 'triumph' for their reactionary politics in the Common Market referendum.

Last week an arbitration tribunal offered a pay rise which was described in the press as '27½ per cent'.

A porter earning £30.05 at present stands to gain £2.65 in new money from the deal—less than 9 per cent. Leading railmen and firemen get £3.50 on top of £33.10 including thresholds, while a 'well-paid' driver earning £46.05 gets another £7.05.

The press confidently predicted that the NUR leaders would grovel to this '27 per cent' just as

they have grovelled to even smaller offers over the past 50 years.

Instead, they voted by a huge majority of 21 to 3 for a national, unlimited rail strike from 23 June.

### Fight

The executive did not call the strike, as the newspapers pretend, because of internal union intrigue or because they have a new general secretary. On the contrary, the vote represents the pent-up fury of low-paid railwaymen who have been 'reasonable' for 50 years, have listened to moderate union leaders, have answered calls for national sacrifice—and have watched their standard of living plummet, their jobs vanish, their industry disintegrate.

As Dick Pitt, a relief shunter from Chesterfield, told *Socialist Worker*: 'We've been downtrodden too long. The feeling is: there should be no messing around, let's get on with the strike.'

The strike call is the best possible answer to the speech this weekend of Reginald Prentice, Labour's Education Minister, which brought into the open the sinister campaign for a new 'government of national unity': that is, a government dedicated to defend big business by further cuts in the social services and more vicious wage controls.

The strike call is a declaration that workers' problems can be solved not by Common Market referenda or by Prentice patriotism but *only by independent working-class action*.

In the three weeks before the strike is due to start, every attempt will be made by press, television, MPs and union leaders to entice the railwaymen away from mass action. There will be smears, threats and witch-hunts of every variety.

Socialists and rank and file trade unionists everywhere must close ranks with the railwaymen.

### Support

Resolutions calling for support, financial and industrial, must be passed in every trade union branch and shop stewards' committee.

The railwaymen's case needs to be put at public meetings in every area, in leaflets to rail travellers and in bulletins in every factory. The International Socialists Executive Committee meeting on Tuesday called on all IS members to do everything in their power to spread the railwaymen's case and encourage support for the strike.

**Not a penny less than the full claim!**

**No surrender to the Wilson-Tory line-up!**



**International Socialists Conference**

REPORT: pages 10-13



What the papers called 'gang warfare'. Police wading in with dogs and clubs in Highfield, Salisbury last Sunday

IN the crowded township of Highfield in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, 13 of our brothers were murdered last Sunday.

The newspapers reported that they died as a result of 'gang warfare' among Africans. In fact they died as martyrs for the emancipation of the six million black people in Rhodesia who are enslaved by 250,000 whites.

A meeting had been convened of the African National Council, a coalition of African representatives. A large section of the African leaders wanted to negotiate with the Smith regime. A big demonstration gathered outside the meeting shouting slogans for 'Chimurenga'—armed struggle.

The demonstrators denounced the proposed negotiations as the work of collaborators. They argued that racism would never be driven from their country until defeated

## Murders in Zimbabwe

on the field of battle.

As if by magic, a counter-demonstration emerged. Equally suddenly, a huge force of police, which had been waiting conveniently in side streets, waded in with clubs and dogs. After flailing about in all directions, the police completed their night's work by firing indiscriminately into the crowd.

This is the real face of the

'detente' which Smith and his paymasters in South Africa are presenting to the world. 'Detente' is a diplomatic word for further repression. It means bribes for African leaders who keep their people in order. It means clubs, dogs and bullets for anyone who dares to challenge these leaders.

On 26 June the die is cast for Smith's regime in Zimbabwe. That

day the trade route through Mozambique will be cut by that country's new, victorious liberation government. Smith is on the way out.

So South Africa is treading the tightrope between detente and repression in an attempt to hold on to its business interests in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

We can help to thwart their plans and to assist the liberation forces by putting pressure on the corporations who subsidise the South African tyranny. Every resolution of protest about investments there, every statement of support by workers here for workers in the same company in South Africa is a deterrent to further investment, and to further terror.

If the murders in Salisbury stir British workers into solidarity, our 13 brothers will not have died in vain.



# This is class warfare, White



**DOWN WITH THE BACK STREET ABORTION BILL!**

by Liz Cole, NUPE nurse, and Andy Kuttner, NUPE Assistant Secretary, Hammersmith Hospital

IF WE'RE going to get anywhere with the campaign against the Back Street Abortion Bill, we must campaign in the hospitals, where the issue is discussed almost every day.

At Hammersmith Hospital in West London, the issue was forced for us by a fervent anti-abortion campaigner, who is one of the country's top gynaecologists. He tried to whip up feeling in favour of the Bill, and was greatly assisted by the hospital clergy.

So we had to fight back. We set up an

ad-hoc committee representing all sections in the hospital—nurses, ancillary workers, technicians and doctors.

Both NUPE and ASTMS have organised meetings with National Abortion Campaign speakers. The ad-hoc committee organised a meeting, attended by 30 nurses. This was a big breakthrough in an area where any kind of agitation has always proved difficult.

by Jill Brownhill, Co-ordinating Committee, South East London National Abortion Campaign

WE HELD a demonstration on Saturday from Deptford High Street to Catford Town Hall,

petitioning and leafletting as we went. John Fraser, MP for Norwood and the Minister responsible for equal pay legislation, met us at Catford and spoke in support of the campaign.

Our march was supported by Lewisham and Woolwich branches of IS, the IMG and the Communist Party, as well as our own members, who are women from many occupations.

We've been campaigning for two months and have held action meetings, petitioned the area extensively, lobbied MPs, spoken in colleges and to local political groups, contacted trade union branches and embarked on a fairly extensive publicity campaign.

We are holding a public meeting at Deptford Town Hall next Friday. Speakers will be Christopher Price MP, Guy Barnett MP, Professor Huntingford, professor of gynaecology at the London Hospital, and Pat McBain, of the Camden Legal Advice Centre.

There will also be an exhibition of illegal abortion methods and dangers, which will arise if the Bill is passed. South East London NAC will be happy to lend the exhibition material to any other branch. Contact 01-639 7825.

by Pauline Fenn

THE CALL 'No Return to Back Street Abortion' is what really gets through to women in the campaign against James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill.

The Women's Action Group organised a motorcade and leafletting through the shopping centres in Newham last Saturday. The West London Theatre Group performed their 'Whiter than White' play in Green Street Market.

The play was short, neat and very good. It got across the point that, if the Bill gets a third reading, working class women are the ones who will suffer—not the upper crust 'gels' who get 'preggers' and have daddy pay for a Harley Street abortion.

Funnily enough, the older women were the most sympathetic because, as they said, they could remember only too well what a back street abortion really means.

After the play, it was an unusual experience to have women and men waiting together to sign the petition. We were stopped in the street by women who asked us if they could sign.

The campaign to defeat the Abortion (Amendment) Bill is of vital importance to working class families. It is class warfare in its most blatant form.

Disgustingly, it is the brainchild of a so-called Labour MP. So petition, leaflet, and make sure that your MP votes against this Bill at its third reading.



Socialist Worker posters for the 21 June demonstration in London will arrive with this edition. They must be put up in every hospital, school, college and factory in your area.

More copies available from Socialist Worker Circulation, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 (01-739 2639). Leaflets also available, £1.50 for 1000.

**Fight the Abortion (Amendment) Bill. Defend the Right of Women to Choose.** Public meeting, Tuesday 10 June, 7pm, Westway 'Luncheon Club', next to Ladbroke Grove tube station. With a play and speakers including Renee Short MP. All men, women and trade unionists invited. Organised by North Kensington NAC.

**Leicester National Abortion Campaign public meeting, Saturday 7 June, 2.30pm, AUEW Hall, Vaughn Way.** All IS members to attend.

**East London National Abortion Campaign public meeting, Tuesday 16 June, 8pm, Bromley (Bow) Town Hall.** Speakers: Ian Mikardo, Jo Richardson and local trade unionists.

**NW London NAC public meeting:** The James White Bill, what it is and how to fight it. Tuesday 10 June, 7.30pm, Anson Hall, Anson Road, Cricklewood. Speakers: Gwyneth Dunwoody MP, Dr Jerry Baurmont, Terry Marstrand, (assistant general secretary of the Tobacco Workers Union). Plus West London Theatre Workshop. Further details from Ann or Ingrid, 138 Minet Avenue, NW10. 969 2157.

**NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN—Haringey Branch:** Benefit Disco on Friday 13 June, 8-12pm (Bar extension to 12pm). Small lounge, University College, off Gower Place, WC1 (Entrance in Gower St), 75p, 50p NUS.

## FRANCO LINES UP SHOW TRIALS

AS THE massive wave of shootings and mass arrests continued in Spain this week, the fascist regime lined up the first in another round of show trials.

Defence lawyers for Basque militants Garmendia and Echevarria, arrested nine months ago on a trumped-up charge of murdering a police corporal, were given five days' notice last Friday of the start of the trial.

The trial, before a military kangaroo court, is likely to end with death sentences being imposed so as to intimidate other opponents of the regime.

The death sentence is carried out by the garotte, a particularly repulsive execution mainly designed to drive fear ever deeper into the hearts of dissidents.

Eva Forest and Antonio Duran, two socialist militants, are likely to go on trial later this month. They have also been framed up, this time on charges of murdering Admiral Carrero Blanco, the Spanish Prime Minister blown up last year.

### Death

Once again, the outcome of the trial is a foregone conclusion, and the death sentence virtually certain to be imposed.

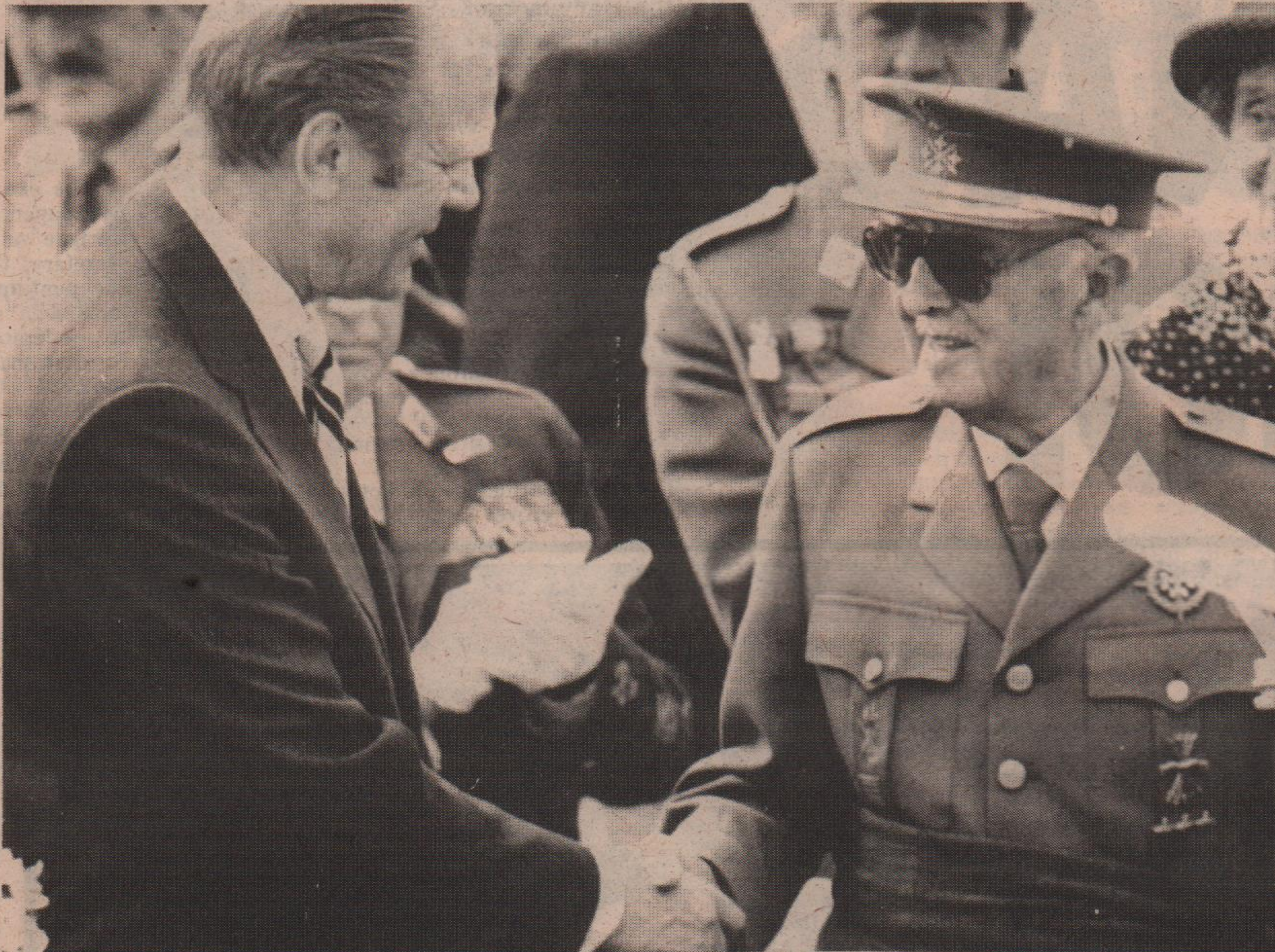
With these trials and the broader repression, the most massive since the end of the civil war, the Franco regime hopes to smash working class and socialist opposition before some new democratic window-dressing.

This, it hopes, would get the country into the Common Market and NATO, and so strengthen both the regime and Spanish capitalism.

In the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, the repression has been at its most intense. Powerful working class opposition to the Franco regime is fed by support for Basque independence.

In Vizcaya, 1000 people were detained between 25 April and 13 May.

What this means has been explained in a statement, brought out



Just good friends? Fascist Franco greets Ford, president of the 'home of freedom', in Madrid this week.

of Spain and translated for Socialist Worker, which quotes Amado Mugica of the Popular Commission of Bermeo on how he was tortured twice a day for nine days, beaten and intimidated. Dozens of other horrifying instances are quoted.

Workers who have been involved in strikes recently are also prominent targets, along with members and suspected members of political organisations.

Bars, shops and houses have also been bombed by right-wing guerrillas operating with police licence. In Guipuzcoa, while fewer mili-

tants have been seized, the same terror is being let loose against anyone who is to hand.

In response to these attacks, the underground workers' commissions and revolutionary organisations in the Basque provinces have called for a general strike on 11 June. Attempts are under way to spread the strike throughout Spain.

Militants and socialists in Britain can help. Support for the pickets and demonstrations called by the Spanish Solidarity Committee will focus attention on the Garmendia/Echevarria and Forest/Duran trials and stop the murder of these men and women.

International working class solidarity will also stiffen the resolve of the Spanish working class who, if they can muster their forces decisively, will be in a position to overthrow the whole rotting Franco regime.

- Stop the murder of Garmendia and Echevarria, Forest and Duran.
- Stop the wave of terror in Spain.
- Picket the Spanish Embassy, Hans Crescent, London SW1 (near Knightsbridge Tube) this Saturday 10am-noon.

- Support solidarity rally Friday 13 June, 7pm, Friends Meeting House. Demonstrate next Saturday 14 June; assemble 2pm at Speakers' Corner and march to the Spanish Embassy.

## Portugal: Army attacks Maoists

WHILE PORTUGAL'S Prime Minister, Vasco Goncalves, was in Brussels last week to 'reassure' NATO government ministers, a swift and brutal operation was launched against the Maoist MRPP.

Perhaps as many as 500 members of MRPP were seized in a series of raids by the military security force Copcon on party offices and members' homes.

Revolutionary socialists in Portugal have rightly criticised these moves, underlining that no such moves were being made against right wing parties and emphasising the right to party organisation for all forces which do not front for fascism and big business. Copcon have since released half of the MRPP members arrested and Copcon spokesmen have also stated that MRPP has not been banned and claimed that the arrests were purely in furtherance of 'essential investigations'.

The moves against MRPP came amid a growing

crisis in the Armed Forces Movement. Its most recent assembly saw the revolutionary position of support for revolutionary councils of workers, soldiers and sailors win increasing support. Right wing officers are, therefore, anxious to wreak revenge somewhere and to shift the balance of power back to themselves.

The MRPP characterises the present situation in Portugal as a military dictatorship and, in practice, translates its politics into attacks on all soldiers as 'fascists'.

This, and other ultra-left tactics, has meant there has been some pressure and considerable support of the MRPP among rank and file soldiers. This made things much easier for right-wing officers to win out against those who were opposed to repression.

MRPP's excursions into phoney popular justice provided further excuses. Members have

been involved in staging 'popular arrests' and inflicting 'popular punishments' on those it believes are fascist agents. They have, according to Copcon, even been involved in torturing some of their suspects.

The founders of MRPP left the Communist Party in the time of fascism, often for good reasons. But the tragedy is that while they broke with the Communist Party organisationally, they have maintained their Stalinist politics and made them even more strident.

They describe the Communist Party as 'social fascists' and argue that the CP are the main enemy.

The repression of the MRPP has serious implications, nonetheless. Once Copcon commandos carried out moves against one party organisation, others—this time genuine revolutionary socialist organisations—are more likely to suffer the same fate.



# Masseys: Boss who boobed

THE lines of writs hanging like washing in front of the picket at Massey Ferguson in Coventry is just a small sign of the strength of the occupation inside.

The workers at the Banner Lane factory are now in their fifth week of occupation over their wage claim against the giant Canadian-owned multi-national.

The strength of the occupation has increased since the management was kicked out a month ago. Since then the Massey workers have not only had to take on the company, but the AUEW, the press, and now the state as well.

The company had been planning for this strike for 13 months now. As reported in Socialist Worker two weeks ago, a document discovered by the workers showed that the company were preparing for a four-week strike at their Coventry plant as long ago as April 1974. H J Hebden, the company's production director, just 'happened' to go off on a week's holiday the day before the strike began.

The company were determined to win this one, but they hadn't figured on their property and machinery being taken from them by a workforce that was just as determined.

From the outset the organisation of the strike and occupation has reflected its seriousness. Most of the 4500 workers at the plant and all of the stewards are involved in the picketing. The daily mass picket at the main factory is organised on a rota. The company's smaller plants and offices round the town, and the vehicle parks where the completed tractors and parts are stored have all been stopped by flying pickets.

## Hounded

Each time the management has attempted to set up alternative headquarters in local hotels the pickets have threatened to stop the hotels' deliveries and have hounded the management from each one.

As the determination of the men has grown so have the attempts to undermine the strike. The AUEW national executive has instructed the members at Masseys to 'resume legal, peaceful picketing'. The instruction was ignored with the contempt it deserved at the stewards' meeting last Monday.

George Butler, the AUEW official in Coventry, began the attempted 'red scare' last Saturday when he told the Daily Mirror that the Massey workers were being led against their wishes by the International Socialists.

Later in the day Frank Chater, the Midlands AUEW organiser, was forced to cool the situation by issuing a press statement which said: 'This is nothing unusual. There are IS members in most Coventry factories and because of the nature of their beliefs it is these men who are often the most vociferous when a strike occurs.'

What frightens the company and its allies in the AUEW is the fact that property has been taken over by workers. This could not be anything but illegal since property and who owns it is precisely what the law is about.

Jayne, director of industrial relations at Masseys and Chairman of the National Joint Council, wrote to Bob Wright, 'Broad Left' AUEW executive member for the Midlands, complaining about destruction of company property and theft. The stewards committee rejected the allegations, but Wright replied to the management immediately, without

any consultation with the stewards, and promised that the district would give the matter 'prompt attention'. The Coventry district committee then passed a resolution condemning their own members.

The fact that workers who spend most of their lives working in a factory take it over, the fact that workers who produce tractors drive them around when checking the security of the factory, the fact that wooden pallets are burned to keep pickets warm when occupying the factory—this threatens the very basis of the society which is owned and controlled by the bosses of Masseys and all the other companies.

That is why they resort to THEIR state, with THEIR law, to protect THEIR property. That is the fundamental reason why workers everywhere must be prepared to defend the Masseys workers if the state does move against them.

## RED SCARE THAT FLOPPED

THE Daily Mirror's attempt last Saturday to break the Massey occupation through scare tactics failed—not least because the facts were wrong.

It is not 300 strikers who are occupying the plant, but all 4500 workers on a rota basis.

It was not the 21st day of the occupation, but the 31st.

The claim that 3500 gallons of oil have been spilled is fantasy.

The Transport Workers' Union has never on any occasion given 'orders to quit the factory'.

There is absolutely no evidence of 'vandalism' in the factory.

International Socialists are not leading 'breakaway groups' in the occupation. The strike and occupation is 100 per cent solid. The role of IS is to strengthen the fight—not to split it.

The real splitters are the Mirror and the other bosses' papers. They are prepared to resort to distortions and lies about any workers' struggle because their main purpose is to defend their own interests—the interests of the bosses.

The stewards at Masseys were not taken in by the Mirror's red scare. A simple threat that they would recommend to the next mass meeting that the paper be blacked by all Masseys workers brought 50 minutes of profound apology by phone—straight from the industrial desk of the Daily Mirror!

by Geoff Heaton (ASLEF)

THE decision of the train drivers union ASLEF and the rail white-collar workers' union TSSA to accept the arbitration award of 27½ per cent has not only destroyed the growing unity of rail unions. It has considerably justified their critics who claim that ASLEF are a craft-orientated union and say the TSSA will always take the path of least resistance.

ASLEF appear content to accept anything on condition that the precious differentials are maintained—so much for general secretary Ray Buckton's fighting words after the Budget about putting 11 per cent to the pay claim. TSSA were only too eager to accept. At their conference two weeks earlier, union president, and right-wing Labour MP Tom Bradley had complained about the excessive levels of wage increases.

TSSA general secretary David McKenzie said he would recommend his members to accept the offer—which must have surprised the members, for they get no say in whether to accept or reject pay offers. Only recently the executive accepted 2 per cent on behalf of T&T draughtsmen and engineers, despite receiving telegrams from almost every T&T branch in the country urging them to reject.

# SIT-IN REBELS DEFY UNION

LEFT-WING extremists are behind the blockade of Europe's biggest tractor factory, it was revealed last night.

The occupation of the giant Massey Ferguson plant in Coventry is the work of a breakaway group of International Socialists and not the factory's official union leadership.

This became clear yesterday as the

## Red strike? 'It's a slur'

LEADERS of a strike at Europe's biggest tractor factory yesterday denied that left-wing militants were heavily involved.

Union convenor Jimmy Dunn said it was a "scurrilous" slur on the strikers who are occupying the Massey Ferguson plant at Coventry because of a pay dispute.

He added: "The strike committee is still in full control of the dispute."

Putting the record straight, capitalist press style: The Mirror attacks on page one (top), but when the Masseys strike committee replies it gets just three small paragraphs hidden away on page six.

## Union leaders split rail workers

### ARE THE RAILWAYS BROKE?

WHEN the railways were nationalised, the former owners, who had deliberately run down investment for 20 years, claimed £200 million compensation. The new nationalised railways had to borrow the money at high interest rates to pay the former railway owners. British Rail is still paying off this debt. The railways have almost always made an operating profit—but the profit is turned into a loss by the enormous interest charges, often as much as £30 million a year.

If a strike does start from 22 June, the British Railways Board are faced with the choice of using TSSA and ASLEF members to break it or locking them out. It's doubtful if British Rail would pay booking office clerks when stations are closed or pay drivers to sit in cabs in front of signals set at 'danger'.

### Support

NUR members must win support from rank and file TSSA and ASLEF members to ensure there is no scabbing. TSSA and ASLEF must demand full lay-off pay for any walk-out.

The NUR leadership has to ensure maximum rank and file involvement

in the strike. Not only would this ensure effective organisation but also prevent the strike being defeated through apathy or demoralisation. Picketing will be necessary to prevent goods traffic and fuel movements being transferred to road and to prevent main signal boxes being manned by management or supervisors.

It's not yet too late for ASLEF or TSSA to reject the offer and join the NUR on 22 June. Militants in both unions should call for emergency branch meetings with this as the sole item on the agenda.

## Against racialism and discrimination in the workplace, the union and the community.

The Rank and File Conference Organising Committee invites all trade unionists to a conference on racialism.  
Saturday 14 June, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

Credentials and details from Roger Cox, Secretary, Rank and File Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London, NW10.

## Teachers: Fighting racism at school

by Jenny Jackson

of the East London Teachers Association  
OUR Teachers' Association, part of the NUT, is sending two delegates to the Rank and File Conference against Racism, in Birmingham on Saturday 14 June. We have been involved as teachers in several incidents in the fight against racism in the past year.

In the autumn term we found out that the new publican in the pub we used regularly after union meetings was operating a colour bar. We called a series of pickets of the pub which other trade unionists supported. The National Front, which is active in the area, didn't have the numbers to stop us.

The publican has now 'resigned'. Charrington's have given an assurance that they will not allow discrimination in their pubs and will not employ this man.

Arising from this, a local anti-fascist committee was set up, the Tower Hamlets Movement Against Racism and Fascism, with teachers taking a lead.

Also in the autumn term, the National Front tried to hold a meeting at Haggerston School. We supported Hackney NUT and Trades Council in a picket outside the school. We explained to the people on the estate across the road why we, as teachers, opposed the Front using a school. We argued why deteriorating schools are the fault of the education cuts and staff shortages, not because some of the kids are black.

## Policy

After this, the Inner London Education Authority decided to make it their policy not to allow the National Front the use of any ILEA buildings.

Against these successful actions, there is the case of Tulse Hill School. NUT members there took action to try to get a National Front teacher out of the school. This was not successful.

The hardest job we have—and the never-ending one—is fighting racist attitudes of some teachers and pupils.

We can use the union in dealing with racist teachers. In one school, the Head came into the staffroom and made some remark like 'These black kids—I can't tell them apart.' Two teachers challenged her, and as soon as she left, an emergency union meeting voted to inform her she was not welcome in the staffroom if she made any remarks like that. She didn't come back for over a term.

Putting the arguments to pupils is much, much more difficult. But we can't let anything pass by.

## White

There is also the question of textbooks. Many books are just not suitable for use in a multi-racial school. At best, most books give a 'white' view of the world—all the characters are white, and middle class with it. At worst, they are openly racist. Finding or making non-racial teaching material is necessary, as the Tulse Hill Black Studies Group has done.

There is also a shortage of teachers of English as a foreign language. In many schools pupils with language problems are dumped in the remedial department. Because of biased tests and prejudice, many West Indian pupils are wrongly placed in schools for 'educationally sub-normal'.

In some areas black kids are taken by bus to schools outside their neighbourhoods. This means children, many of primary school age, spending up to two hours travelling. We oppose this so-called 'balancing' and argue for proper neighbourhood schools with all the resources they need.

We have just begun to deal with these problems.

To begin to solve them we need money for new books, specialist language teachers, smaller classes. To get anywhere in fighting for increased spending when the government is trying to cut even more, we'll need well-organised union activity and the support of other trade unionists.

That's why we're going to the conference.



# WHAT'S ON

ENTRIES for this column must be posted to reach Socialist Worker by Monday morning—and remember the 'first class' post takes two days as often as one. Due to pressure of work we cannot take What's On entries over the phone. Entries here are free for IS branches and other IS organisations.

## IS public meetings

**BRISTOL IS public meeting:** The Workers' Struggle in Portugal. Speaker: Chris Harman (who visited Lisbon last month). Thursday 12 June, 8pm, Shepherds Hall, Old Market. PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF DATE.

**BEDFORD IS public meeting:** Labour's record and the Socialist Alternative. Speaker: Paul Foot. Thursday 19 June, 8pm, Labour Party rooms, 6a St Marys Street, Bedford.

**HACKNEY IS TEACHERS public meeting:** Revolution in Portugal. Speaker: Joanna Rollo. Monday 9 June, 5.30pm, The Britannia, Mare Street, E8.

**CHESTERFIELD IS public meeting:** Fight redundancies and lay-offs. Speaker: Granville Williams. Tuesday 10 June, 7.45pm, Queens Park Hotel, Markham Road, Chesterfield.

**WEST MANCHESTER IS public meeting:** Abortion: A woman's right to choose. Speakers from National Abortion Campaign and Hester Blewitt, trade unionist, Pete Elton, medical student. Thursday 12 June, 8pm, Milton Hall, 244 Deansgate.

**NOISS (National Organisation of IS Societies) Day School on Women, Sessions on Women and the Family, the Women's Liberation Movement, and Abortion.** Thurs 19 June, 10am, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC2 (near Aldwych). Organised by LSE IS Society. Further details and registration from L German, c/o LSE Students Union.

**NOISS Day School: Prospects for Revolution Today—The Third World, Eastern Europe, The Prospects for Britain.** Friday 20 June, 10am, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC1 (near Aldwych). Organised by LSE IS Society. Further details and registration from Jim Montgomery, c/o LSE Students Union.

## Meetings for IS members

**IS TASS Fraction:** National Meeting, Saturday 7 June, 11am-5pm, IS Bookshop, 65 Queen Victoria Road, Coventry. All members to attend.

**IS TGWU members' national fraction meeting:** Saturday 7 June, 1.30pm-5.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham (lecture room 5).

**IS ITALY GROUP Day School:** Saturday 14 June, 11am-5pm, North London Polytechnic. Further details from Mike Balfour phone 06284 2671.

**NW LONDON IS District School:** What's Happening in Portugal? Speakers from IS Portugal group and Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee. Thursday 12 June, 7.30pm, Devon Room, Anson Hall, Chichele Road, NW2.

**LEEDS DISTRICT IS Party Day.** Saturday 14 June. Morning mass SW street selling. Afternoon practical workshops and post conference aggregate. Evening, social. All members to attend. Details from Leeds 756624.

**EAST LONDON District IS post-conference aggregate.** Wednesday 18 June, 7.30pm, Princess Alice, Romford Road, Forest Gate.

**INNER EAST LONDON District IS post-conference aggregate.** Tuesday 17 June.

**IS YOUNG WORKERS' CONFERENCE** (for IS members and close contacts only). This weekend, 7-8 June, UMIST Students Union, Granby Row, Manchester.

## IS notices

IS needs a fast, accurate typist for an administrative position. IS members only. Phone Mel Norris, 01-739 1870/8.

**CELEBRATION DAY** for the anniversary of the 1905 revolution in Russia: Saturday 14 June. North West London IS. 1.30pm: Post-conference aggregate for members only. 4.30pm: The film *Battleship Potemkin*, followed by Tony Cliff speaking on the lessons of 1905 for revolutionaries today. Followed by football, NW London v. Socialist Worker, disco, dance and bar. Details from branch secretaries.

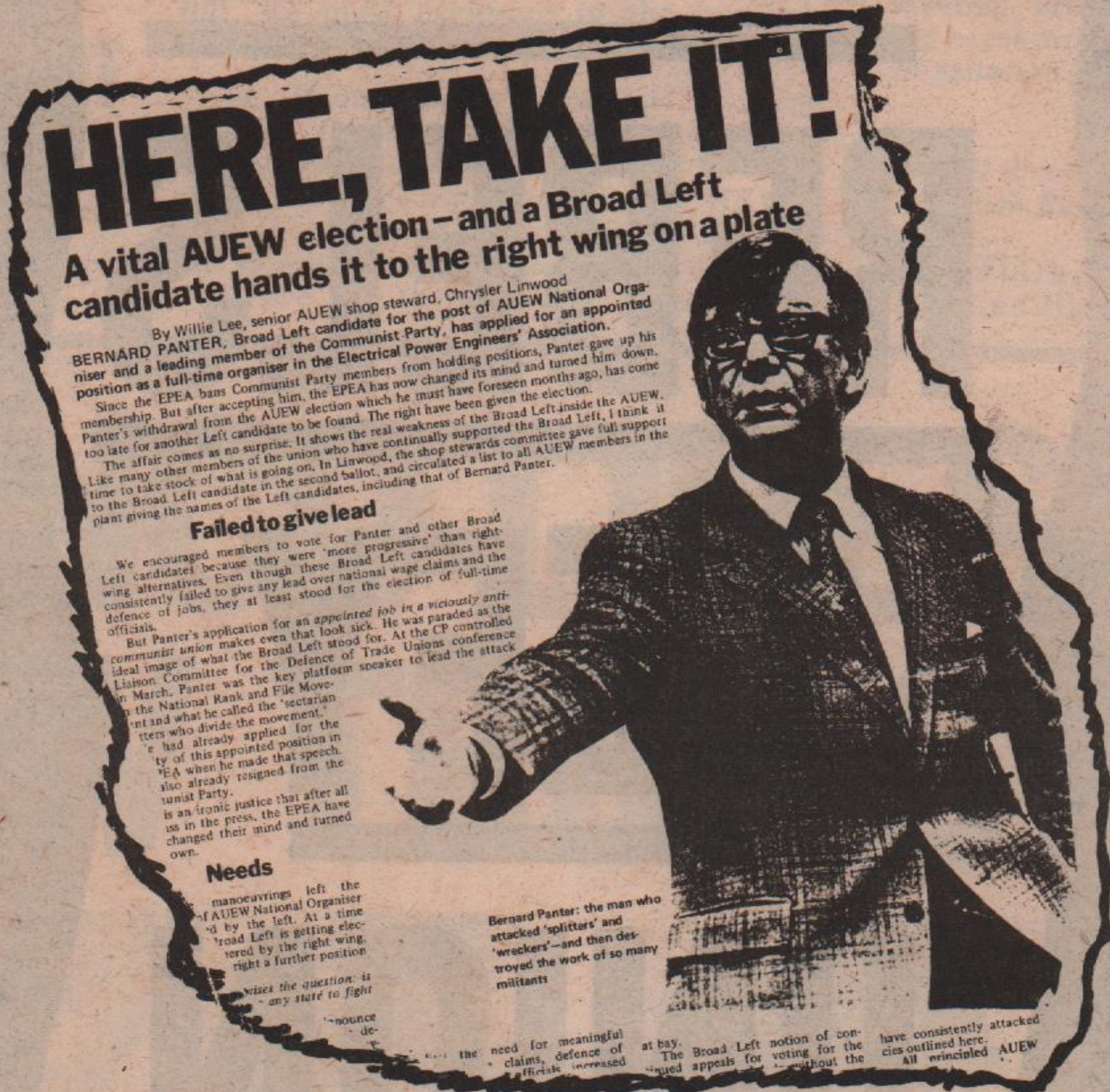
**LEICESTER IS Social:** Saturday 7 June, Highfields Community Centre, 8pm-1am, with Neighbours Nuisance and Billy Whizz Road show.

**WEST MANCHESTER IS DISTRICT:** Grand Auction. Thursday 12 June, 8pm, The Black Lion, Chapel Street.

**LAST GRAVE IN DIMBAZA:** Socialist Worker film tour of a film shot secretly and illegally in South Africa. Showings: BRADFORD Monday 23 June, MANCHESTER Tuesday 24 June, LEICESTER Wednesday 25 June, BLACKBURN Thursday 26 June, DERBY Sunday 29 June, BIRMINGHAM Wednesday 2 July, COVENTRY Thursday 3 July, WEST LONDON Friday 4 July, NORTH LONDON Sunday 6 July. Watch Socialist Worker for details of these and other showings yet to be fixed.

# LETTERS

Send your letters to LETTERS, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Let us have your name and address, but specify if you don't want your name published. Please try to keep letters to not more than 250 words.



FLASHBACK... to the Socialist Worker article on Bernard Panter

## Panter: Those who live by the sword...

SOCIALIST WORKER'S report on Bernard Panter (24 May), and his abandonment of the AUEW Broad Left for an appointed job with the Electrical Power Engineers Association, shows how the Communist Party policy of seeking and keeping union positions at all costs is wrecking the AUEW as a fighting union.

The affair could also have had serious repercussions inside the EPEA, which last week was faced with a challenge by the government through the Electricity Council to defend a pay agreement made in 1974, and was moving towards a strike ballot.

Panter's appointment and sacking could have been used by the media to embarrass the Executive at a time when support from the membership was crucial. The EPEA has now settled for a 31.4 per cent average increase.

The report described the EPEA

as viciously anti-communist and, indeed, at the annual conference in April, an attempt to rescind the long-standing ban on CP members holding office was defeated 2-1.

Such a ban has no place in an organisation which claims to be democratic. Unfortunately, attempts to remove the ban are not helped by the CP's record in the electricity supply industry and in particular the EETPU, which was controlled by CP officials until 1961.

The work of rank and file militants, particularly in the unofficial Power Workers' Combine, was disrupted by manoeuvring of the CP officials. Eventually, the officials lost their electoral base and a few indulged in the unforgivable folly of ballot rigging.

This gave the right-wing the chance they had been waiting for, and they took control of the union amid a ferocious anti-communist witch-hunt.

The Communist Party and the Broad Left have still not learnt, after 15 years with the right-wing firmly in control of the EETPU, that the pursuit of official positions in the unions without the development of a strong and democratic rank and file movement must result in disaster.—JOHN OWEN, EPEA member, Crawley.

# How two women lost their jobs

SEVERAL WEEKS ago, a woman was sacked for no reason from Elsie Whiteley's clothing factory at Carlton, Barnsley. One of the other women, Jean Lavender, urged her to turn up the following day to make sure she was paid her week's notice.

Jean sat with her in the canteen for the whole of the next day. Management sent one of its lackeys to spray the canteen with a toxic cleaning gun to try and force them out. Jean warned the manager that if this didn't stop she'd report them to the Factory Inspectorate. The manager paid no heed.

A factory inspector later turned up—and did nothing. The next morning, Jean was paid off. The full-time official of the Tailors and Garment Workers, the women's union, did nothing to help either woman. It's not surprising that many women have little faith in unions!—DAVE GIBSON, Barnsley.

# SHREWSBURY SCANDAL

IN THE Morning Star of 27 May yet another attempt was made to resurrect a corpse.

Barry Scragg, writing on behalf of the ghost of the North Wales Defence Committee, again suggests calling on the TUC General Council 'demanding action to be taken to bring about their [the Shrewsbury Two] release.'

He adds: 'If there is still the same reluctance to take action then it must clearly leave the TGWU and UCATT no alternative but to initiate mass industrial action.'

The pickets and their families have been thoroughly let down by the movement leaving it to

officialdom.

The North Wales Charter Defence Committee ceased to appeal for funds and sent out a notice that it would close its account in August last year.

When it issued its final bulletin in February, Socialist Worker called it a disgrace. A week later, the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, emerging from its prolonged hibernation, called a conference, at which it was made clear that the Shrewsbury Dependants Fund, set up by the Rank and File Organising Committee, had taken over where the North Wales Committee had left off.

An embarrassed Ken Barlow was brought to the microphone to explain that the reason for the shut down was because the campaign to Free the Two was now being prosecuted by the 'official movement'.

Sensing that this cowardly decision would highlight the betrayal of the jailed pickets, it was hurriedly announced that a Shrewsbury Two Co-ordinating Committee had been set up. It called a conference, and then called it off.

Meanwhile Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson continue to rot in jail, and the Home Secretary cocks a snook at the trade union movement by ignoring all the representations made to the government.

The least the individual member can do is press his or her branch or Trades Council to contribute to the Shrewsbury Dependants Fund.—OSSIE LEWIS, Honorary Treasurer, Shrewsbury Dependants Fund, 25 Park Road, Cheam, Surrey.

## POSTAL POINTS

AS A CHEMISTRY student, I have just completed a course on the 'approach' that Pat Kinnersly talks about in his article on Flixborough (24 May). In designing a process, my professor told me, there is only one rule that you really have to remember—'keep it cheap'. Questions of safety are side issues—they relate to people not profit; they are extra expenses which are lumped with public relations... safety at work is something workers must ensure.—DES ENNIS, Birmingham.

A SECOND cousin of the Queen was recently discharged after committing £92,000 worth of arson at a public school. On 24 May, the Newcastle Journal carried a story of two youths jailed for four years after setting fire to a school and causing £18,000 worth of damage. One can only hope that the next time royalty fires a school he first fills the building with his parasitic relations.—G BRIGGS, Sunderland.

WE HOPE the editors and writers of the reviews page never find themselves responsible for art and music in some official capacity after the revolution. Socialists can find pleasure in all kinds of music... it does not have to have some 'message'. Review plays and music that do have a class or socialist content, but don't be bitter about not finding it in The Who—they have never claimed it.—COLIN CRANE, RAY AND LYN PACKHAM, DANNY DAVIS, Wigan.

THOUSANDS of political prisoners are in Indian jails. Besides defence work, we collect literature and distribute it among them. In response to our appeal some radical journals come to us, including International Socialism Journal. So we appeal to you, help us as you can.—B S, Orissa, India. (Write to BS via Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2).

## STEEL: SO THIS IS A VICTORY...

THE SIX-POINT plan drawn up by the TUC steel committee and the British Steel Corporation to save redundancies has been hailed as a victory for Benn and a reprieve for steel workers. We are not convinced.

Finniston has played his hand cleverly. His threat of mass redundancies has frightened our union officials into giving away our independence. By setting up plant committees to police the plan (overtime, absenteeism, recruitment, manning, voluntary redundancies and plant loading) we are no longer fighting redundancies, but arguing about how many should go.

This will only lead to demoralisation and shop stewards becoming policemen of the shop floor. Doing the bosses' job will only set worker against worker.

The chicken feed this plan intends to save in no way removes the threat of mass redundancies. A threat that is caused by the crisis in the steel using industries.

The plan will only weaken our spirit and organisation, so Finniston is likely to have his cake and eat it! Working together with management has never protected our jobs, this is no time to start now!

PS Every day the happy Japanese worker is being used as a threat to get us to work harder. Couldn't Socialist Worker use its international links to give us the facts to counter this propaganda?—SWANSEA IS STEELWORKERS.

## Finniston's dream...

ONE POINT the press has carefully forgotten about steel boss Sir Monty Finniston is his determination to de-nationalise steel.

Last November, he described nationalisation as only a 'transitional' phase, stating that 'once our house is in order... and is working as a single corporation producing profits... then there is no need for it to remain

nationalised in any great sense of the word because then it's acting as a private company.'

That's his dream. That's the boss of a publicly-owned industry. If the profitability crisis of steel is solved at the workers' expense, then a future Tory government will find it so much easier to make Finniston's dreams come true.—JOHN URE, E London.



By PAUL FOOT

LAST FRIDAY, freedom of choice returned to the homes of millions of workers. Independent Television was back on the air. After a whole week of 'monopoly', in which they were forced to watch BBC programmes only, they could switch to Crossroads and the Main Chance.

News at Ten could give us its usual 'balanced picture' of current affairs, without a mention of the stoppage which closed down its channel. No one, either in newspapers or television, has reported in detail on one of the most frontal attacks made on a British trade union in the last ten years.

The people behind that attack, the men behind all those 'impartial', 'harmless' programmes are not only greedy millionaires: they are also uncompromising class warriors.

Before the Tories' 1972-74 wage freeze, the television technicians' union, ACTT, negotiated threshold payments with rises in the cost of living index. These payments were held up during that pay freeze. When it ended, the union asked the government if they were entitled to the money which hadn't been paid (about £300 a technician).

The Department of Employment said Yes.

A whole year passed in negotiation. Finally, suddenly, the television tycoons said No, they weren't paying the money.

The ACTT sponsored a strike the weekend before last. In reply, the employers locked out all workers from most of the big companies.

Sir Geoffrey Cox, of Trident Television, spoke for the bosses. A former Chief Intelligence Officer in the New Zealand Army, his reputation for political impartiality is unbounded.

Reasons

He was, for instance, editor and chief executive of the same Independent Television News from 1956 to 1968.

Then he got a lot of shares in Yorkshire Television. He now holds 242,000 shares in Trident television, which in a good year brings him in an annual income in tax-free dividends alone of about £9000.

Sir Geoffrey is chairman of the labour relations committee of the Independent Television Companies Association, which has five representatives from each of the big companies (Yorkshire, Granada, London Weekend, Thames and ATV) and three others representing the smaller companies.

When he talked about the strike, he seemed to have lost all that objectivity learned from the New Zealand Army and Independent Television News. He sounded like a 19th century mine owner.

There would be no work in commercial television, he said, until the union dropped the claim.

Not until they stopped going on strike, mind you. But until they gave up a claim to which the government (and the employers) admitted they were entitled.

Many thought Sir Geoffrey had taken leave of his senses, but, sure enough when workers turned up for work on Monday morning they were told by embarrassed managers to go home.

Record

This policy had been decided upon by the ITCA labour relations committee the previous week. Chief architect of the lock-out was John O'Keefe, recently hired by Thames Television as labour relations director.

O'Keefe came from the Newspaper Publishers Association, where his 'tough labour' policies led to the splitting of the Daily Mirror from the NPA.

He and Cox, supported by representatives from the smaller companies, coolly decided to invest £3 million in a strike over a small issue which, they hoped, would smash the union before the annual wage negotiations start in the summer.

They imagined that a lock-out would force the union to drop the claim, and start a witch-hunt among the union membership for the ousting of Alan Sapper, the union's general secretary.

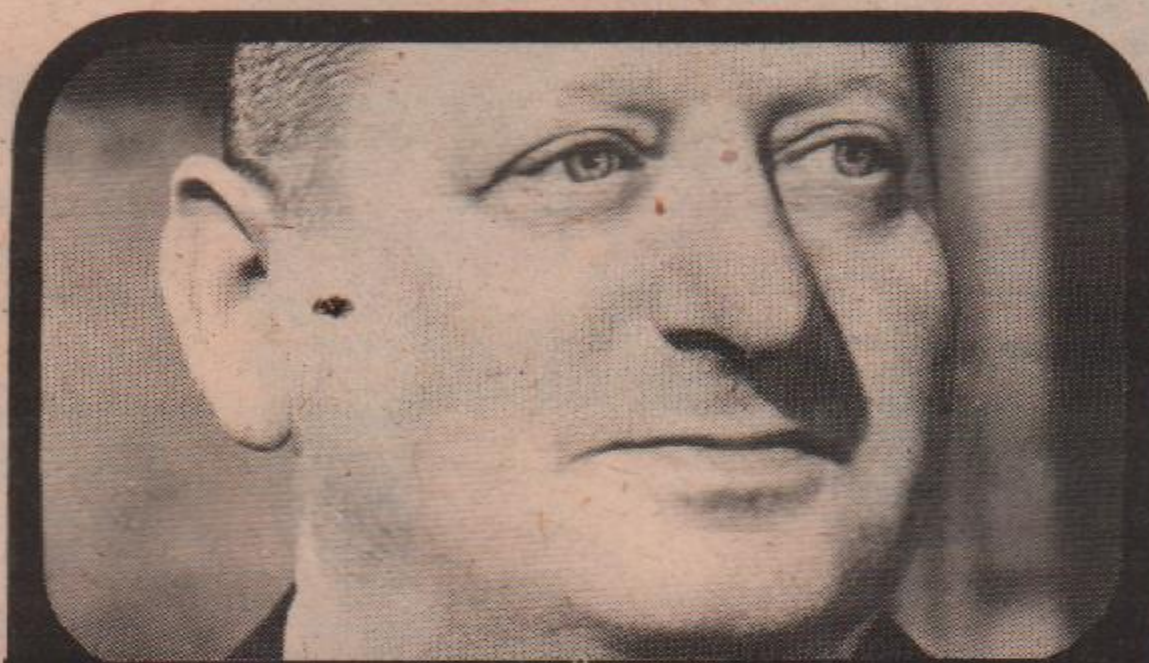
They hoped that the resulting chaos and demoralisation in a weak union, at a time of high unemployment in the film industry, would lead to a substantial real wage cut after the summer talks.



ACTT general secretary Alan Sapper (far right) talks to reporters during the recent dispute: the press, as usual, knew which side it was on

PICTURE: Andrew Ward (Report)

# A licence to print money



SIR LEW GRADE

Associated Television Corporation Ltd. Made up of the Daily Express, a few corporations and mostly individual shareholders.

	After-tax profits	Paid out in dividends
1973	£4,358,000	£2,122,000
1974	£3,616,000	£2,154,000



HOWARD THOMAS

Thames Television: Made up of Rediffusion and EMI

	After-tax profits	Dividends
1969	£ 705,609	£ 700,000
1970	£ 179,000	£ 185,000
1971	£2,250,000	£2,250,000
1972	£2,921,000	£2,921,000
1973	£3,371,000	£3,371,000
1974	£2,194,000	£2,194,000

It nearly worked. The union membership in the first two days of the lock-out was seriously split and disheartened.

The total failure of the union to reply to the Press attacks, or even to state their case in full, did not help. Gradually, the pendulum began to swing back.

In a crucial vote on Wednesday, shop stewards representing the technicians decided by a small majority to continue with the claim.

Big shop meetings of rank and file workers then decided to picket London Weekend Television, where

work was going on. They also decided to close down Westward Television.

This counter-attack shifted the Cox-O'Keefe majority on the ITCA labour relations committee. The employers withdrew their ultimatum, and agreed to allow work to continue alongside talks on the claim.

But they are still adamant that not a penny on the claim can be paid.

One militant in the ACTT put it this way: 'Shops were having lots of meetings, large meetings and that's

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION was started by the Tory Government in 1954 against the advice of many Tory leaders, other establishment spokesmen and the entire Labour Party, all of who argued that broadcasting standards would be lowered by advertising.

The scheme had been promoted by a young man in Conservative Central Office called Mark Chapman-Walker. He helped to form the Popular Television Association, whose president was the Earl of Derby.

They fought a heroic campaign against the 'dictatorial spirit' of the BBC—and won. The new Television Act, 1954, granted 'franchises' (monopolies) to consortia of businessmen, actors and others (including trade union leaders), which allowed them a monopoly right to transmit commercial television in different areas of the country.

Among the first franchises to be granted was that for Television West and Wales. The managing director was Mark Chapman-Walker and the chairman was the Earl of Derby. These men, and all the others who won franchises, reaped fantastic profits from the huge advertising boom. Lord Thomson, who won the franchise for Scotland, declared it 'a licence to print money'.

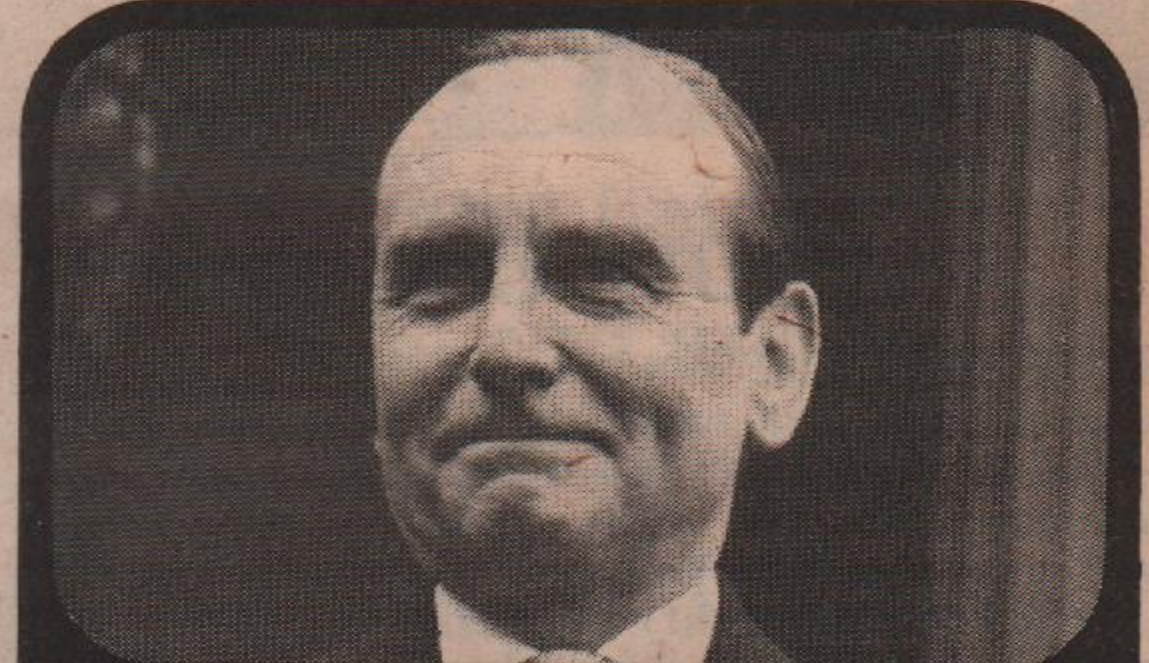
Until 1964, there was no limit on these profits at all. Almost all the profits were handed back to the shareholders. In 1964, the Tories imposed a levy on the profits. This levy was cut in 1969 by the Labour government.

In 1974, the Labour government removed the levy altogether and replaced it with a profits tax. This tax is consistently avoided by the television companies who do not declare their revenue for programmes sold abroad.

always good for a union.

'I think, just in the nick of time, the workers realised their own strength and threatened to use it. Next time round there'll be none of the fear and uncertainty which we started with this time.'

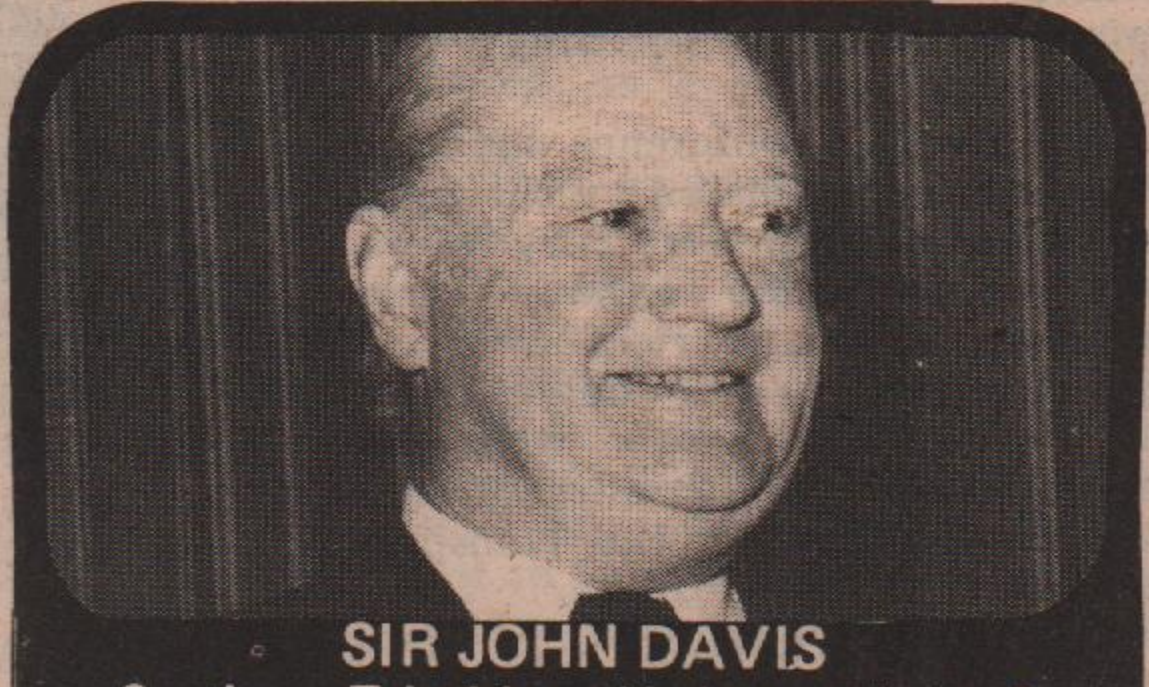
There will be a next time round. In the meantime, Sir Geoffrey Cox and his fellow-tycoons have shown us clearly just how impartial they and their television can be expected to be when they are down to their last million pounds in money for nothing.



SIR GEOFFREY COX

Deputy chairman, Trident television

	After-tax profits	Dividends
1973	£2,577,362	£ 631,590
1974	£1,837,565	£ 921,577



SIR JOHN DAVIS

Southern Television: Made up of the Rank Organisation, Associated Newspapers (the Daily Mail etc) and D C Thomson, a non-union publishing outfit in Dundee.

	After-tax profits	Dividends
1969	£ 585,454	£ 449,996
1970	£ 653,762	£ 649,994
1971	£1,199,051	£ 949,991
1972	£1,399,276	£1,099,989
1973	£1,500,752	£1,199,988
1974	£ 775,340	£ 599,994

## Kartoon Klowns IN SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM

Theatre Royal, Stratford (a few minutes from Stratford Station) 7.30pm, Sunday 15 June  
 Socialist Worker benefit evening  
 Organised by East London International Socialists  
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# QUESTIONS ON THE CRISIS

By DUNCAN HALLAS

TONY CLIFF  
THE CRISIS  
SOCIAL CONTRACT  
OR SOCIALISM



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tion.

A READER is a bit sceptical about Socialist Worker's call to 'nationalise to save the jobs, in firms threatening to close down.

'How do you get it?' he asks, 'and in any case will it save jobs even if you do?'

Well, certainly there is no magic in state-ownership as such. Look at the run-down of the workforce in the pits since nationalisation or the Steel Corporation's redundancy proposals—now officially to be achieved 'voluntarily' by natural wastage. And both manual and white-collar workers in local government are likely to face redundancies as Healey's cuts begin to bite.

But there is a real difference between state-owned enterprises and so-called 'private enterprise' in this respect. When Rolls-Royce went bust it would—unless the workers had taken effective action—have ceased to exist, would have been sold up for scrap, if the Tory government had not nationalised it.

## Red

British Rail cannot go bust, even though it is pretty well permanently in the red. That is the difference.

The state boards are as keen to jack up productivity and slim down the labour force as any private firm. That is certainly true. But the ultimate weapon of shutting up

# Nationalisation: Is it a job saver?

shop for ever is not open to them. The state cannot go bankrupt. It prints its own money.

So nationalisation opens up the possibility of resisting closures indefinitely. No more than that. BSC remains determined to close some plants. It still has to be fought.

This is why we say, not just nationalise, but nationalise without compensation under workers' control. The control demand is fundamental. It does not mean falling for the nostrum of workers on the board. That isn't workers' control. It is the castration of workers' control. Look at Volks-wagon. They have workers on the board. And that board voted to enforce 30,000 redundancies. The unions—dominated by right wing 'moderates'—went along with 'their' directors!

Workers' control under capitalism—and the nationalised industries are capitalist institutions, not

socialist ones—means organised shop floor encroachment on 'managerial rights'. It means control over hiring and firing, control over track speeds, control over 'flexibility' and so on.

## Power

It means the development and expansion of the existing power of the stewards and the power of the workers over the stewards. The various 'industrial democracy' schemes are intended to achieve the opposite result, the incorporation of senior stewards and convenors into management.

You don't get workers' control by legislation, you get it by struggle. But can you get the nationalisation—that surely requires government action? It does and it can be won in certain circumstances. Of course no government is going to be pressured

into nationalising the corner shop. But state intervention to prevent major closures is definitely on. The form that intervention takes matters a lot.

Governments—Tory or Labour—try to tie state aid to union collaboration with management to destroy jobs. Militant occupations to force nationalisation and an absolute determination to defend hard won rights and to further increase them are what is needed. And they can win.

The very fact that nowadays managements are so keen to achieve their aims by the insidious means of voluntary redundancies and natural wastage is, in large part, a testimony to their fear of large scale militant action.

The slogan 'nationalise to save the jobs, no compensation and under workers' control' is an eminently practical and realistic one.

# 5 FIFTH COLUMN



## How James White won...

JAMES WHITE MP is not one of the more distinguished members of that undistinguished body the House of Commons. He was little known—until he became the sponsor of the Abortion (Amendment) Bill. This is the bill designed to drive abortion out of the hospitals and back into the backstreets.

Before he made it to Pollock to become the Labour MP he put in many a previous effort, like in Glasgow Woodside, back in 1963...

The Tory MP had died, and the left wing local Labour Party had to choose a by-election candidate. The General Management Committee opted for the left-wing Neil Carmichael.

The selection conference was open to delegates nominated by the trade unions, even if they were Tory voters, or never attended Labour Party meetings. Left and right intrigued vigorously for their candidates. Then the Carmichael backers were dismayed to find another allegedly left candidate, backed by the Transport and General Workers Union.

A Mr James White.

The day of the conference came. The regulars were surprised to find 45 unfamiliar faces, never seen before or, apparently, since. They

## won...

were delegates from the TGWU, fresh from a big tea where they had been addressed by Mr White, instructed how to vote for him, and driven to the conference.

Some of the delegates seemed a little confused. 'I don't really know what this is about' said one woman. 'I've always voted Tory myself.'

Mr White didn't impress the meeting. He was dull, right-wing, almost incoherent. But he got a lot of votes—within half a dozen of Carmichael.

That day James White didn't make it, but now he has. A national figure behind one of the most reactionary campaigns for years. He doesn't dispense tea to Tory voters anymore—he gets votes from Tory MPs instead.

Even worse 87 other Labour MPs have backed his motion, and nine of them are members of the Tribune Group of left-wing MPs!

They are Roy Hughes (Newport) and Kevin McNamara (Hull North) both sponsored by the Transport and General Workers Union, Eddie Loyden (Liverpool, Garston) George Rodgers (Chorley) Terry Walker (Kingswood) Jim Sillars (Ayrshire South) David Young (Bolton East) and James Callaghan (Middleton).

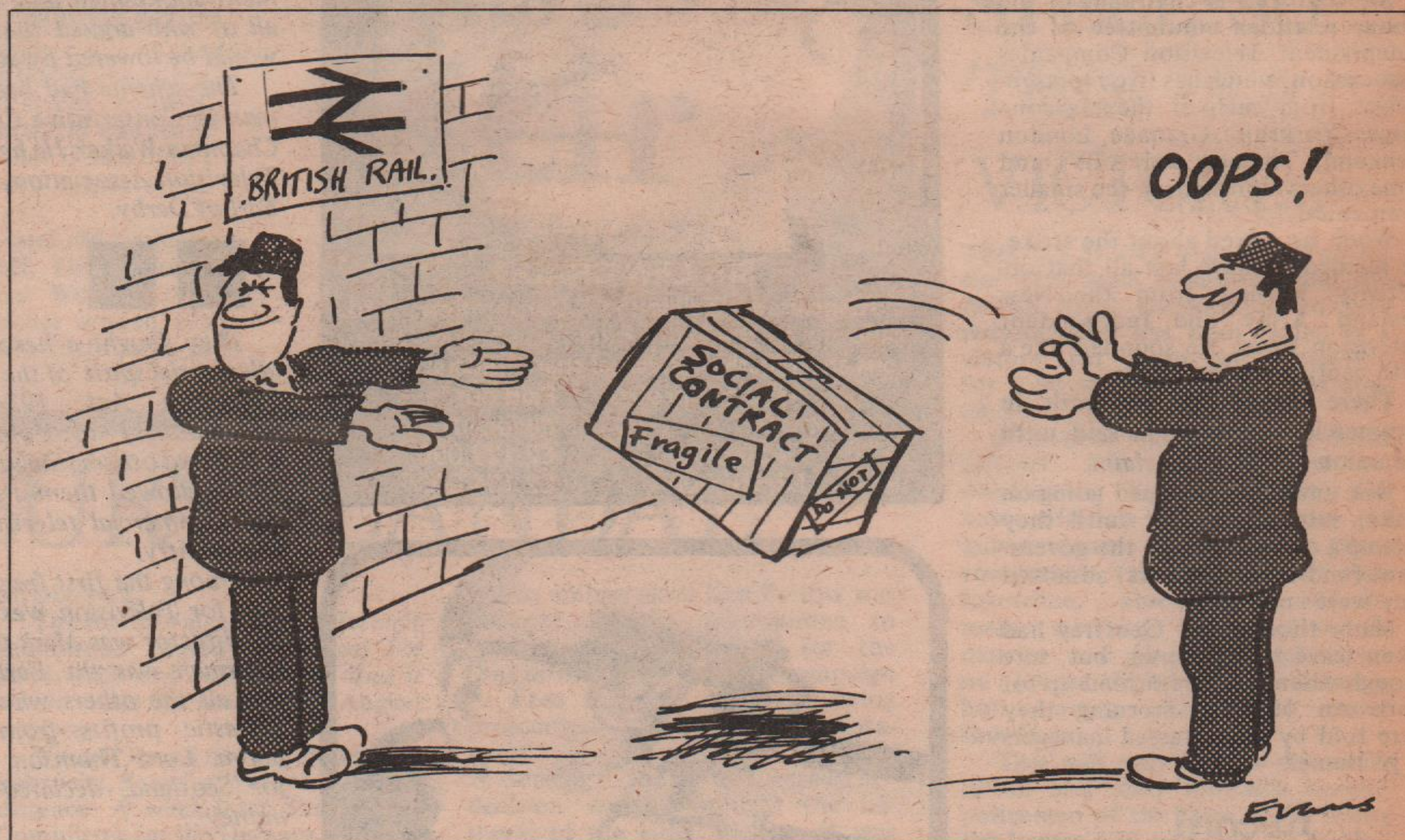
## PARTICIPATION-IN JUG

HAVE you been heartened by all the publicity for workers' participation schemes at Chrysler? Well perhaps someone should write to Peter Arend about it. He's an Australian Chrysler worker—and has been in jug. His crime? He went to work...

The slump has hit Australia too. In February Chrysler in South Australia tried to transfer 100 workers including 60 tradesmen to the production line. Why? Because they hoped that there would be a lot of 'voluntary' resignation, to avoid redundancy payments and solve the problem of all the unsold Chryslers piling up.

The workers refused, occupied—and after four days the company gave in, negotiated a deal with the union and everybody happily went back to work. A week later 50 tradesmen, including Peter Arend, were sacked. All the negotiations had flown out the window but Peter, however, hadn't. He kept on showing up for work. The company got worried—they offered him a job on the line. He wouldn't have it. The shop stewards backed him.

The union held a meeting. They wouldn't allow speakers from the floor, they ignored an overwhelmingly supported vote in Peter's support. But he kept on coming to work. So Chrysler had him arrested. Into the jail he went. Nothing like participation is there?



'OUR supporters need something more to fight for. They have to be stirred by a vision, and we patently failed to give it to them.'

John Stonehouse in a letter to Labour Party members at Wednesday, his constituency, after Labour lost the 1970 election, 29th June 1970...

## ON THE BOX

### SATURDAY

ITV (London and Yorkshire): 7pm. An interesting subject, but apparently, a so-so film is THE MOLLY MAGUIRES about the secret society organised by the Pennsylvania miners in the 1880s to fight the mine owners. On BBC-2 (2.55pm) Tony Hancock stars in THE PUNCH AND JUDY MAN.

### SUNDAY

ITV: 5.35pm; THE SEIGE OF GOLDEN HILL is a new, possibly promising series about teenage life on the outskirts of a big city. THE WORLD ABOUT US: A GIRL NAMED DEVIKA (BBC-2, 7.25pm) is about a 20 year old Bombay textile designer and her involvement with a village. SUNDAY SPECIAL (BBC-2, 8.15pm) features the Aunt Tom of Women's Liberation, HELEN REDDY. On ITV (Birmingham area only, 7.55pm) the excellent but much cut Western MAJOR DUNDEE. The lunacies of the present system are portrayed in THE BED SITTING ROOM, set in a post bomb Britain, starring Spike Milligan, one of the best modern British films (BBC-2, 10.15pm).

### MONDAY

RADIO-4. 2.25pm. First live broadcast of parliamentary question time. CHURCHILL'S PEOPLE: MUTINY

(BBC-1, 10.10pm) deals with the 1797 Spithead naval mutiny.

### TUESDAY

ITV: 10.30pm. CLASS ROOTS is a documentary on three Birmingham families, on their jobs, attitudes, and where they live: THE TRIBAL EYE: SWEAT OF THE SUN (BBC-2, 8.10pm) is about South American civilisation of the Incas. The excellent French film about a 12 year old's path to 'delinquency' QUATRE CENT COUPS (400 Blows) is on BBC-2 (9pm).

### WEDNESDAY

BBC-2pm. WESSEX TALES ends with a dramatisation by David Mercer of Thomas Hardy's BARBARA OF THE GREBE. THE ASCENT OF MAN examines humanity's discovery of agriculture in THE HARVEST OF SEASONS (BBC-2, 8.10pm).

### THURSDAY

BBC-2: 9.25pm MAN ALIVE: TERROR PART TWO, interviews members of the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Quebec Liberation Front.

### FRIDAY

BBC-2: 10.20pm. THE MONEY PROGRAMME examines the future of unemployment, inflation, pay freezes in THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN

THE upheaval in Portugal has shaken neighbouring fascist Spain in more ways than one.

The workers and peasants of the area bordering on Portugal were treated a few weeks ago to the Portuguese election campaign on television. This has given them the chance to assess their views of the Communist Party and various revolutionary groups in the privacy of their own front rooms.

And there's more than that on the box too. Many 'subversive' films are shown in Spain—but the dubbing, cutting and sub-titling ensure that nothing likely to affront Franco's regime is conveyed to the audience. Well, not so with Portuguese television. Recently they networked 'Last Tango in Paris'. This apparently did much to enliven the viewing habits of jaded Spanish viewers...



# British Leyland's 'super bus'



# A rolling death trap



COLIN HARGREAVES: a miracle escape

LAST WEEK's horrific coach crash in which 32 people, many of them pensioners, were crushed to death, highlights for passengers and crews alike the dangers of travelling on buses with defective parts.

For many years, crews have complained of buses with steering so heavy that it was difficult to turn corners, with brakes that faded every time going down hill, and wind-screen wipers and de-misters that just didn't work.

The employers, in response, have always blamed lack of spares and maintenance workers. This excuse has now been exposed by the appearance of serious defects in the design of British Leyland's new super bus, the Leyland National.

Hailed by Leyland as a 'breakthrough' designed to increase passenger comfort and safety, and reduce driver fatigue, it is, in the words of one driver, 'a heap of scrap iron.'

Since being brought into service with the National Bus Company, just about every depot where it has been used has complained about the brakes. London Country Buses, for example, blacked their entire fleet of Nationals after one driver had been booked for failing to stop at a red light.

*The road was wet. And when the lights changed, the driver was unable to stop and the bus skidded through the lights. The next day, the same bus skidded on a wet road and was badly damaged.*

In Blackburn, the Ribble depot have had Nationals for only a few months, but in that time there have been two serious accidents, and a host of minor ones, all the result of buses skidding on wet roads.

Colin Hargreaves, who had an accident in which he and a number of passengers were injured, told me:

**‘**The brakes are not up to scratch. I was coming down a hill, towards a stop, at about 30mph, when I braked. The bus skidded and pulled to the left. It hit the pavement, but I was able to bring it back under control and to the centre of the road.

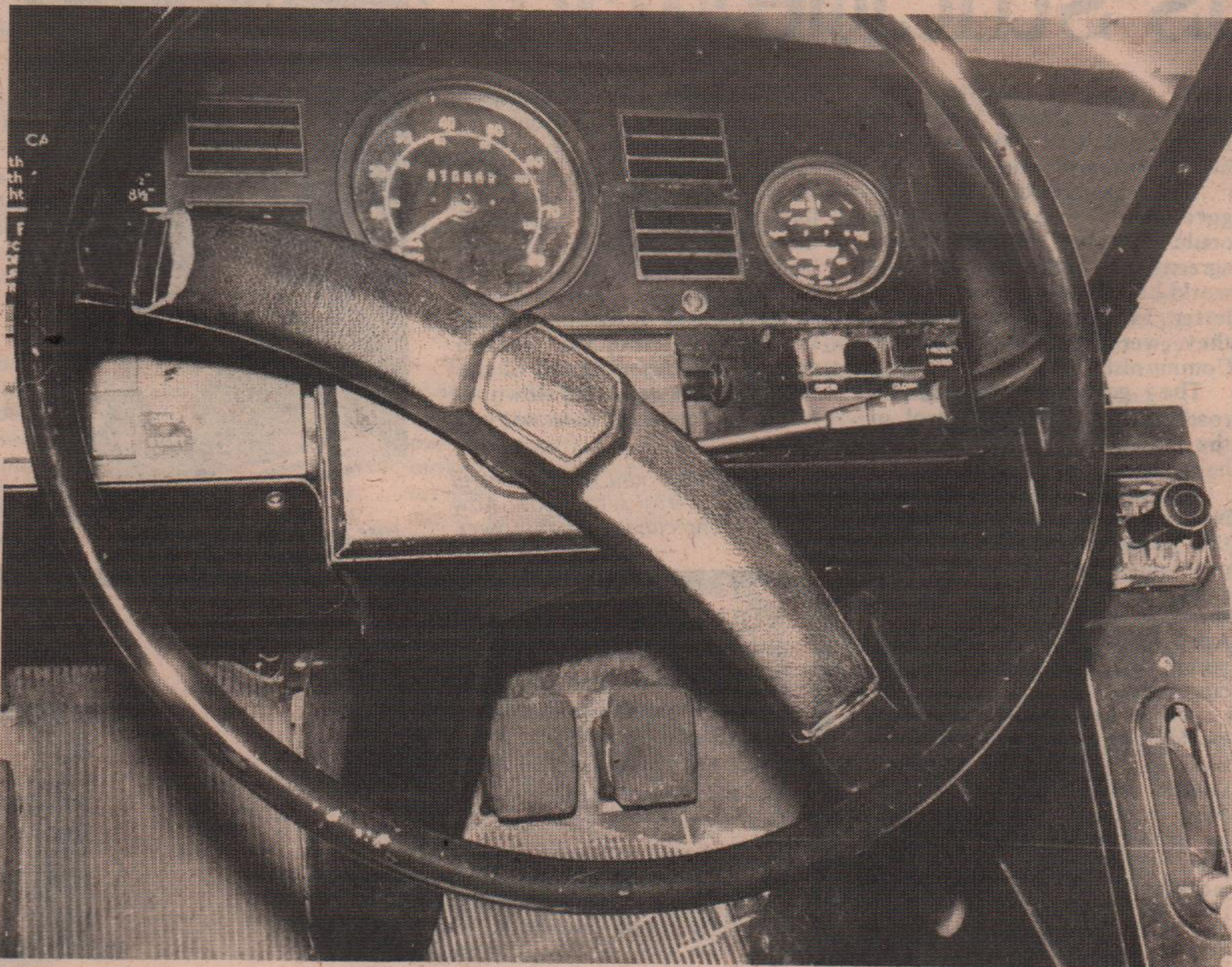
## Tank

I started to brake again. It skidded but this time to the off-side, and no matter how hard I tried I couldn't stop it.

When I hit the articulated wagon coming the other way, I had a full left-hand lock on and it was still skidding to the right.

I was trapped in the cab with diesel pouring out from the wagon fuel tank. All the electrics were sparking away. I thought my number was up.

Colin had a month or so off work, and some of the worst bruising I've seen. He had a black and yellow band of bruising around his waist about six inches wide, where the steering wheel drove into his stomach. His hand and face were



INSIDE A NATIONAL: The pedals are dangerously close

By LES KAY, TGWU

A bus driver at Ribble garage, Blackburn

*cut by flying glass. He still has some embedded in his arms.*

**But he was lucky. He could be dead.**

Another driver, Ken Orrel, tells a similar story. 'The road was wet and I was following a car which pulled up quickly. In one of the other buses I would have been alright, but in a National I had no chance. It skidded and I gave the car a hell of a bang.'

At Ribble's Preston depot, the story is the same. And even in Australia a report has come through that, in Melbourne, a Leyland National skidded on a wet road, mounted the pavement, and killed some passers-by.

Every control on the bus is power assisted. That's where the problems start. Steering, - power assisted; brakes, air; gears, electric with air shift; accelerator, air powered; suspension, air supported.

You may as well be in a dark room with just a television screen and a few buttons to push. You

don't get any feel on the road. The air brakes are particularly insensitive - a fact only now recognised by the management, who have started a few small modifications.

The suspension—designed, so Leyland say, to improve passenger comfort—is so soft that if you look at any National you will see tell-tale scratches and dents in between the wheels where the body has ground going round corners. The cab design must rate as the most inept ever.

## Wide

*The brake and accelerator pedals are the same size, shape and height. They are also within two inches of each other. Often you press the wrong one, or even both at the same time. Because they are both air assisted there is no difference in 'feel'.*

The driver's black-out blind is only about 18 inches wide. So at night you can see through only

about half of the windscreen. The rest is covered by reflections from the inside.

They did bring in one good thing. The heaters are excellent. Just one problem. There's no on/off switch. So you either sweat or shiver.

There is also a host of electronic checking devices to see if the bus is running short on water or oil, and one check switch for the water level in the radiator is really cleverly positioned, on the radiator itself.

I ask you, what's the point in installing an expensive monitoring device, which is supposed to save time, if you have to walk the 37 feet to the back of the bus, lift up the radiator cover, and press the switch?

It would be just as easy to lift the cap and poke your snout down, in the time honoured way.

How do they get us to drive them?—you might well ask. They pay an extra five per cent, ostensibly as a bonus because the buses are high capacity. You're supposed to carry 24 standing passengers on these rolling death traps.

But more and more of the blokes are coming to realise that we would be better off safe than five per cent richer.

The Leyland National story sums

**‘The brake and accelerator pedals are the same size and height —and are less than two inches apart. Often you press the wrong one, or even both at the same time.’**

up capitalism pretty well. The real reason why British Leyland think they are a 'breakthrough' is because, unlike previous buses, they are produced on a production line, like cars.

They are produced at the Leyland National factory at Cumbernauld, where union organisation is weaker than in the bus and truck division in Lancashire.

From the bus companies' point of view, they carry more passengers than any previous model, and that's got to be good. And if a few dozen drivers and a few hundred passengers have to go to hospital every now and then, well that's just too bad.

After all, it's us suckers that pay the majority of the cost of the health service!

The motor industry and all passenger transport has to be controlled by the ordinary workers in the car factories and on the buses.

*Drivers who have had bad experiences with Leyland Nationals are urged to contact Les Kay through Socialist Worker. Write to Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.*

Only then will buses be designed by teams of worker experts drawn from passengers, crews and motor workers, so that design nightmares like the National will be avoided.

Rank and file action by bus workers must ensure that these crabs are taken off the road with no loss of pay to us until they are either made right or replaced.





Inside the boss's luxury penthouse suite—a Corame worker gets his feet up in imitation of Carlos dos Nogueira who used to run their lives

# When 'moderation' means suicide

REVOLUTIONS pose new and complex problems. You learn about those problems in strange ways. We walked into a bank in Lisbon to get some money and were addressed with the polite, come on question: *What do you think of the new Portugal?*

We must have answered with the correct reservations. Within seconds, a whole team of revolutionary bank workers were talking with us.

One of them, Jose Ruivo, took particular care to set out what the bank workers knew about the new Portugal's problems. And bank workers are in a position to know.

## Rich

From his branch of the Banco Borges e Irmao, he explained, close on a million pounds sterling had been run across the Spanish border by patriotic businessmen in the last few months. The same must have happened in every other branch patronised by the rich.

The rich had other little tricks up their sleeves. They were involved in systematic economic sabotage. They were emptying their safety deposit boxes at top speed until the bankworkers moved and took control of them.



A Portuguese soldier involved in attempts to set up revolutionary councils uniting rank and file workers in industry and agriculture with soldiers and sailors will be speaking at an important series of IS public meetings throughout England and Scotland in the next two weeks. Hear him in:

### LIVERPOOL

Thursday 12 June, 7.30pm, AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant

### COVENTRY

Monday 16 June, 7.30pm, Lanchester Poly

### BIRMINGHAM

Tuesday 17 June, 7.30pm, Lecture Room 1, Digbeth Town Hall

### GLASGOW

Wednesday 18 June, 7.30pm, McLelland Galleries, Sauchiehall Street



And then, of course, vast amounts of capital were still being used up to finance the importation of luxury goods.

But, explained Jose, the government decreed that this could not be stopped. Trade agreements with the capitalist world had to be honoured to the letter. In this, as in all things, they were supported by the Communist Party.

The government's 'middle road' means leaving control of the means of production in the hands of the capitalist class.

The consequences are simple. Nothing serious is done to tackle the range of profound social problems which face the working class. The grotesque housing shortage didn't disappear on 26 April 1974. The cost of living is going up. There is rising unemployment.

And when the waves of the world economic crisis hit home hard in Portugal, the moderate middle road becomes a vicious road. It means pulling your belt in, or rather having it pulled for you. It means screwing the working class.

## Power

*There are other fearsome consequences.*

Those who work the land in Portugal have to be won for the revolution. For very practical reasons, too—they can cut off your milk or the grain for your bread, as well as harbour or support the forces of reaction.

As Jose explains, the provisional government may offer them long-term low-interest loans. But the peasants aren't exactly queuing to take them up, just as they produce below capacity because the times are uncertain.

Only revolutionary deeds can answer such a problem. Only the seizure of the big chemical and fertiliser trusts, the agricultural machinery franchises, can prove that the working class means business.

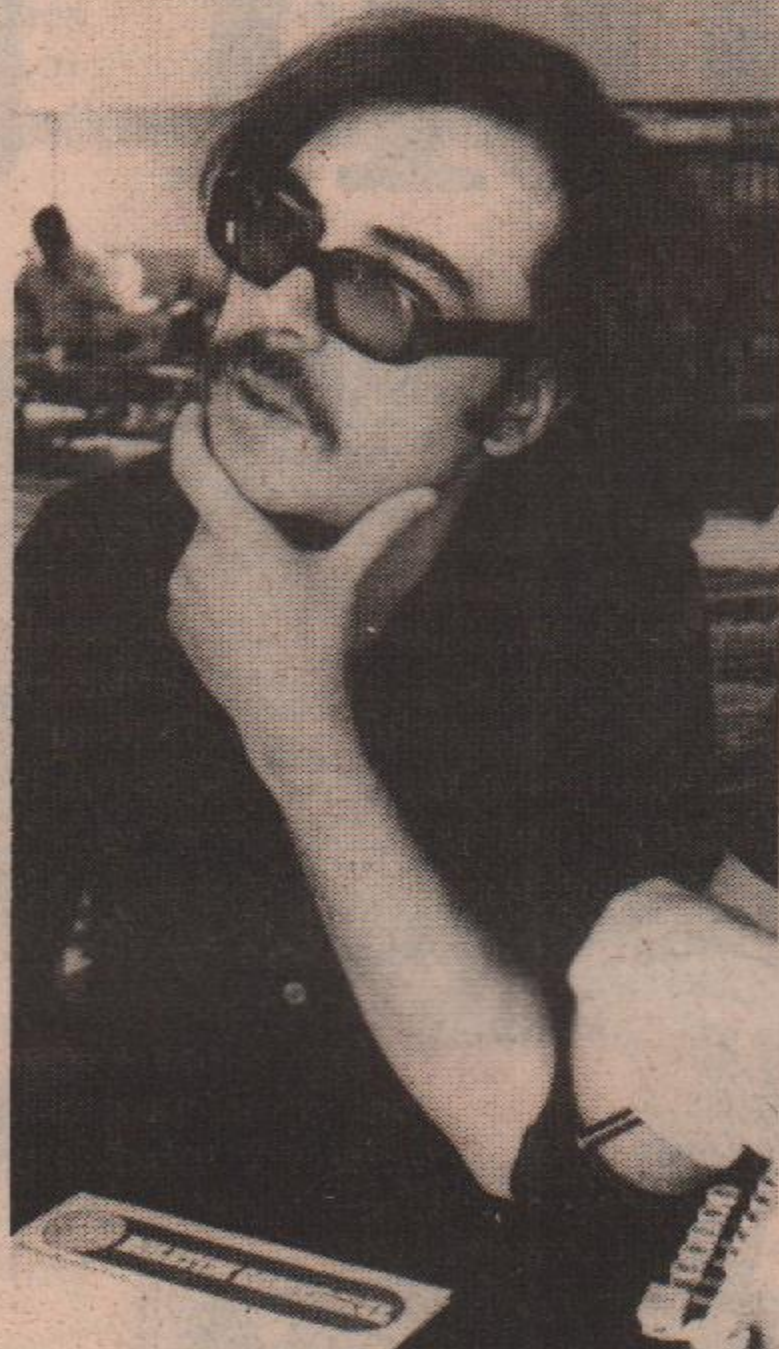
And you have to prove that you mean business. Every time that the forces of the revolution falter and compromise on terms advantageous to the enemy, so too those forces that are with you but not quite of you hesitate and become sceptical.

Among those who take the greatest risks, revolutionary soldiers, sailors and airmen, hesitation is perhaps only too

understandable. But its consequences are only too serious.

Furthermore the longer you delay, the more you toy with some phoney middle road, the longer the scattered forces of the right, assisted by big business everywhere, have time to regroup and prepare for a situation that suits their book. In that time, too, the creative energies and fighting will of the working class can wind down. A revolutionary crisis does not last forever.

*That brings you to the central problem of any revolution: how the working class can win power.*



Jose Ruivo, bank worker: 'There is no middle road'.

## YOU LEARN about a revolution in strange ways.

It might be that someone just happens to mention that Benfica's attendance figures have slumped since the fall of fascism and that the players are organising against the 'degradation' of transfer fees.

It might be that you come across it via the National Republican Guard, a body desperate to avoid liquidation and which, like the rest of the police, is staying off the streets.

## Fascism

The GNR have attempted to explain themselves in a public statement which insists that their sole and proper function is to help old people cross the streets.

Just how difficult even that might prove for these jack-booted imitations of Mussolini's finest is indicated by a composed an old working woman in the market.

*Her way is being impeded by the traffic. 'Fascists and bourgeois,' she lets loose. 'Fascists and bourgeois.'*

The simple truth about the revolution is that the machinery of repression, physical and otherwise, which little more than a year ago seemed impregnable, is everywhere in an advanced state of decomposition.

The outward appearance is trivial. Soldiers with beards and long hair. They are smoking, always smoking, and look as if they'd collapse into fits of laughter if anyone was to suggest that they should put their fags out.

Inside the barracks, it is clearer



May Day 1975. Hundreds of thousands of workers on t

# Inside revol

what is going on. There are political posters on the walls political papers on the beds and political ideas at the centre of army life.

When you've sorted out your untrained British ears enough, you find that 'Long live the working class' is a common greeting among the soldiers. The first time I heard it, I nearly collapsed.

In truth, a revolution confirms in practice the things you believe in, the things that keep you going through the hard times, and the lean times.

*Here is a whole working class seized with socialist ideas. Here is vile repression broken like a ship on the rocks, reduced to debris. You have to forcibly remind yourself that what really matters is who constructs what out of the rubble.*

The revolution has happened in a thousand places, in a thousand ways. The Ritz Hotel is under workers' management. At Quebradas, armed agricultural workers are occupying land and tilling it.

Everywhere there is freedom and known in the west democracies will mumble on about in Portugal.

But essentially is a simple thing. It is that the programme which believes in the die capitalism is the new things, has been sw There is a new existence—self-org self-activity.

Report from Portugal: Laurie F





the march in a country where the masses are in motion.



Two men and a red carnation—the strangest things become familiar sights when the forces of the state disintegrate.

# 'How we can move the struggle forward'

ANTONIO Amaro, a member of the secretariat of the revolutionary councils, a boilermaker at the Sétave shipyard and a sympathiser of the PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), explained just how serious the situation is:

⚡ The Portuguese working class has many strengths. But there are also serious weaknesses. The elections and the developing fight between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party open up divisions in the working class which the forces of reaction at home and abroad may well try to take

advantage of.

This party rivalry has to be overcome because it has a certain demobilising effect and because it offers our enemies opportunities. That is why, though our forces are small, we are working to develop the idea and the reality of revolutionary councils.

These councils would be rooted in the factories, the fields and the barracks. They will bring our class together so that we can move the struggle forward, defeat reaction and begin re-casting the whole of society. These are the issues at stake.

workers have taken over the running of the factory.

Workers who, 15 months ago, would have thought you mad, or a PIDE agent, or both, if you mentioned socialism or workers' power, are now actively involved in the practice of such words.

Things they had been asking for in joint committees for months, things they had dreamed of for years, they are now doing for themselves.

They are simple things. They are out to replace unsafe machinery in the plant. They are constructing a new booth for sand-blasting for safety reasons.

They are finding out in practice that workers' democracy not only enriches a job, but, since it draws on the talents and energies of all, that it is also immensely productive.

## Screws

Not that the workers' committee at Corame are romantics. They are acutely aware of the problems and the limitations, the fact that suppliers or customers could put the screws on, the fact that the whole capitalist world is in a grave economic crisis, the fact that the Portuguese working class needs to take power and put its stamp on society as a whole. If they and their experiment are to survive.

They know that the only safe way to celebrate a revolution is to finish it off, that either the Portuguese working class moves forward or it will be pushed back with something rather more brutal than a shove.

Unless we move forward, then Chile may well come to our country and to our class. These are the stakes. These are the tasks.

Antonio Amaro and his comrades on the revolutionary left in Portugal occupy their whole lives in trying to build the way through.

They are out to build workers and soldiers' councils, to unify the working class. Simultaneously they have to try to overcome the many divisions on the revolutionary left and build their party.

They have had but one year to move from working as a small, clandestine organisation operating against fascism to the beginnings of a mass party. Despite these things, they believe that if there is no outside imperialist intervention, the Portuguese working class can take power and inaugurate the European revolution.

The militants of IS in Britain, our sympathisers, the readers of our paper, every socialist worthy of the name, all have a part to play.

## Nato

By finding the practical and meaningful ways to raise the issue of the Portuguese revolution in the British working class, by campaigning against a NATO intervention we might do a little to give our comrades time.

There is one other obligation that the events in Portugal impose upon us here. Portugal proves that when a profound social crisis comes to pass, the working class movement is seized with socialist ideas. Millions of people are only too anxious to reshape their lives in a different, superior form of society.

A powerful revolutionary organisation assists that task, and makes the difference between success and failure.

We have had, and have, more than a year. But what we build now will be of crucial significance when the time comes. With that in mind, every step we can take to increase working-class unity in action, to spread revolutionary socialist ideas in the working class and to extend the range and influence of our organisation in the here and now takes on a new, and revolutionary aspect. And make no mistake, our time will come, in Britain as in Portugal.

## International Socialism 79



The broad left in the AUEW



Building the revolutionary party



Black Power and the 'Third World'



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At the Corame Metalworking plant at Sacavem, just outside Lisbon, the workers had a problem. They feared the boss was going to get his funds together and do a bunk across the Spanish border.

What did the workers do? Write a letter to 'Man of the People' or 'The Judge', call up their MP or lobby the Portuguese equivalent of Jack Jones?

Not at all. They contacted their opposite numbers on the relevant bankworkers' committee and got the boss's funds frozen.

They then got word that he was going to do a bunk without his frozen funds. They rushed to the airport and physically prevented him leaving.

This accomplished, they went to the military authorities and demanded that they issue an instruction to prevent Carlos dos Santos Nogueira, Commandante retired, their beloved boss, ever leaving the country.

Not that they felt lost without him, that mere workers couldn't run a factory. Indeed, the Corame





## CONFERENCE 1975

REVOLUTIONARY socialists in Britain today face a whole variety of new problems, said Tony Cliff, opening the 1975 annual conference of the International Socialists.

In the 1920s and 1930s workers didn't fight unemployment, but today the working class is locked in struggle

over unemployment—and before it happens to them, while still in a job.

We take it for granted that revolutionaries don't know all the answers. The whole purpose of a working conference like this is to collect the experience and generalise it. Key problems were the role of the Communist

Party, a precise analysis of Bennery, how to build the rank and file trade union movement and how to build the International Socialists.

'Our enemies take us very seriously,' he said. 'But there is still a massive disproportion between our size and our needs.'

# Crisis: End of the phoney war

WHILE there has been a lull in the politicisation of the class struggle since Labour came to power, there is every sign that the phoney war is coming to an end. This was the main thrust of the introduction to discussion on political perspectives given by Chris Harman for the IS executive committee.

British capitalism faced immense problems, he said. The employing class via the Heath government had tried to crack down on working-class living standards before British capitalism entered the crisis, in a bid to come out of it in a favourable position.

As a result British capitalism will come out into the next short boom in a distinctly unfavourable position by comparison with its competitors. And they had succeeded in inflicting big attacks on the working class.

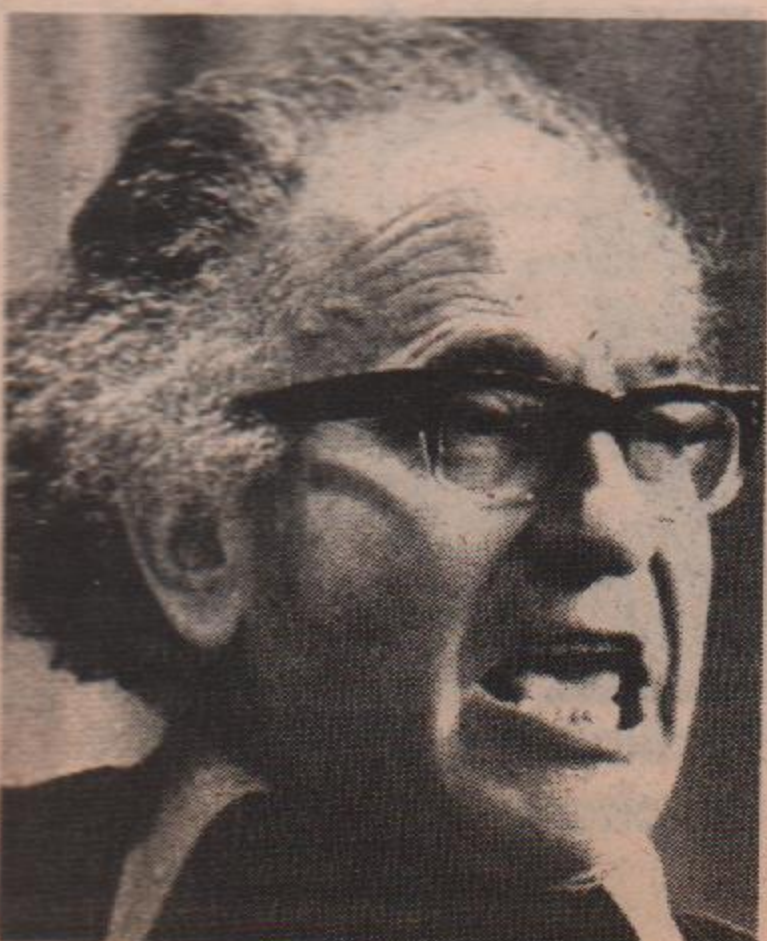
It was against this background that the ferocious attacks on Benn had to be seen. While his politics amount to no more than an attempt to integrate workers into the present system, the ruling class see him as a conciliating element when they need outright attacks on the working class.

The ruling class senses that Benn's speeches can be interpreted in quite a different way from what Benn intends.

Revolutionaries have to be clear, said Harman, that even when Benn is under attack he poses a trap for workers. For this reason we must never hold back in the ideological fight against his ideas. That being said, Benn's ideas could with all their ambiguities and all their reformism, be a catalyst for workers. If there were leftward moves and working-class organisation around them, a centrist current, then IS would have to re-orient its tactics and strategy.

Revolutionaries should also avoid another trap, ultra-left abstentionism. If Benn was removed from the government, then significant sections of workers might move in protest. Revolutionaries had to be to the fore of any such development, broadening the struggle.

John Palmer kicked off the discussion. He argued that not to raise clear political demands on the Labour government at a time of rightward drift was a serious error. This did not mean resolution-mongering, he said.



TONY CLIFF: 'The real differences between Labour and socialists are proved in struggle'

## WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED:

HERE is the conclusion of the conference's report on the deepening crisis and the fight back. It was carried by 77 votes to 16.



It is necessary to stress more strongly than ever the case for a socialist society, to expose the irrationality of capitalism, to raise in a propaganda sense the socialist answer, to say what a workers' government would do. But our weapons for differentiating our politics from those of the fake left, for winning their support to revolutionary politics, are above all the specific, detailed, demands that arise from the class struggle from day to day.

Therefore we emphasise these demands (without in any way excluding others that may be needed in a rapidly changing situation):

### REDUNDANCIES AND SHORT-TIME WORKING

1. No victimisations: no blacklisting—for 100 per cent closed shops and strong trade union organisation.
2. No cuts in public expenditure—expand welfare services.
3. The 35-hour week and work-sharing—for 40 hours' wages.
4. Five days' work or five days' pay—for the right to work, for militant occupations.
5. Nationalisation without compensation and with shop stewards' control of manning, jobs, conditions, and a militant wages policy.

'It must be part of our present strategy in relation to the crisis to come forward with policies which show the limitations of trade unionism. These general political questions we miss at our peril.'

Andreas Nagliati from Merseyside argued that the credibility of Bennism was related to the inability of the working-class movement to point to wholly successful occupations in defence of jobs.

But if we probed beneath the surface a bit, then it was by no means impossible that the lefts like Benn and Foot would remain in a Labour Cabinet which introduced a wage freeze. There was no chance that the lefts would split. They would have no base outside the unions and the unions would not split.

There was, said Nagliati, the continuing development of a much more political atmosphere inside the trade union movement. One of the main avenues revolutionary socialists might miss is fighting for political resolutions at trade union conferences.

A Birmingham teacher argued that there were fantastic illusions in Bennery and that the Common Market campaign had thrown



Some of the delegates at the conference

together inactive Communist Party and Labour Party members and trade unionists. What was needed was a fully thought-out campaign in Socialist Worker. We were not putting our line across strongly enough and showing how nationalisation, Benn-style, was not in the workers' interest.

Jimmy McCallum from Glasgow insisted that the real task was not to make generalised demands but to find ways to make demands operative in the class struggle as it develops. In Glasgow IS had raised specific demands in practical support of the dustcart drivers' struggle and against the troops precisely to go beyond them, to get the elbow room to bring home the issues of the Social Contract, the Labour government using troops, the war in Ireland.

Granville Williams from Birmingham said that we had to take a serious stand with regard to the Labour left. When Eric Heffer was sacked they did little or nothing. We should have said: 'If you're serious in fighting wage controls, and the rightward drift of the government then you should do this and this.' In this way it would be possible to assist in a process of political clarification among workers.

### INFLATION

6. No time limit to any agreement. For the right to submit wage claims and re-negotiate whenever the workers decide.
7. For wage rises that maintain and improve working class living standards. No 'indexation' schemes that reduce take-home pay because of stoppages and 'freeze' the workers' share of the output that they alone produce.
8. For cutting wage differentials by fighting for greater wage rises for the lower paid. For a minimum wage of £40 a week.
9. Real equality of pay and opportunity for women. No discrimination through productivity deals or job classification.
10. Absolute opposition to all wage restraint, whether voluntary (Social Contract) or compulsory (a new incomes policy).

### THE STRUGGLE

11. Get the army and police out of industrial disputes. Against the conspiracy laws and for the right to picket.
12. Fight racism in the factories and workplaces; full union support for black workers.
13. For rank and file organisation within combines, industries and unions and in the localities to mobilise full unity against the state and the employers' attacks on workers' living standards and for full rank and file control of the trade unions.
14. For building the National Rank and File Movement to link up those in struggle in different unions and in different rank and file organisations.
15. Build a revolutionary socialist workers' party. Build the International Socialists.

Peter Bain from Glasgow said it was essential to understand the relationship of the Communist Party with Benn. If Benn didn't exist they'd have to invent him.

'We have seen the virtual destruction of Jones, the passivity of Scanlon. The only thing they can point to is the so-called left fight in the Labour Cabinet.'

IS had to come out clearly on issues such as the demand for import controls, explaining why this is no solution, why it is dangerous.

Bain opposed the position that general slogans were the way forward. He said these were often easy to get passed at meetings than the concrete demands which actually advance the struggle and the cause of revolutionary ideas.

Tony Cliff agreed strongly with this. He insisted that if you spoke at the general level without relating to the struggle, the reformists got off the hook. They would happily go along with socialist planning and all sorts of general demands. But the real differences were proved in the struggle.

A London printworker underlined that in the newspaper industry workers were involved from the outset in

ideological questions.

'The production of newspapers is ideological. So when Beaverbrook said: "Sorry lads, we're closing down the Scottish Daily Express", we had to go beyond the idea of the workers' co-op, beyond even the idea of solidarity. We have to ask: What is the purpose of the production of newspapers?'

In other industries, too, these things had to be faced. 'If you call for nationalisation under full workers' control of the car industry, you will have to start asking why the hell are we producing cars? These sort of questions—they are here, there and everywhere and have to be looked at. We shouldn't falsely polarise the thing. We're looking, as Jimmy McCallum said, for elbow room, potential.'

Summing up, Chris Harman said: 'We expect greater crisis. The struggle at Massey Ferguson in Coventry, where the state is threatening to move against the occupation, is an example of the future.'

'This polarisation doesn't just exist in the factories, but in the political and ideological sphere. The ruling class wish to restructure the government, to remove Foot and Benn.'

'There is no debate that with capitalism in crisis we must continue and increase our general propaganda against and about the system.'

'But we have to fight beside workers. We have to find the questions which really separate us from, for example, Jack Jones. This would, for example, be whether a strike is made official. Or with Eric Heffer, it would be his line on the troops in Glasgow.'

'We have to work out how we cut away support from people like this. This is through specific demands.'



JIMMY McCALLUM: 'We must make our demands operative in the class struggle'

Pictures: Andrew Ward and Chris Davies (Report)



CONFERENCE 1975

## OCCUPATIONS:



# 'If you can't spread it, you might as well forget it'

OPENING the section of the IS Conference on the fight against redundancies and against lay-offs, John Deason for the executive said that the fight for jobs was much less intense than it had been in the days of the UCS and Fisher Bendix sit-ins.

The crisis made workers less confident that militant action could preserve their jobs, he said. But things were changing.

The Budget had proved 'a turning point'. There had been a spate of occupations since the Budget in which workers had shown great bitterness and militancy. Managers were being ejected and factories barricaded.

Our central job in fighting back was to spell out our general aims so that we were talking about something real. 'Workers' control', for instance, meant stewards' control of manning and track speed. Nationalisation meant shifting the responsibility for the crisis on to the government.

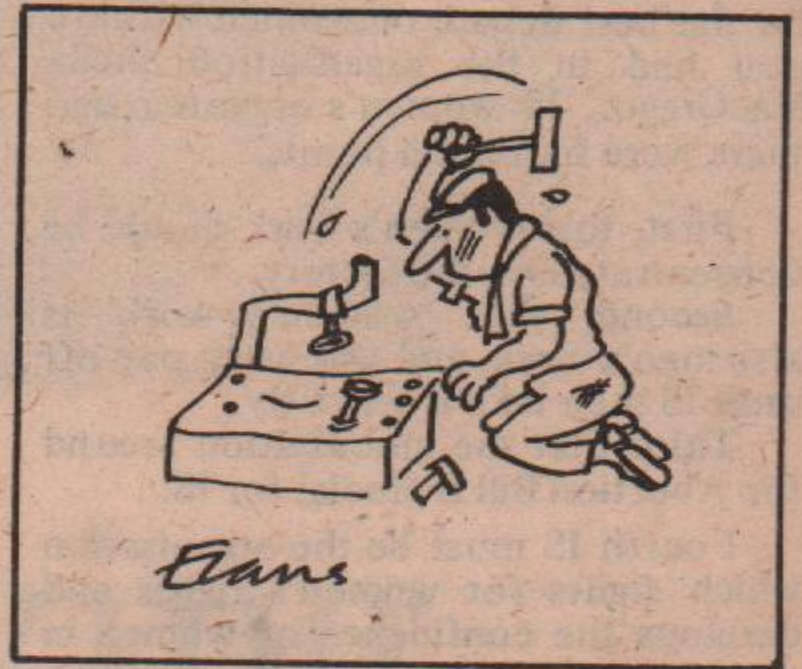
## Won

A worker from Tractors and Transmissions, part of British Leyland, said that the fight in the Midlands against redundancies was very difficult. He explained how one IS steward in his factory had organised the men in protest against the three-day week and had won a four-day week as a result. But generally there was little will to fight against lay-offs.

He was pessimistic about the possibilities of a national car industry conference, and thought instead that most of our efforts should be directed to 'the most militant sections', which is what the Leyland Workers, a rank and file trade unionists' paper, was trying to do.

Peter Bain, from Chrysler Linwood, said he was 'amazed to hear' this. 'The problems of car workers in different plants are becoming the same everywhere. We have seen over the past few weeks a national carworkers' stewards' meeting, which has drawn up a plan of action. This is a huge step forward, and opens up the possibility of united action which IS should make full use of.'

A shop steward from Lucas, Birmingham, spoke from experience when he said that 'the only way to fight redundancies and lay-offs is to



## WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED

THE FOLLOWING report on the fight against redundancies and lay-offs was passed overwhelmingly:

**IN THE DEVELOPING** fight against closures in general, we need to set out a series of demands that clearly state an alternative to the notions of co-operatives, import controls and state cash hand-outs to 'ailing' firms. Above all, the fight against job loss must be an expression of a fight not to pay for the employers' crisis. If individual employers cannot take responsibility for guaranteeing five days' work for five days' pay, the state must be forced to, without compensation to the employer.

1. For 100 per cent closed shop and strong floor trade union organisation that daily restricts managerial function: No flexibility, no mobility  
Control of manning levels, no natural wastage  
Control of work rates  
Control of overtime working  
No productivity dealing
2. Active campaigning against divisions of the work force, whether by race, skill or sex.
3. Defence of the equal right of women to work. Equal job opportunity.
4. For occupation of factories threatened with

closure or redundancies to force five days' work or five days' pay. Nationalisation without compensation, with shop steward control of manning, jobs, conditions, and a militant wages policy.

5. For the fighting from within any threats to jobs, eg, internal picketing, work to rules, sectional sit-ins, selective blacking, day working etc.

6. Opposition to lay-offs and short time working: one laid off—all out; opposition to penalty clauses in lay off agreements.

7. Opposition to voluntary redundancies—or those accepting voluntary redundancies to take the end of the job queue; for union registration of jobs, maintenance of 100 per cent closed shops, control of hiring.

8. For the 35 hour week.

9. For national and local overtime bans.

10. Rank and File organisation and solidarity between strong (those fully employed) and weaker sections (those facing redundancies) is particularly important in the defence of jobs: for rank and file organisation within combines, industries and unions and in the localities to mobilise fully unity against state and employers' attacks on workers' living standards and for full rank and file control of the unions: for building the National Rank and File Movement to link up those in struggle in different rank and file organisations.



get the blokes geared up first. 18 months ago the blokes thought I was barmy when I predicted sackings and lay-offs. Now they think I'm a good kid.

'If they're ready for the lay-offs when they come, then they're ready to fight them. Recently in Lucas, half the toolsetters were threatened with short time. They all just went down the road, and the short time notices were withdrawn.'

Some months ago, 14 women in his factory had been taken off the 'twilight shift'. He had blacked all the work they had done, and told the

management that if they wanted to get the work done, they'd have to get the women back to work. The women rapidly got their shift back.

## Plan

These things were possible, he said, because he and others had prepared the workers for the lay-offs, had talked about it for months before it happened.

'There is no master plan for occupations,' he went on. 'You have to be versatile about these things. The only rule which matters is: If you don't spread it, you might as well forget

it.'

An engineering worker from Glasgow showed how management go for the women workers by demoralising them first. In her factory the women won equal pay—and were put on short time the next day.

Short time is particularly demoralising, and so the women were 'breaking their legs to get out of the factory' when the management came back demanding redundancies.

This point was made just as forcefully by Phil Marfleet from North London, who compared three occupations in his area over the past two

months. The workers at Crosfields, who had been well-organised, had lost their occupation and their jobs largely because the occupation committee had believed they could operate a 'red base' without involving other workers in the area.

On the other hand, the workers at Blackmans (GEC) had won in two days—every demand they made was met. They had made it clear that the occupation would be spread.

At Mabbutt and Johnston, the occupation was still going on, but management were proving 'fast learners'.

The two crucial lessons were:  
ONE: There is no substitute for rank and file support.

TWO: We must pool our experiences, perhaps in a pamphlet on occupations.

## Lose

Carol Douras from Liverpool said that in her factory the management had deliberately attempted to sack women by bribing the men with better prospects if the women went. The workers had responded by organising among the key women in each department around the demand for 'no voluntary redundancies', and agreed that anyone who took voluntary redundancy would lose their union cards.

There were 'small groups continually arguing' and this created an atmosphere of resistance. The position now was that they had workers' control in that the stewards did control manning.

A former steward from Standard Triumphs, Merseyside, said that workers who took voluntary redundancy should be denied access to work in the factories, and should be 'branched' by their union (have their card taken away). He saw the difficulties in enforcing the policy but 'you have to do something and there's nothing else you can do'.

## Cuts must be fought on the shop floor

OPENING the debate on public expenditure cuts, Steve Jefferys for the executive said that the cuts were in many ways a more sinister and more effective way of cutting living standards than wage control and the Social Contract. They were more difficult to fight because they cut across the lines of traditional militancy.

The central aim was to get the fight against the cuts where it could be fought most effectively—on the shop floor. We needed combine committees across the factories to fight against the cuts in education, health and the social services.

A member of the strike committee in the recent electricians' strike in Glasgow, a delegate from Glasgow Corporation IS branch, spoke about the building of a public sector branch of IS in Glasgow. The branch was growing, he said, but it was hard work—especially among the manual workers. But it was the only way forward for those most affected by the cuts—the people thrown out of work by them.

He urged the immediate work every-

where to set up public sector IS branches.

A member of NALGO in Sheffield said she was nervous about speaking because local government militants were so far behind many of the militants who had already spoken. There was enormous difficulty in linking with other departments in the town hall: there was no proper job description, people didn't know how much work they were doing and the cuts were often imposed in an insidious way.

'We have to go back to the hard slog that some of our members in other industries have been doing for years—and they are now getting the pay-off,' she said. 'You have to leaflet every single branch meeting about NALGO Action (the rank and file group in the union), and what it stands for. You have to try everything you know to link up the battles of all local authority workers.'

Steve Ludlam, a hospital worker, said that in the fight against the cuts, demands on the Labour government were near to useless. What mattered were the immediate demands. In East

London he had helped to organise a campaign to keep Poplar Hospital open. The demand 'Save Poplar Hospital' meant something, and had attracted the support of a number of militants and trade unionists.

He said that there was a general inclination to turn to Labour councillors and MPs—who had usually instigated the cuts in the first place—to deal with these problems, and the important aim was to shift the focus to the shop floor.

## Affect

Steve highlighted the opportunities presented by the cuts. 'It means that our white collar workers can go to any industry anywhere,' he said. 'They can seek the support of trade unionists for things which every trade unionist cares about: health, education, transport.'

He also said that the campaign against the cuts was a direct attack on Bennery, since the cuts were paying for Benn's state capitalist experiments in industry.





CONFERENCE 1975

# How we can put on muscle

## Women: Our best debate so far

IN what was rightly described as 'by far the best debate on women we have ever had in the organisation' Sheila MacGregor, IS women's organiser said there were four main points.

First, that women's work should be concentrated on the factory.

Second, that 'women's work' is also men's work, and will never pay off until IS men take it seriously.

Third that the mobilisation around the Abortion Bill is crucial for IS.

Fourth IS must be the organisation which fights for women's rights and develops the confidence of women in struggle.

The first point was made by Carol Douras, a SOGAT Mother of the Chapel from Liverpool, who spoke of the patient work in her factory to organise key women in each section. 'Delegates of women from my factory are now going to other branches and factories helping to organise the women and getting them to participate in the union as equals.'

Even more forcefully, Gay Semel, editor of the US International Socialists' paper Workers Power, said that the American comrades had always insisted on workplace organisation of women.

'In one series of wildcat strikes in which women fought hard we organised a rank and file group. But after two months the pressure of the family dragged them away and the group broke up. One woman couldn't continue to attend because her husband refused to babysit. This woman was one of five skilled women with 14,000 skilled men. She took on the company, the union and the prejudices of her workmates. But not her husband.'

### Argue

Among the men who spoke in the debate was Willie Lee, a Chrysler Linwood shop steward. He said: 'Men have to go and argue the issues with their wives. We don't want empty rhetoric. We have to go back to the districts and argue to get women accepted as equals, as workers, as fighters, in the same class struggle. Issues like speed-up and why there's a strike have to be explained to wives.'

Gerry Jones, a Chrysler shop steward from Coventry, told how the Coventry Evening Telegraph had deliberately organised the so-called anti-strike wives, printing their appeal, a phone number and information on where to go. But the IS wives and others had organised back and wrecked the attempt to use strikers' wives to weaken the strike as had happened at Leyland's Cowley plant.

'In every strike we need to get our wives and other stewards' wives together. We need to establish official Wives Support Groups. Strike committees should be asked to give them official recognition.'

### Broader

Sheila Macgregor, IS women's organiser, said that workplace organisation did not exclude agitation around the broader issues of women's rights—especially abortion. We wanted 2000 IS members out on the national abortion rally in June, and half of those must be men.

Margaret Renn from Socialist Worker said that IS had been in the National Abortion Campaign since it started in March. Many districts had not taken on the work of organising round it, partly because there was no structure in the organisation which could ensure that the work was done. Part of the job of the districts was to take the initiative on these matters.

'No one would hesitate if the issue was control over a factory,' she said. 'So we shouldn't hesitate when the issue is about control over our lives. That's what the abortion issue is.'

ON MONDAY afternoon, the conference discussed the organisation of the 'periphery'—the large numbers of workers who are close to us, who buy, read and sell the paper, but who are not members

The discussion was constructive and almost unanimous on the crucial importance of such organisation.

### Gap

Opening the discussion, Jim Nichol, IS National Secretary, spoke of the gap between our membership and the numbers required to achieve even the most basic political objectives.

In Glasgow, when the troops went in against the dustcart drivers, it was crucially important that the political message was brought home to the working class. We were the only people who tried to do it, but we couldn't because we hadn't the extra few hundred members necessary to do so.

The same was true in a smaller way in every factory. Sixty per cent of our membership is organised in places of work, but our units there are too small and too vulnerable to give the necessary political lead.

'We have to look to all the workers who are prepared to work with us,' he said. 'There are lots of them.'

'Just look at the Socialist Worker sales—thousands of people buy the paper who are not members. When we went to court over Janie Jones, some 12,000 workers sent in money to keep the paper alive. But these people aren't prepared to join. There are all sorts of reasons for it.'

Partly there was a reluctance to 'join the professionals'. Many of our members spent up to £5 a week just being IS members—all sorts of expenses were constantly run up. Then there were boring meetings, endless arguments, domestic problems, all sorts of reasons.

The question was how to work with these people, because we needed their muscle more and more. We must start building a permanent organisation which pulled these people closer to us in the workplace.

One office branch in the North East, which sold 80 copies of Socialist Worker, had set up a category called 'office member' upon whom they could rely when political issues were raised in the union. That way they had carried a motion by 32 to 26 to

support the Rank and File demonstration on Shrewsbury.

Money was important in such organisation. Every regular 10p was crucial to binding the periphery closer to us.

Socialist Worker supporters cards were one way to help organise. Some factory units had found them useful: others had not. Jim Nichol did not want conference to 'make a fetish' of the cards. He did want some positive discussion and commitment to action on organising the periphery.

### Biggest

Mike Gonzalez from Glasgow did not agree with organising the periphery as described. He thought it provided a 'soft option' to membership.

Chris Harman thought this was mechanical nonsense. 'We are the biggest revolutionary organisation for 50 years' he said 'but these are the biggest class struggles for 50 years and we are too small properly to cope with them.'

Two shop stewards—from Monmouth and Manchester—spoke about the large numbers of workers around them who were sympathetic but who wouldn't join. The Monmouth steward thought these workers were especially important to IS when things were on the downturn.

Jimmy McCallum from Glasgow said that although most members were committed to selling Socialist Worker, most were also confused about how to use the paper in building IS.

At one factory in Glasgow, six members sold 60 papers. There was much more strength in the paper-buyers than in the branch.

Again, there was a shop steward in East Kilbride who was not a member of IS but who took 19 copies of Socialist Worker into his factory every week. 'How do you tie that bloke to IS?' Jimmy McCallum asked.

There must be a strategy for tying these people in. Some people in his area had found that the supporters cards useful. Either way, some form of organisation was crucial.

### Defence

One draughtsman in the North East said there were 70 or 80 people around him who would come to the defence of the paper if necessary, and there were about six people in the factory each selling six SWs, none of whom were in IS.

These people were very important when political matters had to be raised on the shop floor, or in the branch.

Solidarity action with other workers in struggle—or with the Shrewsbury pickets—could be voted with the help of these people, who needed to be organised.

A worker from Ford's Dagenham complained that we often 'wrote off' contacts just because they wouldn't join IS. He remembered asking a worker to come to a meeting, but the worker had preferred to 'paint his ceiling'.

It was easy to sneer, but that was wrong. The 'periphery issue' had proved a watershed for IS at Fords'. Ever since the members there started to organise meetings for the people who supported the paper, they had gained confidence and strength.

In an excellent contribution, a woman worker from an engineering factory in Birmingham told how she had single-handedly started a Socialist Worker readers' meeting in her factory.

There were now regular meetings of about 20 workers who discussed the paper and the political issues of the day. They had invited strike committees from other factories to the meetings and had also seen a performance of The National Cake by the Red Ladder theatre group.

### Building

The management knew these meetings took place, but could do nothing about them. The meetings were invaluable for spreading political ideas and for building IS.

The overwhelming feeling was that this was one of the best discussions of the conference. It gave a clear lead to go out and organise the workers who read the paper, but who don't necessarily or immediately want to join the organisation.

## WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED

CONFERENCE carried the following report on Socialist Worker and its periphery:



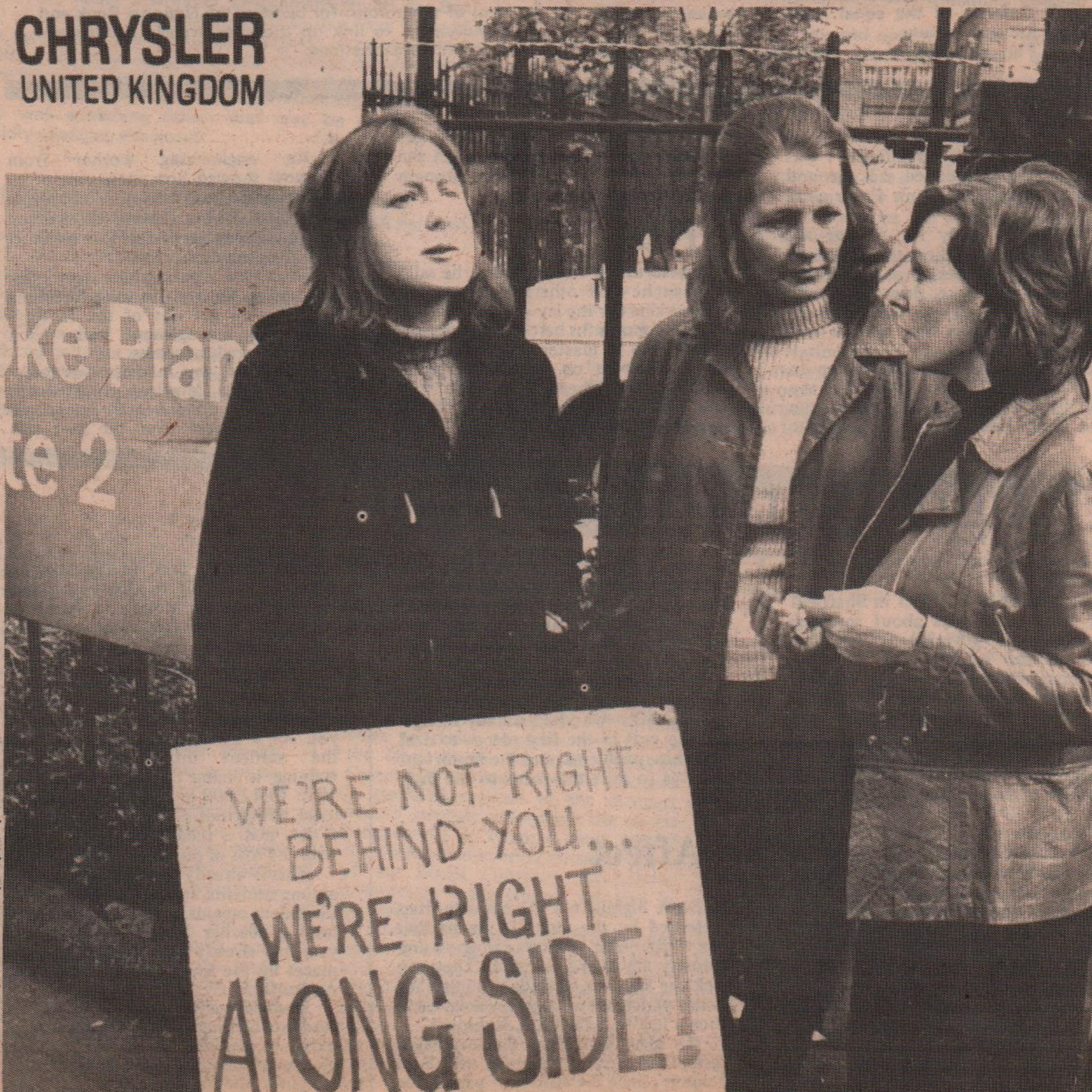
The growing crisis and the likelihood of bitter class struggles faces us with the central task of increasing the influence and the power of our organisation within the workplace. A crucial part of this will be through bringing into an active, on-going relationship with the organisation those workers who agree with most of our politics, as expressed through Socialist Worker, but who are not yet prepared to commit themselves to membership of our organisation.

There has to be a systematic attempt in every unit of the organisation to seek out such workers, to encourage them to identify with our politics by selling a few copies of SW as

well as buying it, and by making small but regular financial contributions to it.

Our members in the workplaces have to go out of their way to discuss both political questions and the developing struggles in the workplaces with such workers. Where appropriate, meetings of SW readers in the factories should be organised.

The incoming national leadership of the organisation should campaign in SW for readers to organise financial support for the paper on the factory floor and in the trade union movement. It should also encourage districts and workplace units to use Socialist Worker collection cards, where appropriate, as a means of bringing the political periphery into an on-going relation with the organisation.



Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

Chrysler, Stoke—and these women helped break the anti-strike movement whipped up by the press



CONFERENCE 1975



# RACISM: WHITE WORKERS' FIGHT

OPENING the discussion on black workers and the crisis, Nigel Harris of the IS Executive said the working class movement was riven by divisions, between skilled and unskilled, day and night shift, men and women, black and white.

'The issue is,' he said, 'how do we build a united working-class movement?' Racialism was simply ruling-class politics operating among workers—and it could blow up suddenly and viciously, as many disputes over the last year had shown.

'That's why we need to prove ourselves now,' he said. When racist jokes were made on the shop-floor, white workers in IS had to jump on them hard, even if it meant losing popularity among our mates. If there were just 20 Punjabi women on strike, we had to strain our organisation to mobilise support for them.



IS had to over-react to prove itself as the uncompromising opponents of the most powerful means the ruling class has of splitting workers.

A North London factory worker made the same point, emphasising that many black workers are, not surprisingly, suspicious and need to be convinced of our seriousness.

And a Lancashire textile worker related how he and other comrades took a very hard line on black jokes. Finally his workmates 'realised it did split us, that such jokes were providing the boss with a hammer to hit us with.'

A Blackburn busman added: 'Through being an extremist on anti-racialism, people will come to you.' He said that black workers' self-organisation within the revolutionary party had to be taken seriously.

Black workers were among the most advanced sections of the class because they were constantly in struggle. 'For us not to relate to that is to prevent us from building the party.'

Later the conference discussed the integration of black workers as members of IS, and the development of leaders among our black members.

The initial problem is knowing whether to bring new black members straight into the branch which is unfamiliar, or getting them to meet separately. In Blackburn they had met separately, unsuccessfully. In Sheffield, their delegate argued, the lack of an established leadership in the area had perhaps made it easier to integrate the black members.



As John Rose, West London IS organiser, pointed out, there needed to be 'specialisation, not ghettoisation'.

The sort of specialisation needed was illustrated in Sheffield where sales of Chingari, the IS paper in Urdu and Punjabi, were followed up with a meeting in Punjabi, on 'Pakistan Today'. 26 Punjabi workers came, including

several from the steelworks. As a result three steelworkers had eventually joined IS.

The foreign language papers had been crucial, and had allowed IS in some areas, such as Slough, to establish itself as the Asian organisation. No other political organisation had broken through this language barrier, said Nigel Harris.

The Chingari London Rubber Special newsheet had resulted in Socialist Worker being taken into the factory. But when police harassed the strikers our members had failed to put across the lessons about the power and role of the state. 'Perhaps if we had talked about the state in relation to Pakistan it would have made more sense.'

Soonu Engineer and Martha Osamor spoke of the problems facing our black members in developing themselves as leaders in IS in their own right and not just in work with black workers. 'We can't ignore black nationalism,' said Martha. 'It is a dead end, but it is important for blacks to identify themselves to give them confidence.'



Black workers march against the Common Market in Derby

# District leadership: Driving force of the organisation

'THE districts enable IS to give a decisive lead within the labour movement. They enable us to develop a factory-based organisation. They help overcome the problems of isolation for our members in the factories. The districts have experienced members who are able politically to guide the rest of the membership,' said Jim Nichol, opening the session on district organisation.

The discussion took up some of

the questions he raised:

**Workplace branches and units:** John Rose, West London IS organiser, argued that in large cities such as London the time had come to end geographical branches and establish districts made up of workplace units. 'Where you work, that's your district,' he said. This made the district meetings even more important.

We need to find those in the districts who can push members to build where they are, argued Tommy Douras from Merseyside. Glasgow had tried dividing the district into workplace units, but unsuccessfully, partly

because the political committee hadn't been strong enough to carry the decision.

**District leadership:** The question of who should lead the district now becomes even more important. They must be able to lead politically, and know how to implement those decisions, said Paul Holborow, East London IS organiser. The London region is going to organise schools for district committees, so that they can learn how to organise, and not rely on the local organiser knowing what to do.

The moves towards workplace units will put an even greater responsibility

on the leadership of the geographical branches, he said. For they will have to act as filters for a membership that is channelled through into work units.

## Tax

**Administration:** Mel Norris, IS national treasurer, forcefully argued that the districts will have to take greater responsibility for finance. 'It is not the national organisation versus the district—it is not like the Inland Revenue and Bena, you pay your income tax and expect an occasional handout. Both district and national finances are necessary, but local finance is becoming more important. That is why the Glasgow district has just appointed a leading political member to be responsible for finance.'

**Training:** The development of comrades capable of leading the class struggle needs to be through political activity, not just through formal education meetings. 'Every meeting needs to be a political meeting,' said a South London delegate.

**Women's work:** There is no prescription for the way the districts should organise, but the district committees have to take overall responsibility, said Sheila McGregor. Leicester has a women's sub-committee; Birmingham has delegates from all the branches and workplace units as a committee; Sheffield has a women's group. Flexibility was still needed.

'We need to avoid the extremes, of holding up some districts as supermen, and artificially creating others,' said Jim Nichol.

## Debate on the International struggle

THE conference was to discuss international issues after Socialist Worker went to press. Topics for discussion included the campaign for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland, the campaign against the Prevention of Terrorism Act, solidarity action with the Portuguese Revolution, and the lessons of the counter-revolution in Chile. REPORT Next week.

The conference welcomed fraternal delegates from the Socialist Workers Movement (Ireland), the International Socialists (US), the PRP (Portugal), the IS (Canada), the Socialist Workers Action Group (Australia), Lutte Ouvriere and Revolution (France), revolutionary socialist groups in Sweden and Denmark, and the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee in this country.



Conference agreed to change the IS national leadership to a small central committee. The vote was carried by 73 votes to 17.

## WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED

CONFERENCE adopted this resolution on Socialist Worker:



Conference endorses the decision of the February IS National Committee that the Executive Committee should constitute the weekly editorial board meeting of Socialist Worker. This allows direct political accountability of the Executive Committee for the paper, and means that the paper can become the organiser of the priorities of the organisation.

Conference also recognises that the responsibility for developing a workers' paper lies as much with the membership as with the editorial staff.

Conference calls on the district committees to take immediate steps to ensure that there is a real involvement of

the membership and the periphery in writing for, using and developing the paper.

To this end conference believes that an individual member of each district committee must carry this responsibility which also involves regular communication with the staff of the paper so that issues talked about in the workplace and arising in the districts, are continually fed into the paper.

Conference further calls on the Executive Committee to examine the possibility of:

- Developing regional pages in the paper.
- Increasing the staff on the paper to make it the rule that all full-time workers on the paper spend substantial time out of the office.

Conference agrees that the paper should pay more attention to ideas and that the reviews page should be an integral part of the paper.



## What we stand for

**THE International Socialists** are a revolutionary socialist organisation open to all who accept our main principles and who are willing to work to achieve them. These principles are:

**Independent working-class action** We believe that socialism can only be achieved by the independent action of the working class.

**Revolution not reformism** We believe in overthrowing capitalism, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. We therefore support all struggles of workers against capitalism and fight to break the hold of reformist ideas and leaders.

**The smashing of the capitalist state** The state machine is a

weapon of capitalist class rule and therefore must be smashed. The present parliament, army, police and judges cannot simply be taken over and used by the working class. There is, therefore, no parliamentary road to socialism. The working-class revolution needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state, based on councils of workplace delegates.

**Work in the mass organisations of the working class** We believe in working in the mass organisations of the working class, particularly the trade unions, and fighting for rank and file control of them.

**Internationalism** We are internationalists. We practise and campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries, oppose racialism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples. We are opposed to all immigration controls. The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation. Russia, China and Eastern Europe are not socialist but state capitalist. We support the workers' struggle in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

**The revolutionary party** To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party, and all the activity of the International Socialists is directed to the building of such a party by fighting for a programme of political and industrial demands that can strengthen the self-confidence, organisation and socialist consciousness of the working class.

### WE ARE

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials. No secret negotiations. All settlements to be voted on by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism. Against all victimisations and blacklisting. Against anti-trade union laws or curbs on the right to strike and on effective picketing.

Against productivity or efficiency deals. Against any form of incomes policy under capitalism.

Against unemployment, redundancies and lay-offs. Instead we demand five days work or five days pay, and the 35-hour week. For nationalisation without compensation under workers' control.

For militant trade union unity, joint shop stewards committees at plant and combine level.

For the building of a national rank and file movement which will fight for these policies in the trade union movement.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black people. Against all immigration controls. For the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Against all forms of imperialism, including Russian imperialism.

For unconditional support to all genuine national liberation movements.

For the building of a mass workers' revolutionary party, organised in the workplace, which can lead the working class to power, and for the building of a revolutionary socialist international.

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**

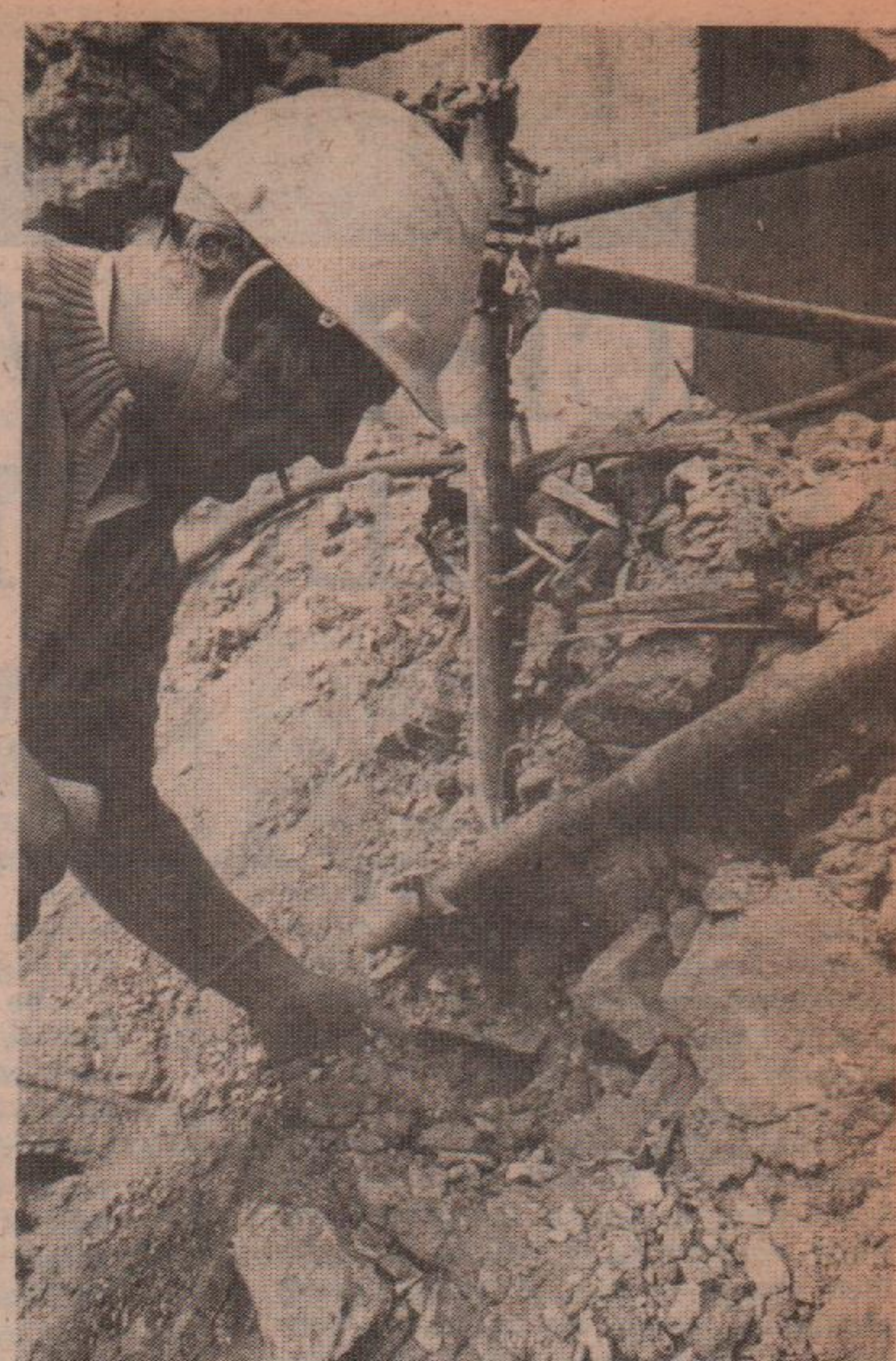
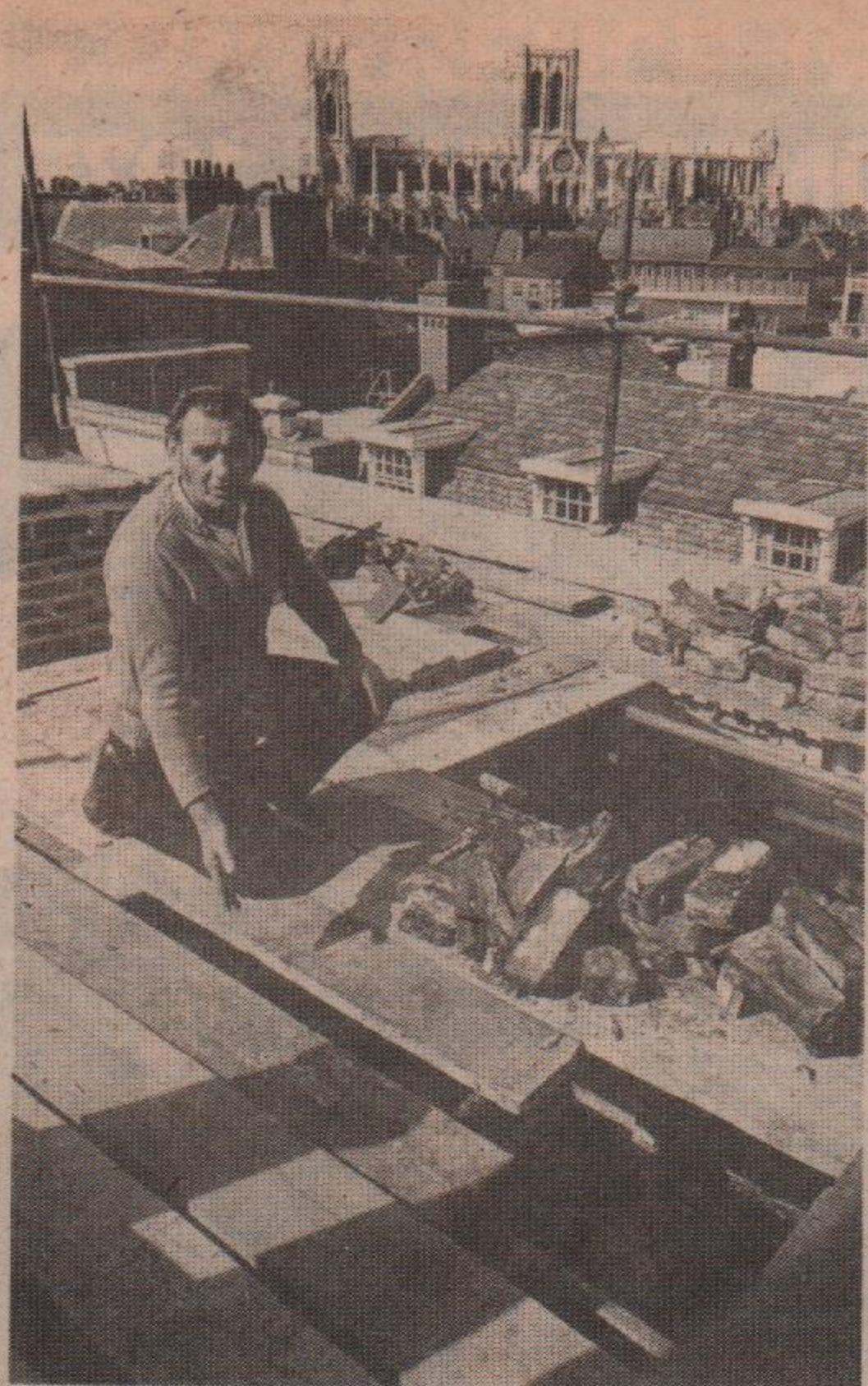
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Trade Union \_\_\_\_\_







This is why Lawrence Sadler joined the union. And this is why he, his mates and their wives are occupying Henry Boot's Coney Street site in York—where they were building shops for W H Smith and Singer sewing machines. The scaffold above Lawrence was strapped to the chimney, a nice cheap number which saved Henry Boot and Co a few bob and nearly cost the men their lives.

The men had to demolish the chimney to which the scaffold had been attached without their knowledge. The lack of support when the stack went, the lousy planking (illegal), the weight of the bricks on the platform (illegal) and the men on it (all in a day's work), caused it to slump six inches. The men's hearts were in their mouths.

This piece of scaffold had an interesting base—a wooden plank on the roof tiles below. Not surprisingly when the platform slumped the plank came loose and the scaffold tubes smashed through the roof tiles. By sheer luck the whole bloody lot didn't end up in the street below, killing or injuring the men or some of the passers-by in this busy shopping street.

The base of this piece of scaffold at the back of the building also showed the meticulous attention to detail for which Henry Boot are now rightly famed. It was on a thin sliver of wood which in turn was on top of loose rubble. At one stage, management told workers to clear up the rubble!

# WE'RE NO BOOTLICKERS!

THE building workers on the occupied Henry Boot site in York have a tale to tell that should inspire every militant and socialist in the land.

Two weeks ago they joined the union to put an end to murderous working conditions. The response of Henry Boot and Co was predictable—eight of them were sacked on the spot. But the boss reckoned without

## Pictures by John Sturrock (Report)

one thing—the determination of the men and their wives to fight the issue.

They met with all the wives present from the start, discussed the situation, elected a committee with one of the wives on it and decided to occupy.

Since then, the Factory Inspectors, who never came before, have got themselves down there. They have

pronounced that the boss is a reformed man, that they're looking to the future not the past. Then of course they walked away.

The police, those so-called guardians of law and order have shown up, too.

But the Henry Boot occupiers are undaunted. They know who their friends are or should be. They're out

looking for support in the working-class movement, locally and beyond. They came to the International Socialists' conference last weekend and collected £100 for the strike fund.

But most of all they need your help if they are to win. If Henry Boot and Co come into your factory to do rebuilding work, black them.

And while you're at it just turn over in your mind what the wives have done in the Henry Boot struggle. It has quite an impact when women are on your picket line with placards saying 'We want live husbands, not dead building workers...'

In NORTHAMPTON, workers on the Henry Boots site are now in the sixth week of their strike over a bonus scheme. They are now in touch with the York site. Both sites urgently need support. Messages and donations to Martin Dunkley, 51 Holly Road, Northampton. Eric Golding, 221 Melrosegate, York.

## Nor is the woman whose husband is in jail for fighting such conditions

MY reaction to the Home Office statement that Dennis is in solitary at his own request is the same as my reaction to virtually all the statements about this case. There is not a word of truth in it. It's another dose of what Home Secretary Roy Jenkins has been coming out with all along—total hypocrisy.

These are the words of Elsa Warren, speaking to Socialist Worker this week. Mrs Warren explained the real facts behind the imprisonment in solitary confinement of Des Warren, one of the building workers jailed for picketing at Shrewsbury.

Said Mrs Warren: 'Dennis was approached by the governor of the prison after he agreed to start wearing prison clothes. The governor said that Dennis should put in an application to be released from solitary and that this would then be forwarded to the Home Secretary.'

'He said to the governor that he hadn't asked to be put in prison, and that he hadn't asked to be put in solitary, so he didn't see why he should have to ask to be brought out of it. What they are trying to do to my husband is simple: they are trying to break his spirit.'

### Yard

'On Sunday 18 May he was in the exercise yard for a half-hour spell with one of the other prisoners, who was kept over the other side of the yard. Then suddenly, five minutes early, he was told his time was up.

'When you're locked up in a cell on your own 23 hours a day five minutes is very precious to you. So Des said he wasn't having it. He refused to go back into his cell until those five minutes were up.'

'Immediately they brought extra guards into the yard and guard dogs too. They were hoping there was going to be a massive incident. They were disappointed. But they got their own back. They have taken away two days remission for the 'crime' of insisting on the exercise period he is entitled to.'

### Sorry

'I am sorry that Des has lost this remission. But I go along with him all the way. If I was in jail then I would want to get every second of my one hour's exercise per day.'

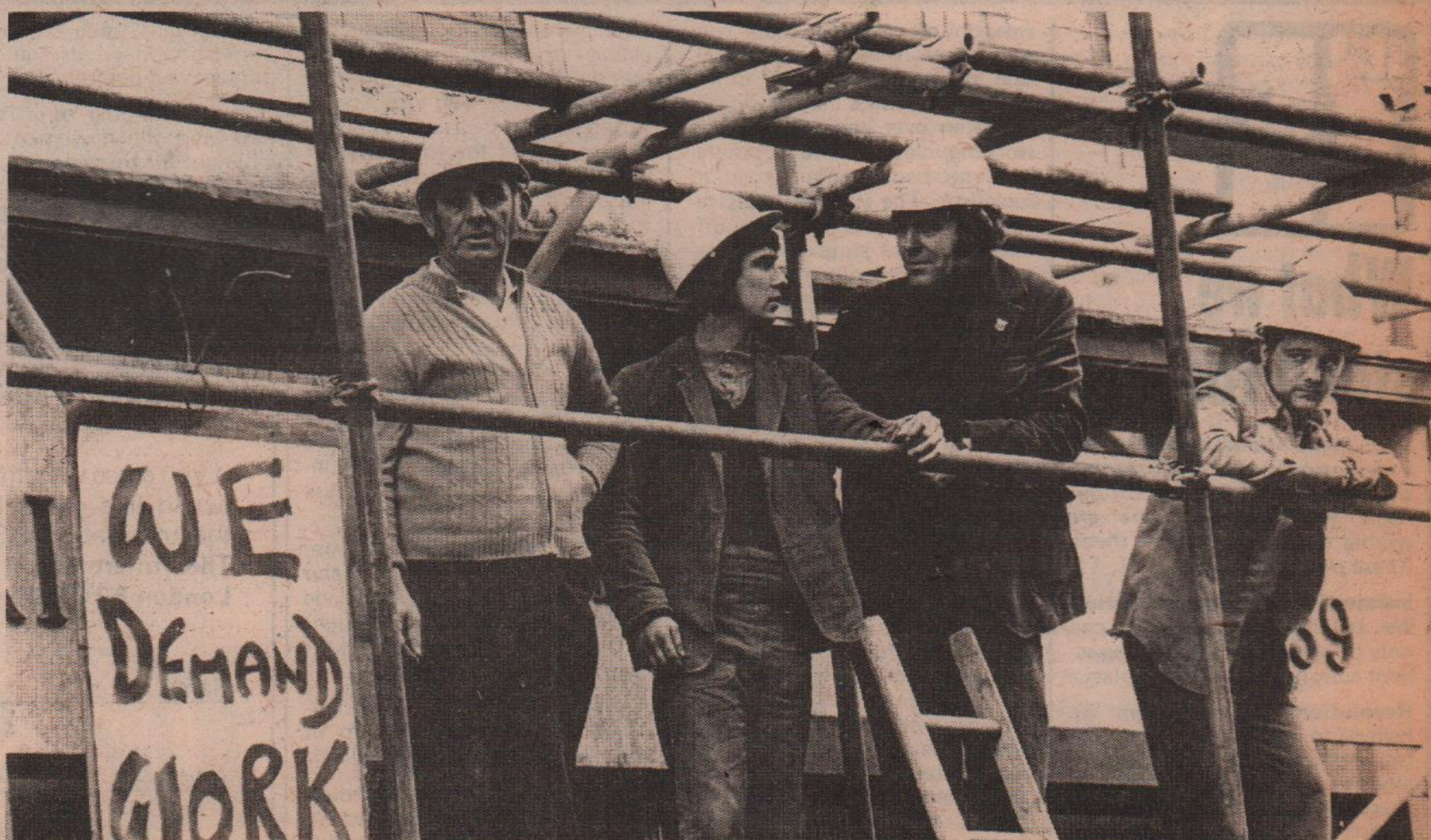
'I'm very glad that Dennis is fighting on. It shows that the authorities' schemes to break his spirit aren't working, that Dennis hasn't been cowed by the treatment handed out.'

'It's not only Dennis's spirit they're out to attack by the looks of things. There is no need at all for him to be held at Lincoln. He could be in Walton, Liverpool. But he's not. And because he's not we have to travel five hours each way to see him. This is a punishment on us.'

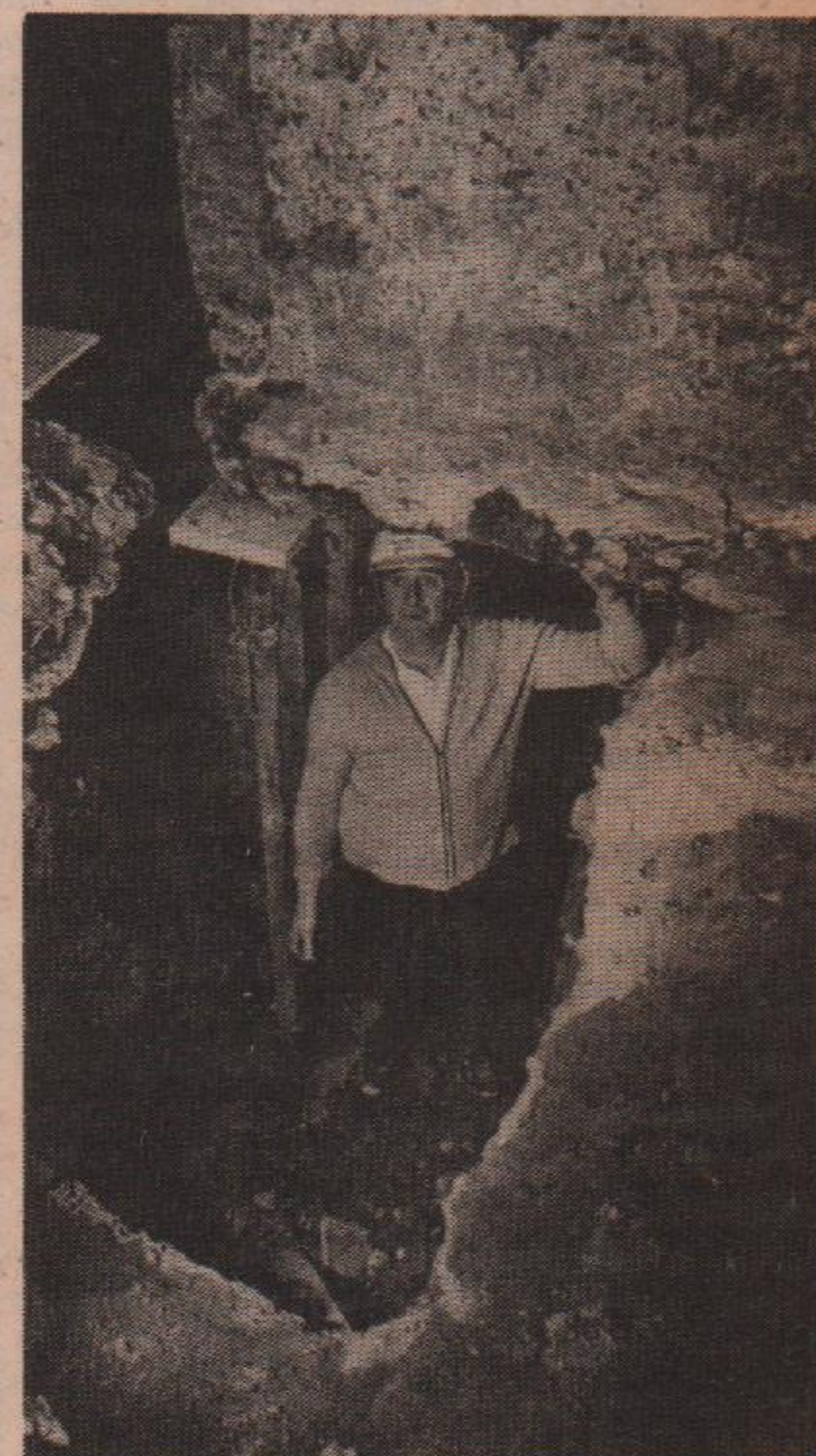
'The Home Office statement about Dennis's solitary confinement is part of a continuing scandal. We all know that the labour movement and the TUC were fooled by Home Office hints that Des and Ricky

would be released on parole. Roy Jenkins didn't exactly say this but it was repeatedly implied.'

'Marlene Tomlinson, the wife of Ricky Tomlinson, who is also still in jail, and myself now believe that all along Jenkins and Co had no intentions of letting our men out.'



The site was occupied after Henry Boot and Co sacked some of the lads who'd joined the union. They didn't want to have troublemakers on the site. It might have meant an end to Boot's profitable malpractices. Doubtless Henry Boot will continue to employ such methods on other sites, like for example on the job they've just landed rebuilding Flixborough, where a massive chemical explosion killed 23 workers.



For a while the Henry Boot workers wondered which union to join. They thought of ringing up the Yorkshire miners when the bosses asked them to get down in this chamber and do a bit of tunneling. At that time there were no supports at all under the overhanging wall. They've only been put in since the occupation.



# 'SUPPORT US!' PLEA AT SPEKE

## London Rubber -it's over

**NORTH LONDON:**-As workers at Thompson Capper are moving into struggle, the strikers at the associate company, London Rubber Industries, have voted to end their magnificent 10 week battle and return to work. They accepted a management offer to take the important pay roll deduction union dues issues to independent arbitration.

The bosses had always refused arbitration. Transport and General Workers Union officials Fred Ferryman and Bob Foskett had been told the payroll deduction/union dues issue was a management concern. The climb-down shows the strikers have won some gains.

It is quite clear to the strikers that most issues have not been decided. The fight for an improved shift system, for human working conditions, for an adequate basic wage—have not been even partly won.

There are two main reasons for the ending of the strike. Most important has been the role of the police, who have repeatedly broken the 24 hour picket line by bringing in scab oil and latex trucks. And second has been the lack of effectiveness of the union officials who have now fixed up the agreement on arbitration.

Their repeated promises to mobilise support inside and outside the TGWU have come to nothing. Public promises have been shown to be just hot air. Workers who mobilised financial support, demonstrations and mass pickets did so independently of the official 'call'.

The strikers were handicapped from the beginning by the lack of support from workers in one section, and by the part time women workers who continued working. These problems could have been overcome by an effective picket line, and real local support. But the police-management collaboration, and the officials' ineffectiveness combined to weaken the strike.

Nevertheless this has been a long hard struggle fought with great determination by an inexperienced workforce. 90 per cent of the 200 strikers are black workers—most had been in the union for only three or four months. The main lesson learned—the need to build a strong union membership on the shop floor—must be put into effect straight away.

## Chrysler goes back

by Gerry Jones, TGWU Shop  
Steward Chrysler Stoke, Coventry

THE three week old strike here has ended. Management have offered £8 instead of the £15 that was being demanded. Shop stewards agreed to recommend that Wednesday's mass meeting accept this offer and they have decided to begin negotiations on Chrysler's 'worker participation' proposals.

Chrysler's proposals are not just for 'participation' but include national negotiations and arbitration. Chrysler have offered a £50 lump sum if negotiations are successful.

### Offer

The strike was for a substantial interim increase as a basis for further negotiations. But the £8 offer the negotiating committee recommended to the stewards' committee was a final offer.

Some stewards argued that a return to work would put us at the mercy of the company. The proposed lump sum payments, if increased, would split the factory on national negotiations. The

A SPECIAL meeting of the Speke Area Trade Union Committee heard Thompson Capper senior steward Gerry Dean's call for support against the Capper management's threat of closure if workers strike for their demand for a £4 pay rise.

Last August Capper workers accepted a £5 pay award and wanted another £4 to carry them over until this August. Gerry Dean explained that they had received no threshold payments at all and that the average take home pay was about £20.

A mass meeting at Thompson Capper agreed to strike in support of their claim in spite of management's threats, and refusal to offer even one penny of the £4.

Thompson Capper is a subsidiary of LONDON RUBBER where a 10 week strike has just ended.

The Speke Committee agreed to draw up a leaflet explaining the strike to every factory in the area. The committee called a mass picket for Friday 6 June, 7.45am-12.45pm at Thompson Capper's main gate at Speke Hall Road.

The Speke Committee believes that this issue affects every trade unionist in Speke and calls for a maximum turnout. All trade unionists should try and attend and bring their trade union banners.

## IN BRIEF

### TEESSIDE STEELWORKERS —FINDING OUT THE HARD WAY . . .

IN the papers you can read how the battle over job cut-backs in the steel industry is 'all over'. There are to be no compulsory redundancies, instead the unions are co-operating with BSC over 'natural wastage'. BSC expect to save £100 million on labour—the same figure that the 20,000 redundancies would have saved.

So, 'natural wastage' will do the job—and lose 20,000 jobs. Below a worker from CLEVELAND STEEL WORKS writes on what this means for him,

DAY LABOURERS are being sacked for refusing to move to ore plant shifts. WORKERS OFF SICK for long periods are being paid off as 'medically unsuitable'. ATTENDANCE RECORD CARDS are checked to see if employers can be fired for 'absenteeism'. Men are sacked for leaving 10 minutes early—or answering back. SHOP STEWARDS have been told by their unions to work with management to enforce the cutbacks, and the unions' refusal to take seriously unfair dismissal cases means the ideal opportunity to purge militants from the industry.

Pay is down. Cleveland day labourers are moving from a six day rota to a 40 hour week—slashing take-home pay

At LACKENBY men have been laid off for a week—because of the lack of work. The mills will soon probably only work three weeks in four. At CARGO FLEET just one mill's working.

Some steelworkers hope they will all get jobs at the new REDCAR steel complex. The 2000 new jobs will only employ Cleveland ore cinder plant and coke oven workers. We can see what the deal with BSC means—and that the fight back will have to come from the rank and file. If we don't do it—no-one will!

### COVENTRY WOMEN—WE WANT REAL EQUAL PAY!

ROLLS ROYCE women canteen workers in Parkside and Ansty are to get a third and final equal pay increase of £1.33 in July. Sounds like good news? After all this is International Women's Year . . .

There's just one problem. Management haven't told them who they're supposed to be on equal pay with! And right now they are earning £17.20 less than the lowest male grade 'F'.

For five weeks last September they struck—and went back with a £2 bonus. For the last three weeks they've been out again, male workers are supporting them with an overtime ban and the women's pickets have stopped all material coming into the factory.

They want to be put on the 'F' grade, with the men, they want the wages, and the benefits which go with it, like the sickness scheme.

'Can't be done' say the bosses. 'It'll push up workers' food prices'. So the women dug out the facts on other Rolls Royce canteen rates—and exposed the real cost of the management's 'special three course executive lunch' for which they pay 37½ pence.

These canteen workers are in the front line of a battle involving hundreds of thousands of women—the battle for real equal pay. Give them support!

Messages of support and donations to The Strike Committee, Rolls Royce (1970) Ltd, Ansty, Warwickshire.

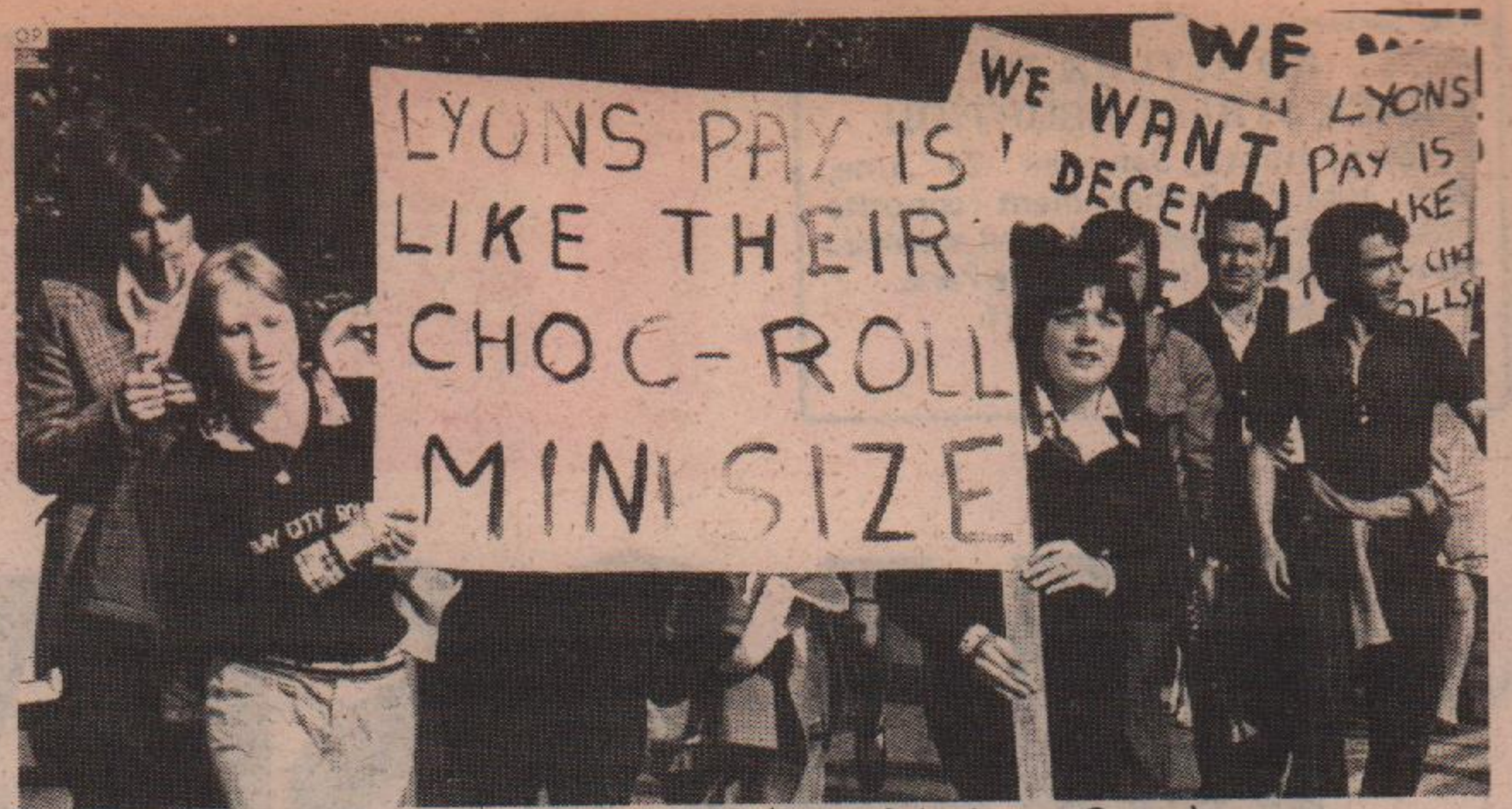
### NALGO CONFERENCE ALL OR NOTHING?

UNTIL recently the national and local government officers union, NALGO, has had a limited fighting record. This has begun to change, below conference delegate BARRY WHITE pinpoints some of the issues that the annual conference, meeting in Blackpool next week will be facing.

Pay, the Social Contract and the public expenditure cuts are the key issues for us this year. ON PAY the local government group meeting will probably back the rejection of the employers' 10 and 19 per cent offer of last week. This was the bosses answer to the £10 plus 15 per cent claim our special group meeting voted for in April.

Our leaders advised against that meeting—and national committee members have done little to push this contract busting demand. The groundwork in the branches has mainly come from NALGO Action Group supporters. We've got to judge the leadership's proposals for industrial action against this backdrop.

They may move for total stoppage, which without preparation of the member-



A fortnight ago these workers from Tetley's (part of the Lyons Group) were marching. Read the sorry story of how they were beaten back to work below . . . PICTURE John Sturrock (Report).

**BLETCHLEY:**—The Tetley occupation has ended with an equal pay sell-out, engineered by full time Engineering Union officials. AUEW differentials have been increased despite workers' demand for £6 across the board for AUEW and General and Municipal Union members.

'It's still a bit of a mystery how the officials got control,' said AUEW shop steward Eddie Wales. 'We were obliged to involve them because another steward, after being attacked by management, was charged with assault. We had to call in the officials to get legal aid. But Whyman, the assistant divisional AUEW organiser came armed with a national executive instruction to stop the occupation.'

'We're still keeping on our overtime restriction of eight hours. And because the agreement includes a section on manning we're keeping hold of all the locks and chains for the gates.'

### ELEKTRON MANCHESTER OCCUPATION: WEEK FIVE

'WHEN we go back we'll be 10 times stronger unionwise' said General and Municipal Workers Union shop steward Vin Kenny of Magnesium Elektron. The occupation by the 450 workers sprung from a strike which started back in April.

The strikers want—and with their morale high are determined to get—a 30 per cent pay rise. Management's latest reply is 50 pence a week, and 'a say in the role of stewards and convenors in the factory.' The workers' answer is NO and last Saturday 140 strikers and wives marched round the area with placards.

That wasn't all. Convenor's wife Mrs Tyrell organised a jumble sale—which made £60, a concert is planned and the Red Ladder Theatre group was scheduled for last Thursday.

The strikers are getting around—delegations urging solidarity action have been to Preston and Liverpool and plan visits to British Aluminium and Tube Investments, the parent company.

Donations and messages of support to Tony Tyrell, 113 Falcon Crescent, Clifton, Manchester.

### STEWART PLASTICS, CROYDON WEEK SEVEN

THE 230 Engineering Union strikers, all Asians are still determined to win their battle for union recognition, reinstatement of shop steward Len Pratt and a 30 per cent wage rise. Managing director Duncan Chapman's reply is 2½p an hour—and no union.

A strike supporter criticised the lack of action to spread the strike from the AUEW district secretary. 'More effective picketing can help stop production. If the strike committee can be enlarged then delegations to other workplaces can get money—and effective blacking—something the AUEW should be pressuring other unions to do. With their strength the strikers could occupy the factory.'

Donations, messages of support to: Stewart Plastics Strike Committee, c/o AUEW District Offices, 8 Southend, Croydon.

### TEESSIDE BUILDING WORKERS VICTORY

THEY fought for three weeks—now 1000 construction workers at Seal Sands have won their battle for job guarantees for 11 welders. And the strike's done more than that. It's brought together workers from different firms, and different unions, with Engineering union members picketing with boilermakers, joiners, electricians and plumbers.

The picketing worked too well for management's liking. 'We're only doing our job' said the police as they slammed into pickets who had jammed traffic for miles. Then a car drove fast through the line, a scaffolder was carried on the bonnet—and attacked by the driver. Dangerous driving? Assault? No action from the police . . .

### CARDIFF—OFF THE BUSES!

THERE was a lot of walking here on Sunday, more than 200 busworkers were striking. The strike followed a meeting the previous Thursday when busworkers had also stopped work to attend a meeting to discuss—and reject a management plan to re-introduce the split shift system.

Busworker Glyn Bailey explained that 'if the new rotas had been accepted it would mean more money for drivers—but less for conductors. More one man buses would be introduced.'

One man buses mean traffic jams, delays—angry passengers and overworked drivers. For management they mean financial savings, for workers—redundancies, so they aren't having it.

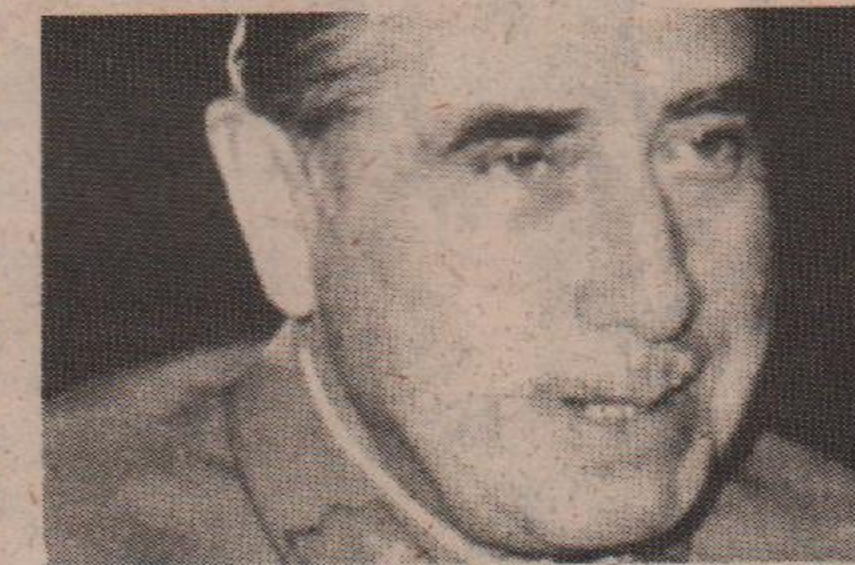
ship will be thrust on delegates on an 'all or nothing' basis. Why?

Simple, some suspect that they'll be trying to frighten the membership into opting for nothing.

Will they get away with it? The bosses offer gives the lowest percentage to the lowest paid, widens differentials—and runs right against the claim we put. This has angered the membership—that anger has to be built on. We may have to strike all-out, without pay, but such a move needs development through selective action through all branches first.

Pay claims in the Gas, Electricity and Water public sectors are still outstanding. We've got to link them to the local government claim, and get campaigning for joint activity.

What's missing from the conference is a strategy to fight the Social Contract and the cuts, a key to the wage claim battle. To win the claim will be the acid test of our ability to beat the cuts—and the leadership have little to say about it . . .



The face of a killer and jailer of workers. Dictator Pinochet of the Chilean Junta. The Chile Solidarity Campaign is appealing to you to help beat him . . .

### CHILE: STOP THE SUBS!

'THE Chilean people will need our solidarity more than ever in the coming months,' points out Mike Gatehouse, joint secretary of the Chile Solidarity Campaign. 'Last year the British government decided to proceed with the delivery of two submarines and two frigates to the Chilean Navy.'

The frigates have gone, says Gatehouse, but with the subs almost complete at Greenock, employment won't be affected by cancelling delivery.

'Resolutions are urgently needed from Labour Parties, trade union bodies etc, urging cancellation of the delivery of the submarines, and the suspension of trade with Chile's military junta. Send copies to the appropriate Ministers, and to the Campaign,' he urges.

Ken Hulme, the CSC's trade union organiser has announced that the Manchester Trade Union Council have already passed such a motion.

## Airport grounded!

by IS EETPU Shop Stewards at London Airport

**HEATHROW:**—On Monday all flights at British Airways European division were halted by a strike of 500 flight maintenance staff. The men are claiming an extra payment to compensate for changes in working practices, introduced by Tri Star servicing equipment, and safety checks. Management have countered with an offer of a flexibility deal on which agreement could not be reached.

The men who work the crippling three shift system and permanent night shifts withdrew their labour last Wednesday. To avoid a shut down of the airline and massive lay-offs of staff the employers called an emergency meeting of the National Joint Council last Sunday. Full time officials emerged from this meeting with a document offering flexibility to the whole engineering base (approximately 10,000

workers) as a possible solution to the dispute.

In other words the full time officials were prepared to recommend flexibility agreements in areas where management already are declaring that they have a surplus of labour.

This was thrown out overwhelmingly by shop stewards on the engineering base the following day. Flexibility in the airport means the blurring of trade demarcation lines, for example, electricians driving out to the planes and refuelling them.

At a full shop stewards' meeting on Tuesday International Socialists argued that the fleet maintenance staff should reject all offers of flexibility and continue the strike for more money for working the Tri Star without any erosion of conditions.



**NO RETURN TO BACK STREET ABORTION**

Demonstrate Saturday 21 June, 2pm, Victoria Embankment (opposite Charing Cross tube). Rally and speakers 4pm. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park. All IS branches to support.

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

**ABORTION: THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS**  
London Women's Voice public meeting: Thursday 19 June, 7.30pm. Friends Meeting House, Euston Road (opposite Euston station).  
Speakers: Gillian Anciano (NUT), Tony Cliff, and a hospital worker.

# MASSEY WORKERS DEFY THE LAW

By Murray Armstrong

**THE GLOVES** are off. Workers on official strike and occupying Massey Ferguson's assembly plant in Coventry are being threatened by the law.

Writs, delivered by management to the picket lines at the Banner Lane plant last Thursday, summoned 310 workers to the High Court this Friday—an attempt by the company to use the forces of the state to break the strike and occupation.

But the stewards' committee have stood firm. They decided on Monday to boycott the court and stay inside the plant, despite attempts by Engineering Union officials to undermine the occupation by instructing their members to retreat to 'peaceful, legal picketing', and despite an attempted 'reds under the beds' campaign by the national press.

## Offer

The occupation began five weeks ago after a miserable six per cent pay offer.

The massive multi-national, whose profits last year were £168 million, have been preparing for a long dispute for more than a year.

They appear to want two things: to weaken shop-floor organisation in the most powerful plant in the combine; to meet their two-year-old agreement for parity at the Peterborough plant by holding down the wages in Coventry.

Massey's use of the state to break the strike must concern every trade unionist.

If the law is used to smash the occupation, every other occupation will be put at risk and so make it more difficult for workers in future to win strikes and defend jobs.

## Heart

If one of the most militant and best-organised factories in the country can be beaten back, employers everywhere will take heart and get stuck in.

They will take heart at Magnesium Elektron in Manchester, where 450 workers are trying to spread solidarity action, and at the Henry Boot occupation in York.

They will lose heart to the extent that Masseys, Henry Boot and Magnesiums come together, and to the extent that other workers actively support them.

At Masseys, management may back off from a confrontation. The decision of the stewards to ignore the court has called their bluff.

But if management go ahead, it will be the duty of every trade unionist to defend the Massey workers in the same way that dockers were defended against the Industrial Relations Act in 1972.

## OUR FUND: HELP US TO HELP YOU

**MANY** people talk about socialism. We're doing something about it.

Where workers are battling for pay increases to protect them from inflation, we'll be there in support. Where workers are resisting sackings, we'll be lending a hand.

And our paper will help spread the word about those struggles.

But we can't do that on fresh air and enthusiasm. We need money. That's why we make no bones about asking you to support us.

Send your donations to Mel Norris, IS National Treasurer, 8 Cottons



Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

*Biting the dust... some of the 310 summonses served on Massey pickets littering the road outside the plant: meanwhile two pickets show what they think of a management which spent the first three weeks of the strike identifying the men who stood on the line*

Gardens, London E2. Our fighting fund raised £236.73 last week, thanks to:

Imperial College IS Soc £1.35; SW Readers William Press Ltd, Barrow in Furness £10; Leicester reader £2; General Engineering Co Radcliffe SW Supporters £1.50; Harrow IS jumble sale £18.50; E London Hospital Workers member £50; Paddington IS £6.93; C A Parsons £14.35; Halifax IS £5; A supporter £5; 809 Branch ASTMS £10. Members' Special Levy: London Print-workers £9.10; Croydon Sorting Office £3; Member £100.

**So much for the "neutrality" of the courts...**

MASSEY Ferguson management hoped for one thing when they took out writs in the High Court.

They hoped the occupying Massey workers, faced with the majesty and so-called neutrality of the law, would back off and stop occupying the factory.

But those workers have done no such thing. They decline to attend a court whose neutrality amounts to this: provided you accept that bosses have all the rights in the world and workers have little or none, then bosses and workers are equal.

The laws Massey Ferguson are using against the occupation say that it counts for nothing that you have put your whole working life into the company. You can be laid off, locked out or—as in this case—set up for a strike, as part of the boss's legal right.

## Hunted

But when you, as part of the struggle against the boss, occupy the plant or picket effectively, then you can be hunted down by the law whenever the directors of the company require.

And more than that. Though it is your labour that produces Massey Ferguson tractors from start to finish, you have no rights over what you produce. You do not even have the right to drive one of the tractors you have made round the factory.

*That, like an occupation, is a crime.*

Just as the law has no neutrality, so it has no majesty. Those who own and control big business don't just load the dice against workers.

*Messages of support and collections to: Massey Ferguson Strike Committee, c/o Transport House, Ringway St Nicholas, Coventry.*

They mix with—and control—the croupiers.

As Socialist Worker went to press, it was not clear which judge was to take the case. But he will be reliable.

He will have consulted with his fellows of the Queens Bench division, like Lord Widgery, the man who kept the Shrewsbury Two inside, or Sir John Donaldson, who jailed the dockers.

He will have been educated at public school or at least send his sons there. He will hold shares in companies and he will be anxious to see the income from those shares maintained.

He might even be on friendly terms with one or other of the Massey directors. After all, three of them are important figures in the British establishment. That's why they're on the board.

Lord Crathorne, for example, is a former Tory Minister of Agriculture and private secretary to Stanley Baldwin, the man who broke the General Strike.

## Admire

Then there is the Marquess of Abergavenny and the Duke of Wellington, both men of wealth and land and power, just the class of person judges admire and must support.

And Massey's lawyers, Allen and Overy, give them the ear of other people in high places. For example, they are lawyers to Reginald Maudling, Tory Shadow Foreign Secretary.

The struggle at Massey Ferguson proves that the election of a Labour government and the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, do not mean that the employers are left without powerful legal weapons.

They have a battery of laws, including, as the Shrewsbury pickets found out, the conspiracy laws.

*But that does not make them invincible. Far from it.*

As the dockers proved in 1972, as the miners proved in 1972 and 1974, the working class movement has the power to stave off attacks and turn the tide.

Workers everywhere have the power to control the factories in which they work. And if they did control them they would be free to decide not only to ride round the factory on what they produced but every single thing about it.

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