

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Phoney peace in Mid East

IN CAIRO the streets are full of men and women celebrating 'victory' in the Middle East war. But in the refugee camps of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Gaza, two million Palestinians have been left to rot.

None of the signatories to the cease-fire agreement, the governments of Russia, America, Israel and Egypt, has insisted on even a marginal improvement in the conditions of these victims of Zionism. The military invincibility of Zionism has been denied but the continued existence of a racially-exclusive Jewish state, operating well beyond the border of 1948 in much of the territory occupied during the 1967 war, has been agreed by secret treaty between the governments of America, Russia, Israel and the Arab countries.

Throughout the 17-day war, governments fought to keep the conflict strictly under their control. The sheikhs of Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf made marginal cuts in the supply of oil to America. At no time were the oil workers of these countries called upon to strike in protest against American support for Zionism.

At no time were the guerrillas urged into battle. At no time were the Arab workers in the occupied countries encouraged into revolt against their oppressors. The war was used crudely to force a diplomatic initiative which, in the hope of Sadat and the other Arab leaders, would soothe their people's rage.

Thousands of workers and peasants have given their lives in what they hoped would be a war of liberation. But oil imperialism is still the dominant

force in the Middle East. Not a cent of American oil interests have been touched by the Arab rulers. And the foundation of cheap oil in the area, the settler state of Israel, remains, only slightly smaller, as a base for American strategic and economic interests in the area.

The peace, therefore, is a phoney peace. There is only one way to real peace in the Middle East and that is through the destruction of the Zionist state and its replacement by a Palestinian state in which Jews and Arabs have equal rights.

The state of Israel will not be destroyed by the existing Arab regimes. It will be smashed only by the mass action of the Arab workers and peasants, organised for a socialist revolution.

Is peace possible?—special analysis page 4

See you
at the SW
conference

Tony Richardson, a member of the Municipal Workers' Union, works at ICI Blackley. He is chairman of Hexagon Joint shop stewards committee and also treasurer of Manchester and Salford Trades Council. He told Socialist Worker why he is going to the Industrial Conference on 11 November:

There will be at least half-a-dozen coming to the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference from the ICI plant at Blackley and I am still working hard to get more along. It is vital that ICI workers come down from the ivory tower they have now been in for a long time.

There is a myth that ICI is somehow different from other employers, probably because they tend to be a bit more subtle than most bosses. But at the conference militants from all over the country will demonstrate that we all face the same conditions, the same problems and we have to fight together to solve them.

After all we are the working class who happen to be employed by ICI. The other delegates to the conference will be workers who happen to be employed by other employers. The differences don't matter. Fighting as a united class does.

The conference is going to help us get this message across. Let me give you an example to show how vital this message is to ICI workers. There is a union member at our place suffering from papaloma, which is cancer of the bladder caused through working with chemicals.

This bloke is dying. They've opened him up and closed him again because they can't do anything but he still thinks that the firm is great because they pay him his lousy wage every week.

There is just one final point I would like to make about the importance of as many workers as possible going to the conference. We have a national ICI combine committee. Now it's not as effective as we could hope but even when it's working well it still tends to have an ICI parochialism.

A conference like this is about getting them to look beyond ICI to the battle against Phase Three for instance. A large attendance on 11 November can insure that the battle against Phase Three is a lot more positive and effective than the struggle against the previous stages of the Tory wage freeze.

FOOD PRICE SCANDAL

by Paul Foot

TESCO, the food store chain, is selling fish fingers—one by one.

'It's been marvellously successful,' chortled a Tesco spokesman. 'We've had a tremendous response from old people especially. It's just what they wanted. They're delighted with it.'

In the financial year 1971-1972, Tesco made a profit of £21,777,000 compared with £16,592,000 the previous year, an increase of 32 per cent. The best part of last year for Tesco was the final four months—when the government imposed a wage freeze.

This year, with the wage freeze clamped on just as firmly, Tesco profits have been booming once again.

They are even making a profit on the sale of single fish fingers to old age pensioners.

OUTRAGEOUS

One fish finger costs 5p. So does a large-sized egg. So, incredibly, does a rasher of bacon.

The rise in bacon prices has been the most outrageous in an outrageous month. A pound of short back bacon has gone up from 46p in October last year to 62p, a rise of 35 per cent, in a period when wage rises have been held to a less than 7 per cent.

Last Friday, workers at C and T Harris Ltd, at Calne in Wiltshire, the biggest bacon factory in the country, walked out on strike.

Harris is a subsidiary of the Fatstock Marketing Corporation, the biggest meat wholesalers in Europe. The workers were protesting over their chairman, Sir John Stratton, who had just raised his salary from £37,000 a year to £53,000—a rise of £300 a week.

Shop stewards' convenor at Harris', Ben Webb, told Socialist Worker: 'It seemed rather a lot to us. The basic men's rate here is £21.75 a week before stoppages, and for women £18.60.

'The Pay Board held us down to £1 plus 4 per cent last August, and we've got to wait till next August before we can even make a claim under Phase Three.'

The Fatstock Marketing Corporation, whose directors include Fred Peart, Labour's 'defence' spokesman and former Minister of Agriculture, last year made a profit of £3 million—more than double the previous year's figure.

Every day, the picture gets clearer. On the one side, the fabulous unrestricted



C and T Harris workers in Calne, Wiltshire, walking out of the factory last Friday in a protest strike over the £300-a-week rise for company chairman

wealth of men who profiteer from high prices. On the other, low, frozen wages of food workers, farmworkers who produce the food and of all other workers, housewives and pensioners who have to buy it.

The workers at C and T Harris showed the way. If the workers organise to fight back against the Sir John Strattons of this world, the picture can be changed.

The miners can change it. The engineers can change it. The hospital workers can change it. They will change it if they act

together.

Housewives and pensioners don't have to sit on the sidelines and hope that workers will protest for them. They should get out and organise in their estates and communities.

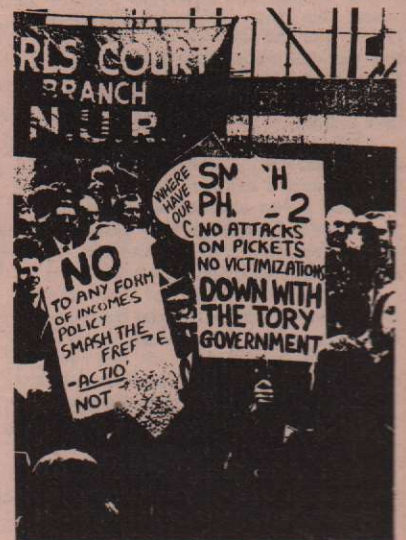
Picket, demonstrate, organise. Humiliate and expose the supermarket profiteers, the farmers and the tycoons who are congratulating themselves for marketing single fish fingers for starving pensioners—and on making a profit out of it.

Kick out Phase 3

Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

OPEN TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS
Belle Vue Manchester
Sunday 11 November
11am to 6pm
Admission 10p

Full facilities available: cafes, bars, small rooms for group meetings, nursery facilities and zoo for children. Details of coaches and trains: page 14.



Please send me credentials and details of the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

Name

Address

Trade union

Send to: IS Industrial Department, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

AUEW fine strikes - see back page

Rally: no hope or lead

THE LIAISON COMMITTEE for the Defence of Trade Unions met in London last Saturday at a time of acute crisis for the trade union movement. But it could muster less than 500 delegates present—fewer than half the number at previous conferences.

And there was nothing in most of the contributions from the platform to raise the spirits of those who had bothered to attend.

In 1969 the Liaison Committee organised a strike on 8 December that effectively killed Labour's In Place Of Strife. But it has been obvious for some time now that the LCDTU will take no more independent initiatives like this.

Platform speakers stressed again and again that there was no clash between the committee and the 'official movement', and criticism of the performance of union leadership was taboo.

The clearest expression of this position came from chairman Kevin Halpin at the end of the conference when he stated that although the Liaison Committee supported the Chrysler electricians it would not be helpful if the conference were critical of the AUEW leadership when the Tories were on the attack.

'It is easy to knock executive committees,' he went on, 'but our job is to watch for and nurture every advance by the executives, and turn the sentiments of the rank and file into the policies of the official movement.'

If the trade union leaders did not give a lead then this was because the rank and file had not given sufficient indication that they would respond.

The key part of the declaration carried by last Saturday's conference:

We call upon all workers to demand through their organisations an early recall of the TUC to plan co-ordinated action in defence of free wage negotiations, for the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, and the Counter-Inflation Act and its Phase 3. Such action, to be effective, must include national industrial action.

We call for the widespread development of agitation at all levels in defence of all workers victimised by anti-trade union legislation, leading up to a National Day of Action and mass lobby of the recalled special TUC.

But we cannot sit back until such a congress is called while sections of workers are attacked and in struggle. We therefore call now for immediate mobilisation for solidarity action with the engineering workers against the vicious unprecedented fine and in defence of their assets. We call for the stepping up of solidarity of all forms—moral, financial and demonstrative, with the workers on trial in Shrewsbury and any other workers who are attacked.

This was the way that Ken Gill of the TASS executive justified the lack of action by the AUEW executive committee against the £100,000 fine imposed by the Industrial Relations Court. But, he assured us, 'the executive has the inclination to take up the fight, and they will respond if the members show they are prepared to take action.'

Only one speaker from the floor, John McCann, Cumbernauld Trades Council and a member of IS, pointed out that union executives are paid to give a lead. And when they don't it is up to the rank and file to take the initiative in organising action.

It was the retreat of the trade union leaders which allowed the Tories to regain the initiative after the great working-class victories of last year, and that they were largely responsible for the present crisis the movement finds itself in. McCann also stated that conferences like this were no longer sufficient, and what was required was the building of a real rank and file movement.

It has become obvious that the LCDTU will not provide the basis for such a movement. It is dominated by the Communist Party and the party's policy of uncritical support for trade union leaders like Jones and Scanlon has disarmed and confused the trade union militants who follow their lead.

And the Liaison Committee, far from being a pressure group pushing these leaders to the left, has become a means of covering up and justifying their retreat to the rank and file.

'No redundancies' then 750 are sacked

SW Reporter

STEVENAGE:—Just three weeks after works directors told shop stewards at Geo W Kings that rumours of redundancies were untrue, management has declared 750 of the 1000 work force redundant.

The response of the workers has been quick and firm. An action committee has been set up representing all nine unions at the plant, which makes mechanical handling devices for car firms. At a mass meeting there was 98 per cent support for a policy of total opposition to the redundancies with the immediate imposition of an overtime ban, refusal to allow any finished work or spares to leave the site.

Clerical workers in APEX have refused to send out management letters saying that no more orders will be accepted.

To their fury, the workers have learnt that management had planned redundancies a year ago. Documents they have found show that management has turned orders away.

The redundancies have been ordered at a time when the parent combine, Tube Investments, has declared a record half-year profit of £16.3 million—an increase of 101 per cent on last year. There is strong local feeling that the firm is being closed so that the prime freehold site by the railway line can be sold at enormous profit.

Bovis, the property development giant, bought seven of the 28 acre site for £1.3 million only last week. The existing Kings ground factory area would be much too large for the work Kings management say would continue and the 250 workers still employed in what are termed the 'profitable sections' would almost certainly find their jobs moved away from Stevenage.

Embargo

An action committee spokesman emphasised the importance of the whole workforce fighting the redundancies.

The strength of the unions' fight depends on continuing the embargo on finished work leaving the site. When the embargo was lifted for one day last week to allow local negotiations to take place, 10 fully-loaded vehicles left the site.

Now the embargo is back on, management has withdrawn a four-week stay of execution it had agreed to. Extensions in the redundancies timetable are worthless without firm guarantees that the site will be kept open.

Workers are now demanding that the order book be re-opened before they agree to lifting any of their sanctions. Delegations are being planned to visit car firms to request that the black be put on any Kings track and conveyors repaired by other firms.

Messages of support and donations to Reg Smith, chairman of the Action Committee, 588 Archer Road, Stevenage, Herts.

Women face lock-out

COVENTRY:—60 women workers in the strip wiring section of GEC's Stoke plant are being threatened with a lock out by management. The women have been working to rule for two weeks in protest at a low piecework price.

The attack on this section of workers is being backed by a general attack on trade union organisation at Stoke. Movement of deputy convenors in the plant has been restricted. And many shop stewards have been told by management that they can only contact the convenors through the foremen.

The attack on the women for working to rule has far reaching implications. Their tactic has been to work to the Minimum Earnings Level as set out in the national agreement. So by threatening a lock out GEC management are having a go at the basic provisions of the national agreement.

It is vital that all GEC Stoke workers support the women and ensure that the union has the right to operate effectively and without hindrance from GEC management.



The SEI picket: Ed Murphy is fourth from right, Bert Dickinson standing third from left

'Conspiracy' to picket workers face trial threat

by SW reporter

MANCHESTER:—The sinister Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 is being used again to intimidate trade unionists.

Two members of APEX are charged that: 'With a view to compel one Alan Speakman to abstain from visiting premises which he had a legal right to do in connection with his employment, wrongfully and without legal authority did persistently follow the said Alan Speakman from place to place contrary to section seven of the Conspiracy Act.'

The two men are Ed Murphy, the APEX convenor and Bert Dickinson, both from Salford Electrical Instruments' Times Mill in Heywood. The charge may seem comic but both men could go to jail if convicted.

The incident arose out of the recent 11-week strike for equal pay in the two SEI Manchester factories. In both factories the majority of the strikers were women members and at Times Mill there was a particularly solid and effective picket line throughout the strike.

The management has already tried to use other charges against pickets from the Eccles plant and, having failed, has fallen back on the Conspiracy Act, which

needs little proof to gain a conviction. The bosses' move is an attempt to break up the union organisation at Heywood during the crucial period of job evaluation which followed the settlement.

It is clear that it is the bosses who started the legal prosecution. The said Alan Speakman was the assistant transport manager on 11 July when the incident is alleged to have taken place but since then he has been promoted to transport manager for SEI.

Criminal

The really sinister part of the affair is that the alleged offence is that they did no more than any trade unionist would do—to make a peaceful picket effective. The charge strikes at the fundamental right of workers in struggle to mount picketing at all.

Ed Murphy has given the reasons he believes the courts are being used against them. 'This seems an obvious attempt to get us out of the way so that they can undermine the union. They are hoping that if we get sent down or at least have a criminal record they will be able to get us out the door.'

It would be handy for the Engineering Employers Federation in future strikes if they have cracked other strikers with

the help of the law. If they win this case it will be another nail in the coffin of industrial action in general and picketing in particular.'

But the bosses are not going to have it all their own way. Already they have been forced to pay the two men for the time they have lost in court because Ed Murphy raised the issue of the 'no victimisation' clause in the settlement and the bosses realised he had the 100 per cent backing of his members.

Their next court appearance is on 5 November at Strangeways magistrates court in Manchester. If the police decide they have enough evidence to proceed the two men will elect to go to the Crown Court for trial by jury. So far there has been maximum support from APEX and all the costs are being borne by the union, but 5 November will be a day in which members of other unions will be able to show their support as well.

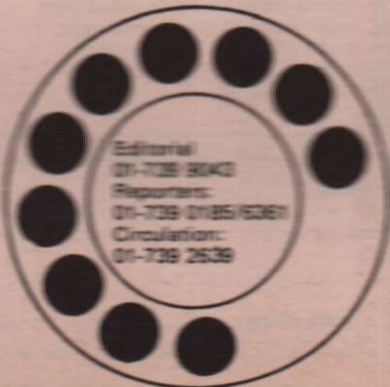
Messages of support to: The Area Secretary, APEX House, Kingsway, Levenshulme, Manchester 19.

GAY MARXIST NO 3 now out Revolutionary Journal from the marxists within GLF. Price 10p plus postage. Available from Lancaster GLF, 13 Vincent Street, Lancaster, Lancs.

GAY MARXIST CONFERENCE 2 November—4 November Write for details as soon as possible to Gay Marxist Conference, 14 Hope Street, Lancaster, Lancs.

How to fight Phase 3

Don't miss a major article next week by TONY CLIFF



Union and Labour council unite to stop firemen's Phase 3 fight

GLASGOW FIREMEN were planning to meet this week to decide their next steps. Last week they voted to give the Glasgow Corporation a last chance to increase its offer of a £2 per week rise before they took strike action.

But this week has seen no improvement in the Labour-controlled corporation's offer. Instead of standing up to the Tory government's wage controls, the Labour councillors are hiding behind them.

They say they are 'sympathetic to the firemen, but cannot give any more.' They are also not prepared to promise that the extra

by Steve Jefferys

local allowance will be consolidated into the firemen's basic rate—£25.66 for a compulsory 48-hour week. The councillors want to be able to absorb this payment in any future national increase.

The national executive of the Fire Brigades Union has been brought in to help Glasgow Corporation and the Tory wage controls. Terry Parry, the general secretary, has told the 22-man area committee of fire station delegates

that the union will take away their credentials if the firemen strike.

Enoch Humphreys, the president, said that the union was completely opposed to any local allowances. He would try and win rises of between £5.30 and £7 for all firemen next April.

Since the April 1974 settlement would be completely contrary to Phase Three, many of the Glasgow firemen would prefer to see signs that Humphreys is ready to back them in the here and now rather than have to pay increased rents and prices out of promises.

BOSS: I WISH I HAD SHOT PICKETS

A COACHLOAD of flying pickets went from North Wales to Shrewsbury in September 1972, successfully spreading the national building workers' strike. The trial of six of the pickets began on 3 October.

John Carpenter, Eric Tomlinson, Des Warren, John McKinsie Jones, Kenneth O'Shea and John Llywarch are all pleading not guilty to conspiring to intimidate workers to abstain from work, unlawful assembly and fighting and making an affray.

The prosecution is still presenting its witnesses: lump building workers, site managers and policemen. This is a conspiracy trial, but it is the events of 6 September 1972 that are being scrutinised in every detail.

On Monday three policemen appeared in the witness box. Their evidence confirmed the pickets' arrival and departure at three sites in Shrewsbury with a meeting held in a canteen, one in the open air, an alleged attack on a hut, an alleged harassing of a photographer.

None of the three witnesses would admit to having paid much attention to what was actually said at these meetings—though they intervened to 'calm down' speakers when they felt they were getting carried away.

Superintendent Brooke described how he had stood in the doorway of the canteen hut on the Mount Street site when Des Warren was addressing workers. Brooke claimed that when one of the Mount Street workers asked, 'Who's going to feed my wife and two kids?' Warren replied: 'Who do you think has fed me the last 11 weeks? You fucking scabs, if we come down here again and find you at work we'll fucking kill you!' Brooke said he advised Warren to moderate his tone, which he did.

PC Ellis described an open-air meeting

SW Reporter

at the Seven Meadows site. Ellis stated that one of the builders still working said: 'We're satisfied with what we're getting, so why should we go on strike?' Defence counsel John Platts-Mills pressed Ellis on Warren's reply. Ellis said he 'had calmed Warren down' but had not heard Warren's reply to what Platts-Mills described as 'the key question'.

Evidence about the events at the Mount Street site was given by Mr Wilde, a self-employed plumber. He had thought it 'better to stop work' when the pickets told him to pack up and get off the site 'The ones I saw were not too bad, their expressions were a bit rough, that's all.'

Robert Craig, a photographer working for the Shropshire Star, described his attempts to take photographs on the Weir site. He asserted that he had been surrounded by 15 to 20 pickets. One suggested throwing his camera into the river, another shouted: 'Throw him in the river.'

Mr Craig said that he thought the pickets 'meant what they said' and that he was terrified. Platts-Mills asked Craig if he had any objections to making available copies of the photographs he had taken on the Kingswood site. Craig then said, 'they were the property of

the Shropshire Star.' Platts-Mills pointed out that the editor had refused the defence copies of the photographs.

Platts-Mills put it to him that any working man suspected that if he was photographed in any attitude at all hostile to employers, he feared that he would be put on a black list. He suggested Ellis should imagine his attitude if policemen found it necessary to use their truncheons on a crowd, and a photographer tried to take pictures.

Nearby in Telford on the Brookfield site witnesses described how the pickets had come on to the site. They threw bricks through windows claimed Mr Blackham, a bricklayer. He had been working on a 15-foot scaffold when he saw 40 to 50 pickets approach him.

They were shouting 'fucking scabs' and throwing stones. One stone hit him, cutting him over the eye and making him feel groggy. He fell to his knees. He said that two of the pickets seemed genuinely concerned. They helped him from the ladder. He needed two stitches.

William Barlow, managing director of Barlows Ltd, joinery contractors for the same site, said that when the pickets came on to the site a brick was thrown through his office door. He left 'very annoyed that we didn't have four machine guns on the top of the site because that was the only way we could have stopped them.'

Not everyone agreed with Barlow. Another witness described how there had been an orderly meeting in the site manager's office between representatives of the pickets and the site manager.

PO workers fight Phase 3

THE MOST popular strike for many years is to be extended for at least another week.

Seven hundred key workers in the higher grades of the Post Office are on official strike over a Beat-Phase-3 pay claim for 65,000 workers, supported by four trade unions: the Civil and Public Services Association, the Society of Civil Servants, the Post Office Management Staffs Association and the Telephone Contact Staffs Association.

The main effect of the strike has been a complete stop on the distribution of all telephone bills. Other no less devastating effects have been the stopping of all imports at Heathrow airport (which are controlled by a Post Office computer) and, for the same reason, the closure of the Phoenix Assurance company.

The unions, together with members of the Union of Post Office Workers, claimed originally that they were 'anomalies' under Phase 2 and deserved a better increase than £1 plus 4 per cent.

The Pay Board disagreed, and the UPW promptly led its troops out of battle.

The other unions went ahead with their action, and have now decided to extend the action

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

ACCORDING to Ken Gill, incoming general secretary of TASS, the supervisory section of the engineering union, the AUEW executive has 'a disposition to take up the fight' against the savage seizure of £100,000 of its assets by the National Industrial Relations Court. That is certainly better than showing a disposition to lie down and be walked over, but it is hardly a clarion call for action.

The NIRC could not have made its position clearer. It is out to end the AUEW's boycott of the Industrial Relations Act by inflicting prohibitive fines. Sir John Donaldson seized on a particularly blatant denial of trade union rights, the refusal of the Con-Mech management to recognise the AUEW and its victimisation of stewards, and backed the employer up to the hilt. No doubt Donaldson calculated that here was a case the union could not dodge or allow to go by on the basis of passive resistance.

The NIRC has chalked up a number of significant successes in the last year. One of the most important is the TGWU decision, influenced by fear of fines, to instruct its drivers that they should respect picket lines only in cases approved in advance by the union executive. The AUEW is now alone in seriously persisting in the original TUC policy of non-co-operation with the Act. After all the sound and fury they created in 1972, the great majority of trade union leaders have backed down and accept in practice what the TUC then called 'a vicious piece of anti-union legislation'.

Increasingly the idea is being put about that in the struggle against the Act, and equally in the struggle against the wage restrictions imposed by the government, the great thing is to return a Labour government. Meanwhile, brothers, don't rock the boat. Joe Gormley, with an eye to the miners' delegate conference says: 'It is my feeling this year that if we had a national conflict, Ted and his lads might go to the country... they might possible go to the country on that one issue and win it.'

The reality is very different. The Labour Party is certainly pledged to repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. It is also pledged to put something—unspecified—in its place. It is only necessary to think back to Barbara Castle's In Place of Strife to get an idea of what the Labour Party leaders have in mind. The Labour Party is opposed to Heath's so-called incomes policy. It is also committed to an 'incomes policy' of its own.

The truth is that what a Labour government would do, or for that matter what the Tories do now, depends on what working-class resistance or the lack of it allows them to get away with. One thing Ken Gill said at the Liaison Committee conference last Saturday was absolutely right. 'There is no road other than industrial action.' The need is to organise it.

If the NIRC is able to win the Con-Mech case it will go forward to further and still more far-reaching attacks on trade union organisation. The wages struggle, already severely handicapped by Phase Three, will be further weakened. There must be industrial action in support of the AUEW, despite the executive's refusal on Tuesday to give an effective lead. The NIRC and the government can be beaten and will be beaten if there is massive action. Every militant must bring home to his fellow workers the importance and urgency of the issue.

IMPEACH THEM ALL!

EVERY WEEK brings new evidence of depths of corruption and cynicism in the US government. That champion of the 'free world' Richard Nixon is determined to suppress the facts about his involvement in burglary, conspiracy and fraud even if he has to sack half his own appointed men to do so.

But what of his opponents? The Senate Watergate committee was prepared to accept a compromise whereby the White House tapes would be played to Senator John Stennis of Mississippi who would then decide if they incriminated Nixon. Stennis is a life long segregationist, a politician so reactionary as to make Enoch Powell look like a dangerous liberal. He is also 71, in poor health, hard of hearing and particularly concerned to get military orders placed in Mississippi. It isn't just Richard Nixon but the whole American capitalist system that needs to be impeached.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2

International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet 5p

Defend the North Wales 24
PICKETS ON TRIAL



As the Shrewsbury 'conspiracy trial' of the North Wales 24 drags on, solidarity support and action throughout the trade union movement is vital.

This new IS pamphlet is invaluable—outlining the background to the trial, the sinister police-bosses-government line-up and its implications for all workers' organisations.

5p a copy plus 3p post: 12 copies or more post free from Industrial Department International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Middle East: is peace possible?

RUSSIA and the US are attempting this week to cook up a peace settlement in the Middle East. They are motivated solely by their anxiety to protect their worldwide interests and to maintain their new policy of 'detente' rather than any desire to see an end to the slaughter in Sinai and the Golan Heights.

But is a real peace possible? This special factual background to the Middle East crisis makes clear that peace and harmony can come about only with the destruction of the Zionist regime and a socialist Middle East with full rights for minorities.

Zionism and Palestine

At the beginning of the century all the Middle East belonged to Turkey. Palestine was 85 per cent Arab in population. Rich Arab landowners exploited the poor peasants.

Zionism was a political movement just developing at the same time amongst the Jews of East and Central Europe. The Jews in these areas were living in great poverty and subject to persecution. Three solutions were put forward:

Emigration—hence most Jews in Britain and USA today.

Revolution—to overthrow the social system that breeds racialism; hence large number of Jews involved in Russian revolution, from Trotsky downwards.

Zionism. This says anti-semitism (racialism against Jews) is inevitable. Instead of fighting it, Jews should set up an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. Lots of anti-semites had no objection to this (just as Powell is in favour of big grants to immigrants to 'go home'.)

Britain and the Balfour Declaration

One such anti-semitite was Balfour, a British Tory who at the turn of the century supported a Powell-type campaign to keep Jewish immigrants out of Britain. In 1917, as foreign secretary he issued the 'Balfour declaration' which supported the idea of 'Jewish National Home' in Palestine. After World War I, Britain took Palestine off Turkey, and promised to help the Zionists.

Why Zionism was anti-Arab

Because the Zionists wanted a purely Jewish state, they had to keep Arabs out of their society from the first. This was hard, especially as the Arabs were poorer and would work for less. The Zionists insisted that Jewish employers should only employ Jews. The Zionist 'trade unions' (no Arabs admitted) struck against employers who hired Arabs. Arab farmers were boycotted by Jews.

How the State of Israel came about

1948: By this time Palestine was roughly half million Jews—mainly refugees from Hitler—and one million Arabs. The Zionists decided to go for an independent state. They stopped backing Britain, and got support from US (and Russia) instead.

Massacres

UN voted to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews, with Arabs in a majority, even in the proposed 'Jewish' state. Fighting breaks out between Jews and Arabs, and 300,000 Arabs fled by May 1948, when Israel declared independence.

The Arab states intervened. Israelis ended the war with more land and fewer Arabs. Post-1948 Israel had only 165,000 Arabs as against 800,000 in the same area before the war. Most were frightened out by a few judicious massacres or physically chased out with a few hours' notice.

Of all Jewish-owned land in pre-1967 Israel, only 10 per cent was Jewish-owned before 1948. The Palestine Arabs were robbed of their country, houses and land and left to rot in refugee camps across the frontier.

Israel and the Arabs 1948-1967

Whenever Palestinian refugees tried to

cross the border to their former lands, and attack those now occupying them, Israeli troops would cross the ceasefire lines in 'reprisal raids'. In 1956 Israel joined Britain and France in the Suez aggression against Egypt.

In 1967 Israel attacked the Arabs again, and occupied Sinai, the Golan Heights and the West Bank. What the Israelis mean by 'peace' is that they should be left with what they have taken from the Palestinians, with the approval of the Arab states. They are not willing to negotiate with the Palestinians about the terms on which they are to be allowed back to their own homes.

Inside Israel

Arabs: With more and more Arab land confiscated, young Arabs were forced to leave their villages to work as labourers in the towns, for low wages, mostly unorganised. This has increased since the 1967 war.

There is a definite trend to a 'South African' situation, with Arab contract labour, unorganised, brought in from the occupied territories each day. They receive no social benefits, no holiday pay, no pensions, no rights to severance pay.

A recent article in an Israeli paper says that wages paid to Arab labourers on Jewish farms for a 17 or 18 hour working day falls short of the wages paid for an



Egypt's Sadat: worried by workers' militancy

eight-hour day to a Jewish farm-hand.

Oriental Jews: Half the Israeli Jews are of European origin, the other half come from Arab countries. The Oriental Jews are half the population, two thirds of the unskilled workers, but only 10 per cent of the MPs. A movement known as the 'Black Panthers' has been formed amongst the Orientals to fight racialism against them.

The myth of 'socialist Israel': Ten per cent of the Israeli population earn and own more than the bottom 50 per cent put together. The Kibbutzim contain only 3 per cent of the population and are mostly located, even the 'left' ones, on confiscated Arab land.

They admit no Arab members, and increasingly employ hired labour. A recently imprisoned Israeli socialist described a fruit-canning company owned by a group of kibbutzim in Galilee: 'Pri Hagalil ended the year with a net profit of £70,000. The workers, most of them from the Hazor village, live in sub-human conditions and subsist on salaries of £45 a month or less. In local slang, Pri Hagalil is called Auschwitz.'

The Zionist 'trade union' called Histadrut was originally formed to make



Desert graveyard for dead Arab soldier

sure Jewish employers hired no Arabs. Until a few years ago, Arabs were barred from membership. It is very bureaucratic, and according even to left Zionists, breaks more strikes than it supports.

The reason for the 'socialist' elements in Israeli society is simply that the business of settling Arab land and building up a Zionist society for Jews only was not profitable to private enterprise.

The Arab States

The people of the Middle East are exploited by the Western Oil Companies and the local rulers, whether medieval sheiks or army colonels. The current fight between the oil-producing states and the West over oil prices, is just a fight about how much of the oil profits should go to the oil companies, how much to the Arab ruling classes.

The military and middle-class regimes cannot modernise their countries by taking over imperialist interests and carrying through a land reform as they are too closely tied to imperialism and afraid to mobilise the workers and peasants in a struggle.

In Egypt, and to a lesser extent Iraq, there is a large and increasingly militant working class. The Arab ruling classes hope to keep the workers quiet by showing that they are fighting Israel.

Only the working class can appeal, on a class basis, to the Israeli workers, and convince them that an Arab victory would not mean that they would be thrown into the sea. The socialist revolution will overthrow Arab and Israeli regimes; but the racist nature of Israel means that any Israeli regime will oppose the Arab revolution.

That is why we support the national struggle of the Arabs against Zionism despite the reactionary nature of the Arab regimes. Because of their reactionary nature, they cannot put up a real fight against Zionism.

Opposed

That is why the Arab states put down the Palestinian guerrillas. Their struggle tended to threaten the Arab regimes, though the guerrilla leaders opposed any fight against the Arab regimes. The only way forward is through the building of a working-class party on an all-Middle East basis, with a programme including equal rights for all minorities, including Jews and Kurds.

Two Questions Answered

Aren't the Jews entitled to a state of their own after all their persecution? Where else could the victims of Hitler, or the Russian Jews today go?

As we have seen, the idea of Zionism is not to fight anti-semitism. The Zionists co-operated with the Nazis up to 1939 in getting German Jews to Israel. At the

same time, they opposed moves to allow Jewish refugees into America and Britain as this would 'separate the question of the refugees from the question of Palestine.'

After the last war, Zionist organisations denied assistance to any Jewish survivors of the concentration camps who did not want to go to Palestine. They wanted a situation where they could argue that 'Palestine is the only place Jews can go' so that the survivors of the camps could be used as cannon-fodder against the Arabs.

The racialism practised against the Jew in Europe can never justify Zionist racialism against the Arabs.

The Russian Jews have recently been in the news. Revolutionaries deny the right of the bureaucracy to restrict the freedom of movement of any Russian whatever their nationality.

Racialism

The Zionists, however, are only interested in the Jewish victims of Stalinism, and then only as long as they want to go to Israel. Those who want to stay in Russia and fight alongside the working class and the other oppressed national minorities for a revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy get no help from the Zionist publicity machine.

The Arabs have every right to prevent people getting to Israel who will be used against the Arabs whose place they have taken. Zionism is part of the system that causes racialism, and is an enemy of the Jews as well as of the Arabs.

Granted that Israel is a tool of Western imperialism, isn't Egypt, and Syria too, a puppet of Russian imperialism, which is just as bad? Should we not therefore be neutral?

This argument totally fails to understand in what way Israel is tied in with imperialism. The basic structure of Israeli society is based on a racist concept which makes Israel a necessary channel of imperialist influence against the Arab states.

The Arab states certainly try to get as much help as they can from the Stalinist states, and the Stalinists try to use them for their own ends. But the Russians' aim, because of their detente with Washington, is to prevent a real fight against Zionism and encourage the Arab leaders to do a deal with Israel.

The Arabs are as entitled to receive help from the Russians as were the Vietnamese. The Russians are as likely to use that aid to bring pressure for a compromise solution as they were in Vietnam. As in Vietnam the crucial question is not whether this or that imperialism is trying to use one side or the other. They always do. The question is, is either side actually a puppet of imperialism?



Arab workers hold the key

WHY ARE the present rulers of the Arab states unable to carry through a successful fight against Zionism?

Since President Sadat took over after the death of Nasser in 1970, his foreign policy has been marked by two themes. One has been a string of melodramatic but unfulfilled threats against Israel—the 'year of decision' was followed by 'inevitable confrontation', then 'total confrontation'.

At the same time he has been putting out feelers for a better relationship with the USA—feelers which in 1972 involved a public break with Russia. When this policy failed he had to try and repair his links with Moscow.

Sadat's foreign policy has inevitably been linked to a repressive policy at home. As one left-wing critic put it a year ago: 'President Sadat cannot declare war against Israel, he will have to declare war against the Egyptians instead.'

Egypt is a country where huge inequalities persist, and massive corruption exists alongside deep poverty. Sadat has reversed even some of the moderate reforms carried through by Nasser. Sections of the economy have been denationalised, and King Farouk's royal palace, turned into a museum and public park by Nasser, has been taken over for Sadat's personal use.

Some Egyptian workers still earn as little as £7 a month, but wage increases granted earlier this year were only 8.8 per cent for workers, but 15.7 per cent for bureaucrats.

Sadat's balancing act has meant that he has met opposition from both left and right but the biggest challenge to his regime has come from the students, many of whom come from lower middle class families. In January 1972 and again in January 1973 there were massive demonstrations of students which met savage repression.

Struggle

The demands raised by the students represented a high level of understanding of the connection between the struggle against imperialism and the class struggle at home. On the one hand they called for a real struggle against Zionism, which would mean mass involvement of the people and full support to the Palestinian organisations.

On the other hand they called for an attack on the privileges of the wealthy, and an upper limit on salaries of no more than ten times the minimum wage. They also declared full support for the struggle of steel and textile workers.

Sadat's response was a wave of repression, involving arrests of students, intellectuals, and workers. The concentration camp at Kharga Oasis, with a capacity of 3000, was reopened. And Sadat attempted to smear and discredit the movement with talk of 'foreign agitators'.

The real danger to Sadat was that the students' example might be taken up by the working class. So far workers have only made a limited response, but there have been some sharp struggles.

In March 1972, textile workers at the Shubra el-Khaima mills in Southern Cairo went on strike, demanding a seven-hour day and the extension to the private sector of social benefits available in the public sector. Following a lock-out, the workers were attacked by a massive force of police and more than 200 ended up in hospital.

In the short term the war will serve to cover over the social conflicts inside Egypt. Workers and peasants who want to fight for the Palestinian cause will be willing to line up behind Sadat.

But in the longer term, whatever the outcome of the war, Sadat will not be able to solve the social and economic problems of Egypt. And the Zionist bogeyman will not always be sufficient to dampen down social discontent.

Moreover, it is the workers, peasants and students of Egypt who offer a real challenge to the power of Zionism. Their demands that the struggle against Israel be combined with the struggle for social transformation could catch the ear of the oppressed sections of Israeli society, especially the Oriental Jews.

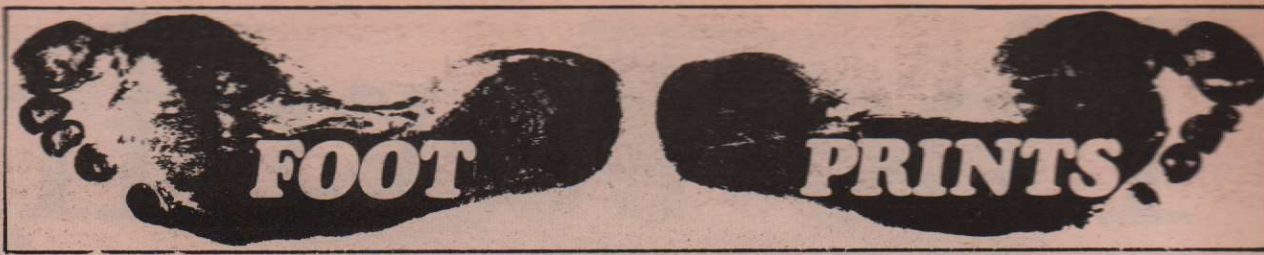
Sadat, wallowing in luxury in King Farouk's palace, can scarcely hope to do that. For him the only approach is lobbying in Washington and Moscow. And that can bring nothing but defeat to the forces of Arab revolution.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

ONE of the worst dangers of the complex situation in Ireland, and one which seems to have been almost ignored by the British Government in its policy of alienating (perhaps unintentionally) the largely working-class Protestants, is the emergence of a common "Socialist" (ie Communist) front which would include both Catholic and Protestants.

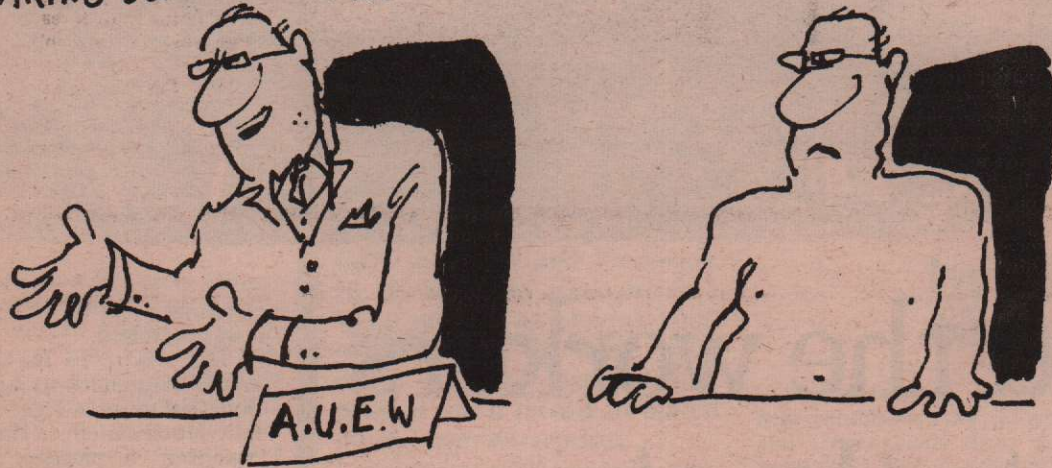
Religious bigotry and primitive tribal loyalties are the generally accepted reasons for the troubles of Ulster. But why should we assume that Ulster alone is immune from the growing power of secularism and internationalism in the world?

PETER SIMPLE, arch-reactionary bigot and columnist in the Daily Telegraph, Tuesday 9 October.



Evans

WHY FIGHT?
-THEY'LL SOON GET FED UP
TAKING OUR MONEY...



CHRYSLER : UNDERNEATH THE ARCHIE

THE striking electricians at Chrysler, Coventry, have decided to pay no attention to pleas to return to work pending an 'impartial' inquiry into their wage claim by an 'impartial' committee. Perhaps they had made a few inquiries into the impartiality of the committee's chairman, Professor Archie Campbell.

The Professor is an impartial economics lecturer at Dundee University, where he sits (impartially) on the establishment and promotions committee, the disciplinary committee—which checks on the political records of students—and, most impartially, on the military education committee—which supervises the Officer Training Corps, the Royal Navy Reserves and the RAF Reserves at Dundee, St Andrews and Stirling Universities.

For two years from 1962 he served as impartial 'consultant' to the Secretary of State for Scotland—an impartial Tory called Michael

Noble who later became chairman of Associated Fisheries. Fish is one of the main subjects over which Professor Campbell has pontificated in all kinds of impartial committees during the past 10 years.

But Professor Campbell is at his most impartial when he sits on the board of Sidlaw Industries, the jute-to-property combine which is one of the biggest employers in Dundee. The company's jute factories employ more than 3000 people in conditions of the utmost squalor, and pay some of the lowest wages paid to trade unionists in Britain.

MOGULS

Profits have been down in recent years due to an unfortunate little local difficulty in Bangla Desh, where the jute comes from. But Sidlaw's interim statement last month indicates that the bad years are over.

The company is reaping it in from the North Sea boom, and its partly-owned subsidiary, Seaforth Maritime is busily servicing oil rigs off the Scottish coast. Any vague connection between the oil industry and the motor car industry would be entirely irrelevant to Professor Campbell's impartiality.

The Sidlows board includes some distinguished moguls from other Scottish boardrooms. The president is Sir William Walker of Clydesdale Bank and Scottish Television. The chairman is Sir John Carmichael of Fisons, National Commercial Bank to Scotland and Grampian Television. The managing director is J M Weir from the huge Weir engineering group.

All in all, Professor Campbell takes a heavy dose of impartiality every time he goes to a Sidlows board meeting and every time he pockets his handsome 'emolument'—directors' emoluments UP last year from £26,151 to £63,581.

The professor will know everything about multi-national companies when he comes to look at the Chrysler situation. Sidlows have done a deal with the Colox Corporation of Dalton, Georgia, merging all their textile concerns.

The chairman's statement on the merger spoke of a 'broader base' to Sidlows as a result, which was not a reference to the stomach of the impartial Professor Archie Campbell.

Express to Rhodesia

THE popularity of Cummings, the Daily Express 'cartoonist' (specialities black people and trade unionists), clearly knows no bounds.

Apart from his regular appearances on Britain's breakfast tables, he's popular abroad too. As a reminder for immigrants from Britain of what they miss most about the old country he appears regularly in the Rhodesia Herald, with funny little pictures of dangerous left-wingers waving pistols behind that well-known Bolshevik, Harold Wilson.

Overtime

OVERTIME is not all sweat. Monocontainers Ltd, Britain's biggest manufacturer of plastic cups, has increased profits over the past six months from £71,000 in the same period last year to £86,000. The chairman's report makes it clear the firm's success this year is due to the extra tea drunk in canteens and off trolleys by people working overtime.

Rule of Law

TRAINEE SOLICITOR SACKED FOR CRITICISMS



THE Law Society, the solicitors' cartel, has sacked Vince Sheppard, the elected chairman of its Associate Members' Group because he publicly attacked the legal profession.

Vince Sheppard took part in a programme in BBC television's Open Door series on 8 October. He started off the programme by saying: 'I'm a trainee solicitor. Yet I know nothing about social welfare law. I've been trained by the Law Society, like most other solicitors, to serve the needs of the propertied and moneyed classes.'

Later in the programme Vince spoke about 'the commercial property bias in the law'. He complained about the restrictive practices

of solicitors and the Law Society, and the exploitation of articulated clerks.

Rich, fat lawyers all over the country exploded in rage. The Law Society formally asked the BBC to cut Vince Sheppard's contribution from the repeat of the programme. The programme's producer, when asked what his reaction would be to such a request, replied: 'I would give the verbal equivalent of two fingers.' The repeat was televised uncut.

Revenge

Lord Justice Lawton, one of the most influential judges in the country, wrote to the BBC protesting about the programme.

Meanwhile, at Torquay, the Law Society bosses, who were meeting

for their annual conference, plotted to get their revenge on Sheppard.

Vince was in Torquay as the newly elected chairman of the Associate Members (articled clerks) Group. On the first day of the Conference, 11 October, a meeting of the group was quickly called by the association, and Vince was told by the few members present that he had been 'removed' as chairman.

The Law Society Gazette of 17 October reported on its front page: 'Vince Sheppard was invited to tender his resignation as a result of his failure adequately to account for the unfortunate statements made by him on the BBC programme, Open Door.' In other words, he was being sacked for his views.

When some lawyers protested that this was not a very good example of the 'rule of law in a free society' as propounded by the Law Society, the society called another meeting of the Associate Members' Group on Sunday 14 October and sacked Vince again, this time for a transparently bogus 'constitutional' reason.

Vince Sheppard has received scores of letters from all over the country from articled clerks and young lawyers protesting at the Law Society's action.

Anyone who still wants to know about the 'neutrality' of the law, can write for information to the Law Society, Chancery Lane, London WC2.

Parliamentary perks

THERE was no voting last week in the elections to office for the parliamentary Labour Party. The leader, deputy leader and chief whip were all elected unopposed, which gave Labour members more time to take part in the ballot for seats at the royal opening of parliament. There were, I understand, only 120 seats facing the throne in Westminster Hall, plus standing room on either side for another 250. The ballot for these places was keenly contested.

Unlucky applicants were quick to drown their disappointment by apply-

ing for the generous facilities to members of the Inter Parliamentary Union delegation to Rumania from 20-28 November and to Belgium from 26-30 November.

An even more significant trip to Italy, organised by the Anglo-Italian Parliamentary group, alias Carol Johnson, ultra-right Labour MP for Lewisham South, has been postponed, but Mr Johnson is promising his friends that the association has an even bigger treat in store for its supporters: a free trip to Venice in the spring, all expenses paid.

KISS ME, TATE & LYLE

TATE AND LYLE, the mighty sugar company, are complaining that they will have to sack all their British refinery workers unless the company continues to receive a huge subsidy from the European Common Market.

During the government's campaign for Common Market entry in 1970 and 1971, Tate and Lyle were one of the Market's most consistent supporters. A company spokesman told me in early 1972: 'We are pro-government and pro-Europe.'

Which reminds me. Aims of Industry, the 'free enterprise' organisation, has produced a document calling passionately for a £5-a-ton Common Market

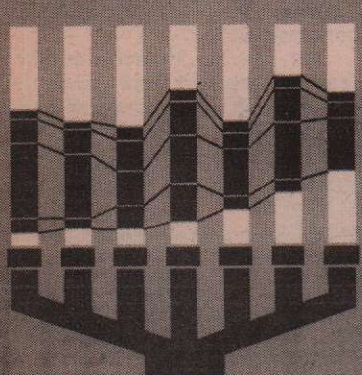
subsidy for sugar refined by British private companies.

This might seem an odd posture for as ruthless a 'stand on your own two feet' propaganda group as Aims of Industry. The following four facts may help to explain it.

- 1 The president of the council of Aims of Industry is Sir Ian Lyle.
- 2 The president of Tate and Lyle is Sir Ian Lyle.
- 3 The biggest industrial contributor to Aims of Industry is Tate and Lyle.
- 4 John Lyle is chairman of Tate and Lyle and a member of the Aims of Industry Council.

Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, Akiva Orr

The Class Nature of Israeli Society



The Class Nature of Israeli Society by Hanegbi, Machover and Orr. Three Israeli socialists analyse Israeli society and argue that a rejection of its Zionist basis is the precondition for any breakthrough in the Middle East.

Published by Pluto Press/available from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, 10p plus 4p postage and packing (10 or more copies post free).

The turning point

From March to June 1848 hymns to liberty and fraternity had resounded from Paris to Poznan and Bucharest, from Holstein to Sicily. Two great states alone escaped the contagion: industrial England, capitalist and liberal, and agricultural Russia, feudal and autocratic.

The revolutions of 1848 were the most widespread ever until 1917-19. 1848 saw the last large-scale attempts at middle-class revolution in Europe. It saw too, the first large-scale intervention of a political working-class movement with aims of its own.

The two facts are, of course, connected. In the field of ideas, 1848 saw European nationalism turn from a progressive force into a partly reactionary one, and socialism become, for the first time, a significant political movement.

The Communist Manifesto appeared in 1848 and some of the most important political writings of Marx and Engels are based on their experiences in 'the year of revolutions'.

Why in 1848? The great French revolution of 1789-94 had completely destroyed the remains of feudalism in France and led to 23 years of war in which feudal Europe had been shaken to its foundations.

Shaken but not destroyed. In 1814-15 the final defeat of France by an all-European coalition appeared 'to set the seal on the triumph of reaction'.

The Russian, Austrian and Prussian empires established a 'Holy Alliance' which, guided by 'the principle of Christianity', was to uphold by force 'legitimacy', otherwise known as the 'Divine Right of Kings', all over Europe.

In fact the restoration of the old order was only partial. In France itself the Bourbon kings, of whom it was said, 'they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing', were restored. But the peasants kept the land and the capitalist legal system remained in force.

Feudalism was not and could not be restored. And in the Netherlands, western Germany, Switzerland and a good part of Italy, all occupied by the French during the wars, the same thing was true.

Savage

Absolute monarchs ruled (except in Switzerland) over basically capitalist societies. It was a situation as unstable as that in England between the restoration of the Stuart Kings in 1660 and the revolution of 1688.

East of the Elbe and the Alps it was a very different matter. Serfdom remained common. The privileges of the nobility flourished.

The middle classes, let alone the peasants and workers, were excluded from all power. There was no equality before the law. Jews were confined to their ghettos and political or even religious dissent was savagely repressed. The middle ages were still alive.

One feature of the restored 'old order' needs special mention. The 'Divine Right of Kings' to rule where their ancestors were supposed to have ruled took no account of language or national feeling.

Germany was divided into 39 states, most of them very small,

each with its absolute ruler. Italy was similarly carved up.

The Austrian Emperor included Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Czechs, Poles, Croats, Slovaks, Serbs, Slovenes, Ukrainians and Rumanians among his subjects. The official language of the Empire was Latin and the fact that it was not understood by ordinary people anywhere was not regarded as a disadvantage. Ordinary people had no business to concern themselves with matters of government.

The ideals of the French revolution were everywhere driven underground but they were not killed. The rights of man, democracy and nationalism were preached by secret revolutionary societies. Already in 1820-21 the Holy Alliance had been compelled to intervene to put down revolutionary movements in Italy and Spain.

Between 1821 and 1827 the Greek people established their independence against their 'legitimate' ruler, the Turkish Sultan. In 1830 the Belgians successfully overthrew the rule of the King of Holland which had been imposed on them in 1815.

There was an unsuccessful Polish rising against the Tsar in the same year and in 1847 the Swiss middle-class radicals overthrew the reactionary constitution of 1815 and



1848—and the workers come onto the stage



defeated the reactionaries in the civil war that followed.

In 1848 the dam burst. The French revolution of February 1848 led to revolution, generally successful at first, over the greater part of Europe.

The last 'legitimate' Bourbon King of France had already been driven out 18 years earlier and replaced by the 'July monarchy' of King Louis-Philippe. But, as Marx wrote, 'Under Louis-Philippe it was not the French bourgeoisie [capitalists] as a whole which ruled but only one fraction of it . . . the so-called financial aristocracy . . . the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie were inevitably in permanent peril and at a permanent disadvantage under this system.'

Legal, 'constitutional' opposition

was ineffective and became more and more difficult as the regime sensed the revolutionary groundswell. Underground societies, some purely middle class and republican, some already partly working class and socialist, planned armed risings.

There were unsuccessful attempts in Paris in 1832 and 1839 and at Lyons in 1834. By February 1848 the different strands of opposition, legal and illegal, from wealthy capitalists to pioneer socialist leaders, had come together in the same agitation for an end to the repression and a 'democratic' government.

Their efforts were reinforced, as in 1789, by an economic crisis but this time it was a capitalist crisis. A big slump had developed in 1847.

Troops

After clashes and shootings in central Paris, barricades were thrown up across the narrow streets of the working class east end, more than 1500 of them, manned by working men and women. The middle-class National Guard would not move against them. The regular troops were influenced by the National Guard, and refused to obey their officers.

Louis-Philippe fled to England and a provisional republican government hastily proclaimed the Second Republic. Liberty, Equality and

fraternity were to be restored, or so it was promised.

This was to be the last time that middle-class and working-class revolutionaries were to fight on the same side. Much earlier, in the English and American revolutions and in the great French revolution, fear of the 'lower orders' had played a big part in the policies of the middle-class leaders. From now on it was to be the main consideration.

Capitalism was developing, a modern working class was coming into existence, a force potentially much greater than the sans-culottes of 50 odd years earlier.

The republicans were forced to proclaim 'The Government of the French Republic binds itself to guarantee the livelihood of the workers by providing work, it will guarantee work for all citizens. It recognises that workers may organise in order to enjoy the fruits of their labour.'

During the next four months the middle-class republicans organised to smash the workers who had forced this concession out of them. In June the republican general Cavaignac was able to use a reconstituted 'republican' army to bloodily suppress the resistance of the socialist-led workers of Paris inflicting, according to the official understatement, at least 10,000 casualties.

Power

This bloodletting paved the way for the end of the Second Republic and the installation of a new Bonapartist dictatorship under Napoleon's nephew in 1852.

Outside France the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria saw their power broken by successful risings in Berlin and Vienna. The Pope was driven out of Rome and a Roman Republic proclaimed.

The Hungarians and Czechs threw off Austrian rule. All over Germany and Italy middle-class revolutionaries appeared to be in control and from Scandinavia to the Balkans rulers hastened to offer constitutions and concessions.

But, as in France, middle-class fear of workers and peasants was

International Socialists pamphlet 10p

PAUL FOOT

WORKERS AGAINST RACISM

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

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

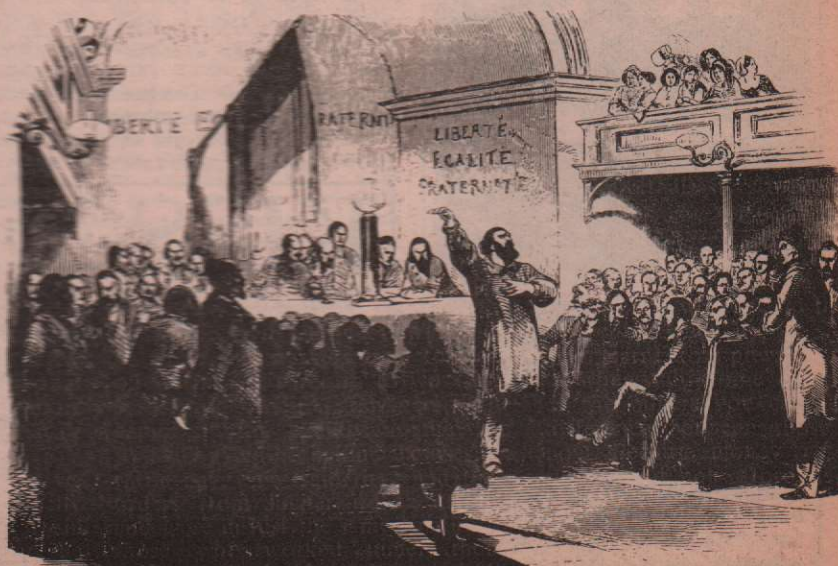
Please send _____ copies of Workers Against Racism

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

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Organisation _____



Back to 'Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood'—a Paris meeting in 1848



1848—and the revolutionary upsurge swept Europe. Above: mass action in Berlin with barricades in the streets and gunfire from the windows.

Left: an uprising in Toledo, Naples again with street barricades and an armed citizenry.

stronger than the will to carry through the capitalist revolution. Engels wrote of the 'National Assembly of the German People', the Frankfurt talking shop as he contemptuously called it, 'This Assembly of old women was, from the first day, more frightened of the least popular movement than of all the reactionary plots of all the German governments put together.' So it was every where.

The reactionaries and the old rulers were able to play on this fear and they were also able to exploit the newly awakened national feelings; setting Czechs against Germans, Croats against Hungarians, Germans against Poles. And with the aid of the Tsar's armies they partly, but only partly, recovered their power.

1848 was the great turning point. From now on the middle classes became more and more conservative. They could no longer produce a Cromwell, a Washington or a Robespierre.

The whole cause of progress, from this time forward, comes to depend on the movement of which we are part—the revolutionary socialist movement based on the working class.

Next: the Paris Commune

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Factory that's the

'closest thing to hell'

by JIM HIGGINS

GKN Forgings and Presswork by Birmingham standards is a small factory, employing 1000 workers. But for noise, accidents and sheer backbreaking work it has a record to match much larger enterprises.

In August, 361 accidents were recorded at the factory and at present there are 58 compensation claims outstanding. But those are just statistics that give no real feeling of what it is like to work there.

As one worker told me: 'The rotating furnaces are operating at 1200 degrees, the continuous noise from the burners is almost as bad as the irregular banging of the drop-hammers and all this takes place in semi-darkness. It's the closest thing to hell you can get and still keep breathing.'

The occupational hazards include: smashed toes—one man has lost five—arteries cut open, mutilated fingers, fractures, nervous disorders and, top of the list, heart trouble and deafness. Another worker calculated that nobody managed to work continuously in the forge until 65 and live.

The most spectacular horror of the place is the noise and heat. The personnel manager is on record as being frightened to go in to the forge.

The management do provide ear muffs which are supposed to protect the hearing but they have two

serious drawbacks. In the extreme heat conditions they fill with sweat and they exclude those significant noises that give warning of impending machine failure or breakage which can lead to a large lethal piece of machinery maiming or even killing somebody.

Another feature of the noise is the vital necessity to learn to lip read. One Pakistani worker lost a hand as a direct result of his unfamiliarity with this form of communicated English.

Danger

If you imagine that an accident trap such as Forgings and Presswork is generous in its compensation offers you would be mistaken. The claims are processed at local level through the Standard Life Insurance assessor, a Mr Whittaker.

His attitude can be shown through a statement he made on one occasion: 'If I had my way you would get nothing.' Mr Whittaker has now, not surprisingly, been blacked. As one steward said: 'As soon as he arrives, we're out.'

Due to strong shop floor organisation, the production piece work rates are reasonably good. But management organisation of production in no way matches the shop

floor. The bitter joke is that the sign over the door should be changed to Forgings and Guesswork.

As a result of management inefficiency—incorrect blueprints, shortage of parts and materials—the amount of non-productive 'down time' averages 20 hours out of 37½ in the forge and 16 hours out of 37½ in the horizontal forging shop.

Until last week, the workers earned less than 50 per cent of their normal piecework pay during down time. But last week the workers returned after a three-week strike that was successful in forcing the employers to pay £1 per hour for down time caused by management inefficiency. 85 per cent of down time is due to inefficient management, which gives an idea of the extent of the workers' victory.

The strike was about the right to work. As everyone I spoke to said: 'It's rotten, noisy, dangerous, back-breaking work, but while we are there we want to get on with it and earn a decent wage.'

As with every successful workers' struggle, this strike will give added force to the fight for better conditions in the factory. But even if everything were done to make the place safe and quiet as possible it would still be noisy and dangerous.

Red hot billets of steel being banged into shape by giant hammers have an inbuilt danger factor. Machinery that is literally destroy-

ing itself in use has a tendency to destroy and cripple those unfortunate enough to be in the way when it bursts.

The missing fingers, the mutilated limbs, the eyeballs burned by hot metal sparks, the deafness and the heart troubles are a monument to the profitable glory of GKN. In the first half of this year, GKN profits doubled to £31.36 million, compared to the same period in 1972. A record profit of £65 million for the year is confidently expected.

Combine

Some of the profit comes from GKN's lucrative enterprises in South Africa, where African workers are legally unable to enjoy any trade union rights. Sir Raymond Brookes, group chairman, admits that many of the South African workers are below the 'poverty datum line'.

Sir Raymond gets £47,000 a year and is not known to have suffered an industrial accident recently.

Guest Keen and Nettlefold are tough employers. In terms of their overall operation the Forgings and Presswork strike has only made a small dent in their armour-plated profits.

But a start has been made. Some time prior to the strike the Birmingham workers initiated the moves for a combine shop stewards committee in the F & P division that was of great value to them in their struggle.

Organisation, rank and file organisation, is the real power that can bring industrial giants of the GKN variety to heel.

URGENT NEED FOR RANK & FILE MOVEMENT

JOHNNY Roberts and Tony Morgan, TGWU and AUEW convenors at GKN Forgings and Presswork, will be going to Belle Vue Manchester for the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on 11 November.

Tony and Johnny, both members of the International Socialists, see the conference as opening up new possibilities for the much-needed fight against Phase Three, the employers and their government. The trade union leaders, they say, both left and right, have not fought and show every sign of not fighting in the future.

'Our experience at GKN has been, if you want to win, keep the officials out,' they said. 'The Labour Party may be making left-wing noises but they are the same old second-class Tories they always were.'

'We have got to rely on the rank and file if we are to get anywhere. In the Forgings and Presswork division of GKN we know that the most valuable development for us has been a combine committee throughout the division.'

'Our paper, GKN Worker, has helped to develop that committee and we hope to develop alliances with other divisions within the group.'

'Now that is an important start but it is not nearly enough. To effectively fight GKN we need something that goes beyond the bounds of the group. The experience at Chrysler shows the need for the rank and file to organise themselves so that they are not the victims of trade union bosses' manoeuvres.'

'The £100,000 fine on the AUEW and the union executive's timid response



are an indication that something is seriously missing. If the AUEW took a decision to bring all their members out, if only for one day, every time there was a fine, it would cost the bosses millions for every £1000 of fines. They would soon stop the fines.

'Every defeat of the Industrial Relations Act has been as the result of ordinary workers taking the initiative, as they did at Pentonville last year. We need a continuing movement that will be able to mobilise in this way on a more organised footing.'

'We are members of IS to provide the political base for such a movement and we will be going to the conference, and taking as many with us as possible, for the same reason.'



TROTSKY'S HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

VOLUME ONE

Three volumes, 50p each, post and packing 7p per volume, 15p the three

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

'The language of the civilised nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as czar, pogrom, knout, October has internationalised such words as Bolshevik, soviet... This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine it needs justification'—Trotsky.



JONATHAN COWLEY AT MARKHAM PIT CRASH DISASTER

AT 6.25 ON THE MORNING of Monday 30 July, the cage winding 29 men down the No 3 shaft at Markham Colliery in Derbyshire plunged out of control down the last 225 feet. Nine men arrived dead at Chesterfield hospital and another nine have died since.

Seven men remain in hospital today and according to Dr Baker 'will be with us for a long time yet.' Only four of those in the cage have been allowed home. Another 60 men were treated for shock after seeing the injuries to chest, spine and lower limbs which Dr Baker described as 'the like of which many of us had not seen before.'

The public inquiry into the disaster was held last week. For the first few hours, when the gruesome injuries to the 29 miners were recounted, the press galleries were full. They stayed to hear winding engineman George Kennan tell how he saw sparks and tried to apply the brake only to find it was 'like picking up a pen—as light as a feather.'

Then they drifted away and little has been written in the national papers about the catalogue of negligence, incompetence and complacency on the part of the Coal Board and its officials shown during the inquiry.

Within 48 hours of the disaster the cause had been established and the NCB had accepted responsibility. A three-inch thick rod at the heart of the braking system had snapped, causing the brakes and all 14 safety devices to fail.

On the third day of the inquiry Douglas Munson, head of the engineering group of the Safety in Mines Research Establishment, gave evidence on the state of the rod. He told the inquiry that the fracture came about as a development of a small crack that had been present in the rod for about two years.

When the rod finally snapped, as the result of severe bending pressure, it was 56 per cent fatigued. He added that under the conditions to which the rod was subjected 'any rod would have fractured. The fracture was inevitable.'

Pressure

The rod had been consistently under a bending pressure of twice what it was designed to withstand. David Fleetwood, assistant mechanical engineer, gave evidence that the rod was impossible to inspect properly as they were expected to do it visually and the greater part of the rod was inaccessible.

He also said that trunnion bearings which, if properly greased, would have reduced the pressure on the rod, could not be lubricated short of dismantling the whole brake. This had never been done.

A production department instruction, which is mandatory on all collieries, issued in 1956 concerning daily and weekly lubricating tasks, has clearly not been complied with at Markham—in fact, could not be complied with in this shaft. Regular checks for cracks in drum shafts and suspension gears, and regular rope changes are laid down by law, yet the whole system depended on one single ordinary steel rod which could be neither checked nor lubricated. On its failure a whole multiplicity of safety devices—14 in all—go by the board.

Official after official went on record at the inquiry, saying they were satisfied with the inspection and lubricating systems in the shaft. Yet in 1952, in a report the NCB will not now release, a Coal Board engineer said that all cradle-type brakes, such as at Markham No 3, should be



Smug complacency killed 18 mi

scrapped.

In 1961, at Ollerton Colliery, not far away, the same part of the braking mechanism fractured as a result of fatigue due to bending stress. On this occasion no one died, and there is no evidence to suggest that the NCB has taken any remedial action at all in the 12 years that have elapsed. Not only were these deaths 'inevitable', therefore, they were also

foreseeable.

Much other evidence came out during the inquiry of the complete failure of the board to take seriously or comply with legal requirements. There is an overwhelming indifference about the safety and training of miners.

As at the Lofthouse and Michael colliery accidents, the emergency telephones failed to operate following the disaster.

Several mechanics and winding enginemen told of two past brake failures in the No 3 shaft during recapping and rope changing operations. The indifferent attitude of officials over these past failures led even Mr Calder, Chief Inspector of Mines and author of the whitewash on the Lofthouse disaster, to tell the unit mechanical engineer, W Fox, that he was not satisfied they had taken sufficient precautions.

Defective

The winding enginemen also gave evidence that brake holding tests were regularly carried out with a current of 1200 amps—well below the 1600 amps legally specified force. The annual inspection of the overwind safety device had not been carried out: Mr Fox told the inquiry that it had 'slipped my mind'.

Yet in later evidence given by Mr Arthur Harvey, area mechanical

engineer, we learnt that when it was tested after the incident it was found to be so defective that it would not have worked at one end of the wind.

Markham is an expanding colliery with substantial plans for development. It is largely dependent on men new to the industry. Ike Carter, NUM branch secretary at Markham No 2 pit, estimates that four skilled men are leaving the pit for every one coming in.

The reasons, he says, are partly to do with the accident and partly because of the failure of

as 'green men' at the face with ins and experience a out of skilled alongside.

Yet the evidence casual attitude safety was over inquiry. In no instructions or given out.

Train

Mr Richard Ke a winding engineer 'code of practice operate the emergency 9 October, the public inquiry evidence that he trained on electric procedure was 'for example no tions about the am brake holding t conducted had be result they tested of 1600—it had down'. None of t ever received job d

Maurice Blyth, engineer, gave evidence calculations meticulously by people.' Yet Pe general secretary Derbyshire NUM, dence that the we and suspension (o calculations deper



EZRA: priority is tons, not men

the miners' wages to maintain the improvement won at the last big strike. Expertise counts for nothing—the miner starts at the bottom and ends there after downgrading from his physical peak.

Even with the new men, Markham pit is only just maintaining its labour force, and there is no development taking place at the moment. Ike is worried that there will be more, rather than less, serious accidents in the future

'Check slippe

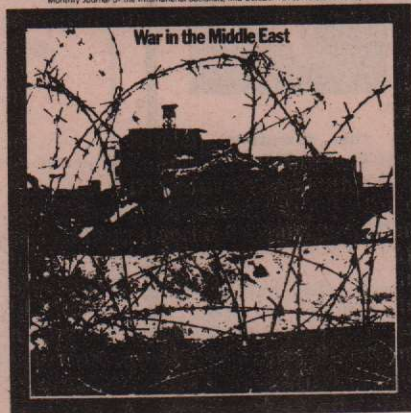
'Israel, as a separate state, can only maintain itself by allying with imperialism.' 'The conflict of industry between bosses and workers over the cost of safety touches the lives of millions. If an army was suffering these casualties it would fight back.'

'... the Communist Party itself has since become a victim of teaching its leading members to seek responsibility.'

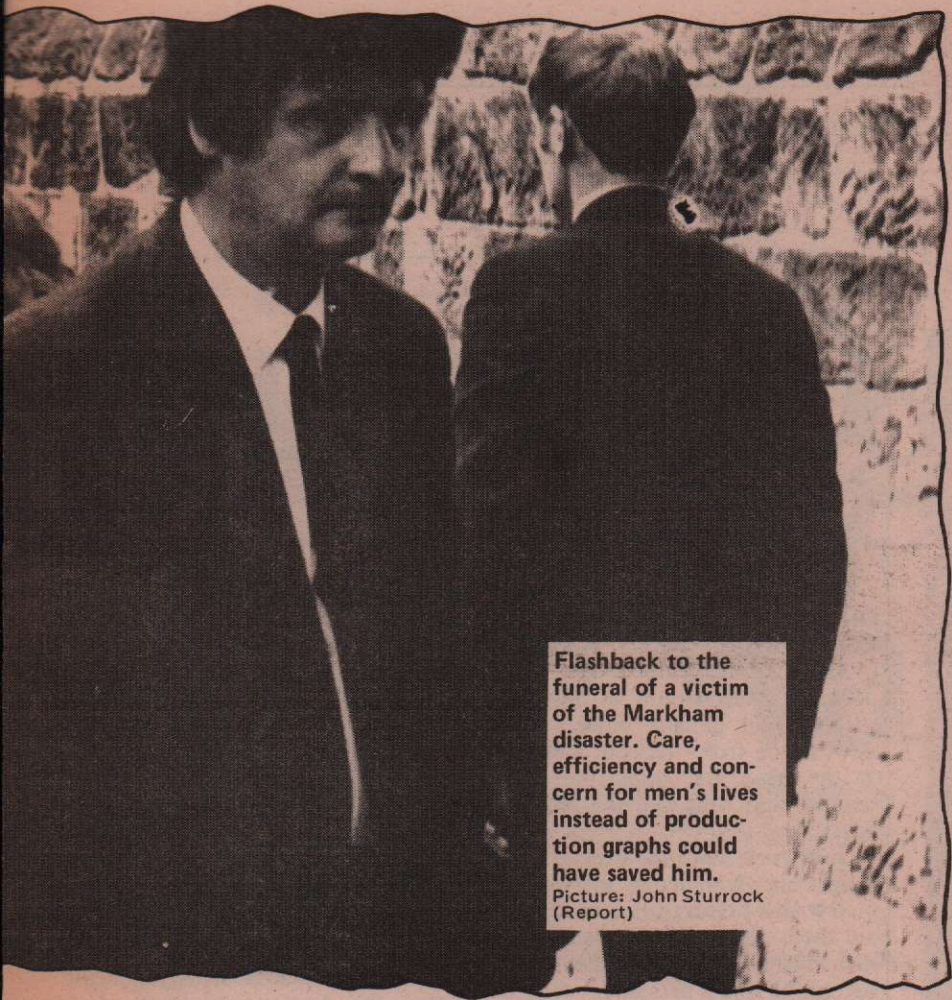
The October issue of the journal of the International Socialists, on the Middle East, industrial hazards, Chile and more.

International Socialism

Monthly Journal of the International Socialists, Mid-October 1973, No 63, Price 15p



20p inc post, £2.10 for a year
IS Journal, Corbridge Works, Corbridge
Crescent, London E2 9DS



Flashback to the funeral of a victim of the Markham disaster. Care, efficiency and concern for men's lives instead of production graphs could have saved him. Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

...ncy that ...iners

...e pushed up to
...efficient training
...nd as they run
...men to work

at the time of the accident while the figure used by the NCB was the weight in 1952-50 cwt. Cages had recently been changed but no NCB official had any idea which was the heavier.

The outlook for the future is not hopeful. Typical of NCB comments at the hearing was that of David Jackson, area maintenance engineer: 'I think it would be difficult to improve the present system of maintenance control.'

Listening to Dr Willett, speaking for the NCB at the inquiry, it was often difficult to believe that 18 men had died and another 11 seriously injured and that this was what the inquiry was about. On the Ollerton case he said: 'The evidence about the Ollerton incident had no bearing whatever on the accident at Markham Colliery.'

'I cannot,' he told the inquiry, 'see any reason why the subject of training has been raised at this inquiry.' His entire concern was not with evidence, with discovering how such a disaster can be prevented from recurring, but with trying to prove that everything ran smoothly at the colliery, that 'on the job' training is satisfactory, that written instructions and efficient control systems are unnecessary—almost, one felt, with proving that the disaster never happened.

As Peter Heathfield put it to Dr Willett: 'If the system were as perfect as you said, then what the hell were we doing here for the past few days?'

In spite of the evidence, there

must be some doubt about what will come out in Mr Calder's report. Often the inquiry seemed only incidentally concerned with finding out the truth: evidence given to the investigating committee set up immediately following 30 July was inadmissible in the court and there were discrepancies between what witnesses said then and what they told the inquiry.

As Peter Heathfield commented in his final submission: 'The passage of time seems to have clouded the minds of some of the witnesses.' What will matter in the end is not what the report says but what miners and the NUM can force the Coal Board to do.

Profit

The evidence of negligence is overwhelming, but so is the indifference and complacency of the NCB. Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra was quite clear on his priorities, speaking of the night of the disaster: 'Everything that could have been done has been done at the pit on which the board has spent a great deal of money and which is expected to build up to a production of more than two million tons a year.'

We now know that very little has been done to secure the lives of the miners who have to bring up this two million tons. The pursuit of profit and high productivity determine Coal Board priorities, not the lives and livelihoods of the men who work the mines.

Just down the road at Glapwell Colliery, the NCB is downgrading men and cutting their wages by £10 a week. They want to force the men to move to Markham so that Glapwell can be closed down, and the payment of redundancy money avoided.

...d my mind...'

WHY STC WAS A VITAL VICTORY

THE STRIKE at the Standard Telephones and Cables' factory in New Southgate, North London, this summer was given a lot of coverage in the national press because it appeared to be a strike about racialism.

It was the management's move in taking a black setter, Roderick Adams, a member of the electricians' union, off training that sparked off the strike, and it was mainly the black workers in the factory that came out on strike in his defence.

One of these was Chester Waldron, an AUEW shop steward, who brought out his section against the management's moves to 'stir things up' in the factory.

'You have to understand the situation in the factory to understand why the strike was so important,' Chester told me. 'In the machine rooms about 85 per cent of the workers are black, yet there is only one black skilled setter, and one other being trained, Roderick Adams.'

''The other setters are all white and almost all in the ETU—which is run along the lines of a club. This is where the discrimination really starts and the management take advantage of it. The strike showed how successful the management can be at using racialism to divide the workers.'

'We weren't too well organised, because it was our first strike, but the worst thing of all was that we didn't even get the support of our unions. All the black shop stewards, and the convenor Ted Corbett, who is white, were on strike but the other 14 white stewards all worked.'

'Even the AUEW district committee failed to make any attempt to take away their cards for working during an official dispute.'

In fact the only thing the AUEW district committee did do was make the strike official. It didn't make any attempt to win support from other AUEW members, organise collections, help with the picketing, or any of the other things that could have been done if the union really intended to fight racialism in this particular factory.

'Although we were few in numbers, we were determined to show the management that we weren't prepared to be intimidated,' Chester said. 'After returning to work it was obvious that we had been more effective than we thought.'

''The management had insisted throughout that production wasn't suffering but since we came back to work they have kept on taking half-finished work onto the assembly line because they are so behind with orders. Heavens knows what will happen in three or four months' time when it all breaks down!'

I asked him what organisation was like in the factory.

'The 14 white shop stewards have never had an argument with the management. When they saw us on strike they only wanted to get us back as soon as possible—especially to save their own face.'

'They even tried to get rid of the convenor during the strike—because he supported it! And now they have succeeded in



Chester Waldron: He'll fight harder and better next time. Picture: Mike Cohen

forcing Ted Corbett to resign. They didn't support us then and they won't support us in the future—whether the fight is against discrimination or for higher wages.

'They aren't interested in the conditions in the factory, the conditions of the women workers or anything. They are only interested in making concessions. The trade union movement already has too many people who are just there to represent what is amicable for everyone, rather than fight for the particular problems of groups of workers.'

'And that is certainly the only way to fight against racial discrimination—you can't fight racialism sitting quietly in a corner somewhere.'

'In some ways it wasn't a victory for the factory because when the management heard that Corbett had resigned they went to the ETU and instructed

them to take Roderick Adams back on training—which they could have done right at the start.

'But for us it is really a victory—Adams is being trained again and by the ETU and now we are much better organised and much stronger than we were.'

'When we first returned to work the management said: "No more meetings during working hours, on the premises." Somehow it was "illegal".'

'But in time we shall get round this. We also now have an IS branch inside the factory which will really enable us to fight against discrimination, and begin to fight for 100 per cent trade unionism.'

'But the real thing is that a strike like this shows up the difference between those who care and will fight, and those who don't care and won't. Next time we shall fight that much harder and that much better.'

Margaret Renn

International Socialist pamphlet 09p

ROGER ROSEWELL

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REVIEW

Turkey: full of eastern prisoners

Deniz Gezmiş walked towards the gallows. He climbed on to the stool with the help of the wardens since he was still handcuffed and the long execution-robe prevented him from moving freely. Once on the stool, he put his head in the noose and shouted:

'Long live the struggle of the people of Turkey for independence! Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples! Down with imperialism!'

The executive prosecutor shouted to the executioner: 'Kick the stool!' The stool was kicked out from under him. Deniz Gezmiş' feet still rested on the table. The table was pulled from under him. It was 1.25am.

General Elverdi stood with his hands on his hips, smoking. The executive prosecutor tried to make a joke about the execution...

Not an excerpt from some dark 18th century tyranny, but an eyewitness account of one of three executions which took place on 5 May 1972 in Turkey. The victims were members of the Turkish Peoples Liberation Army, and had been convicted, along with 17 others, under Article 146 of the Turkish penal code which condemns to death anyone found guilty of forcibly attempting to alter or change the constitution.

Brutal

The penal code is modelled on that of Mussolini in pre-war Italy.

Gezmiş' execution is only one in a catalogue of horrors which Jane Cousins has drawn up in her book: *Turkey, Torture and Political Persecution* (Pluto Press, £1.50). The bulk of the book is a description, in painstaking detail, of the brutal repression since the proclamation of martial law in Turkey in the spring of 1971.

Jane Cousins has visited Turkey, and from her own interviews and from the statements given to representatives of Amnesty International observers, she has pieced together by far the most comprehensive description of the regime.

The atrocities described by so many statements are so similar that any denial of torture is ridiculous. Then there are the mass attacks on all forms of free expression: the round-up of independent-minded school teachers and professors, the ban on all but the most sycophantic government newspapers—whose correspondents act as 'stringers' for the British liberal press, the arrest of leaders of the Turkish Labour Party and of the only independent trade union organisation, DISK, the racist persecution of the Kurds.

Tribute

Jane Cousins shows that all this goes on despite the resistance of one of the largest parties in the Turkish parliament, the Republican People's Party, which, as I write, has just won most seats in the Turkish general elections.

Ecevit, its leader, has protested feebly in parliament, but the brutalities and bans have continued. 'Turkey is neither parliamentary nor democratic,' writes Jane Cousins.

This statement, and all the proof in the book to support it, needs to be compared with that of Julian Amery, parliamentary under secretary at the British Foreign Office, and renowned in the 1930s for his sup-



After the Kizildere massacre, in which Turkish police killed 10 Turkish liberation fighters and three hostages by blowing up the house where they took refuge.

port for Franco during the Spanish Civil War. Said Mr Amery last November: 'I prefer to pay tribute to the enormous efforts made by the Turkish political parties to ensure that parliamentary government is preserved.'

Jane Cousins' book is indispensable not only to people who want to know about Turkey but to everyone who has to deal with the argument that the existence of a parliament and periodic general elections is synonymous with freedom or liberty of any kind.

The book's chief weakness is disarmingly admitted in the last paragraph: 'This book has made no developed analysis of the underlying political and economic conflicts in Turkey which have determined the present crisis.' So although Jane Cousins describes how Turkey's vast 500,000-strong army is enmeshed into its capitalist machine through a huge financial trust called OYAK, in which all army officers automatically hold voting shares, she does not describe the dilemmas and crises in which that capitalism is tangled.

Although she devotes a chapter to Turkey's gradual absorption into the Common Market, she doesn't show how the Turkish economy—with its cheap, regulated labour market—can best serve the new capitalist community.

Finally, worst of all, the horrors of the repression are piled on top of one another without any reference to the struggle out of which they come. There is little about the Turkish working-class movement and the enormous potential strength of its resistance, even in the midst of the terror. So the reader is horrified, enraged, sickened, and finally depressed because it doesn't look as if there is anything we can do about it.

Pluto Press have collected a marvellous variety of photographs for the book, but the text is crammed into ugly, oblong, yellow boxes, which makes reading it a tough struggle. This new departure in design is inspired, I suspect, by somebody who likes looking at books, but does not read them.

PAUL FOOT

Geordies

THE PIT is a barbaric world, a world of filthy smells and stagnant air, of gasses ever lurking in the roofs and floors, of small cramped places, of falling rocks, of gushing water and stranded pools, of thick clouds of dust and stifling heat. Sharp objects dart downwards from the roof and tear at the head and back; the floor buckles and rolls and the feet are never sure.

Into such a world, shaking with weight and deafened by machinery, men with a solitary beam of light to aid them, fight out an existence. A man must be hardened to this hellish cavern, he is in a permanent state of aggression and the temper stimulates hard work; cruel things happen to men underground, and as in a war, men must steel their minds against the thought of them. All day long the miners are being prodded and struck by supports and rocks; the blood is at boiling point; if it wasn't for the jokes which come non-stop we would all be fighting in a few minutes.

The quote comes from another book on mining. Not the France of Zola's *Germinal*, but from Northern England, Dave Douglass's *Pit Talk* in County Durham.

The pamphlet maintains the excellent standard of the Ruskin College History Workshop series and is a sequel to the same author's *Pit Life* in County Durham.

It deals with the humour, the songs, the work and the talk of the miners. Showing the traditions of the pits—but more the way that the tradition has maintained itself



A Durham miners' banner

in the continuous struggle of the men and women against the conditions and the giv'nors.

The jokes are often savage—but very funny, as Douglass points out 'without the ability to make light of accidents nobody could keep sane underground. The obvious intention of jokes such as these is to laugh off the danger and try to make light of the things which would stop other folk in their tracks.'

As the following samples prove...

A miner goes down an old pit and 'while crawling along the face a bat flies past his head, on its return he smashes it with a shovel. The cry was raised, "Quick, everybody out, some bugger's killed the ventilator!"

'Walking inbye with the rest of the shift a team of men pass a stretcher party coming out, carrying a man who had just had an arm cut off: one of the team says as he draws level. "Wehy ye silly bugger, whats tha dey that for? It'll take six months

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE History Workshop, which met last weekend in London is a forum for socialist historians, workers and students interested in a committed but subtle approach to working class history.

The Workshop examines language and leisure as well as strikes and lockouts. It emphasises spoken history, memory, songs and diaries as well as more official written materials.

The Workshop is also a publishing

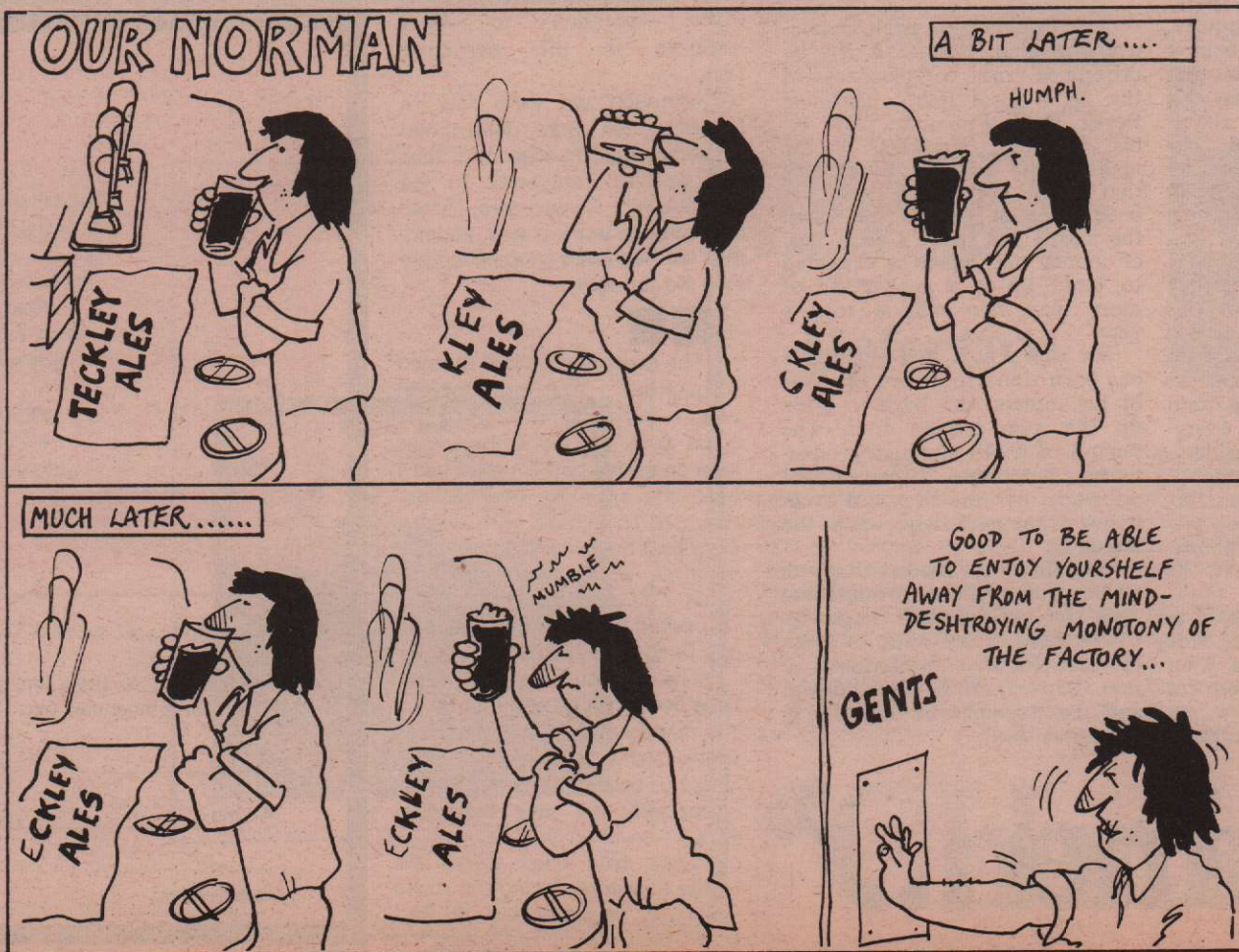
house producing distinctive, cleanly produced and cheap pamphlets edited by Raphael Samuel, tutor in social history at Ruskin, the trade union college at Oxford. New editions to this series, apart from *The Miners* dealt with above, include Alan Howkins *Whitsun in 19th Century Oxfordshire* (60p) and Edgar Moyo's *Big Mother and Little Mother in Matebeleland* (30p). Alan Howkins is a native of Bicester, a fine singer of traditional country songs and a History Workshop partisan with a particular interest in the countryside and labouring life. His pamphlet follows the process whereby spontaneous Whitsun country revels were tamed as the Friendly Societies and the vicars moved in throughout the 19th century.

Moyo's study of family structure in Africa is a novelty in the History Workshop list both in place and subject but is fascinating in its exploration of the Family.

The Workshop has a much more ambitious publishing project with Routledge and Kegan Paul under the title of *Ruskin Essays in Social History* which will bring together many so far unpublished papers.

The first volume is on *Work in the 19th century* and includes studies of the industrial battles of quarrymen, printers and railmen, in some cases written by contemporary Ruskin trade unionists following the same trade. The second will be on 'Childhood' comparing child rearing, education, sexuality and the struggle against school in various centuries and countries from Doncaster to China, and from England in the Civil War to rural Ireland. Truants please note.

All books mentioned in Review page can be obtained by post from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (phone 01-802 6145). When ordering books, please add 7p to cover postage and packing.



REVIEW

and the great white wall

to grow another one".

"I remember at Wardley after a man had had a finger cut off, one of workers, knowing sometimes that limbs can be grafted on, phoned out of the pit and asked if they wanted the finger sent up, "Oh yes" came the reply, "the canteen's short of pie fillings".

As Douglass points out it is impossible to separate the humour from the dialect and the life of the miners. All of which vary from area to area. "The Geordie is very proud of his area and everything in it, so the Yorky never stops having a go at Tyneside and its collieries:

"All tell yer this serry; Ah went up to Geordie-land to what they call a pit village; Ah looked around for a pit, whey ahs not joking, ah thout pit was a bicycle turned upside down."

"The pits are that shallow up Geordie-land when there a cave-in they've got to fetch farmer to get his cows and horses out of the pit, when they fire coal, they dig rabbits for the first half hour".

The humour may make the life bearable but the dangers continue, falls, floods—and the dust, always present, always killing. A coal seam may suddenly disappear, due to some pre-historic land-slip and reappear miles below, or twist and turn through the rock. If it does so then the miners may be faced

with nothing but a sheer rock the 'Great White Wall'.

'Just like a monstrous whale it sits its so wide and very tall, She'll burst our lungs or shut the pit that bloody great white wall.'

Douglass described how at Hatfield Colliery so many faults were struck that the men started to call it 'Hatfield Quarry'. They suggested that the manager was selling stone fireplaces to his friends. He quotes a miner from the radio ballad *The Big Hewer* on the effect of the dust:

'It is a giant killer, and it has destroyed an army of miners, so minute in its form, so destructive in its ravaging powers.

Excuses

'In December, it was my lot to be landed on one faulted face after another, the modern machines cutting and grinding their way through the solid stone. The picks threw up a hail of sparks filling the choking air with a foul burning smell of hot metal and burned stone. The dust comes in a thick impenetrable fog filling the nose, the eyes, and (of course) the lungs.

'One cannot see, quite literally, a raised hand put up before one's face. There is more dust about since the introduction of machinery and it is said that today's generation of young face workers will suffer even

more than our forefathers from the dust, that our lives will be shorter and our end more painful. No figures are available that I have seen to prove or deny this... only the young men's lungs will make a mockery of Board of Trade "safety standards".'

As the miners battle yet again against the Coal Board and the government it was cheering to read how during the 1971 unofficial strike the old song 'The Miners Lifeguard' re-emerged, symbolising the centuries of struggle and solidarity:

'Miners life is like a sailors,
Board a ship and cross the waves,
Every day his life's in danger
Still he ventures being brave,
Watch the rocks they're falling daily
Careless miners always fail;
Keep your hands upon the wages
And your eyes upon the scale
UNION MINERS STAND
TOGETHER
DO NOT HEED THE BOSSES
TALE
KEEP YOUR HANDS UPON THE
WAGES
AND YOUR EYES UPON THE
SCALE'

Pit Talk in County Durham, a glossary of miners talk, together with memories of Wardley Colliery, pit songs and piliking, Dave Douglass, History Workshop Pamphlets Number 10, 60p.



...and the miners of Montseau

I ACTUALLY got hold of Emile Zola's novel *Germinal* in the local public library. I was browsing around and eventually asked the librarian for some advice on good books about socialism. He was quite left-wing himself apparently, and suggested Zola's novel.

I've now read it twice and feel it has inspired me to think more like a revolutionary socialist.

You can relate some of the trials and tribulations which Etienne encounters in the novel, and put them into perspective with the way things are today. The picture is basically the same only in a different setting. There is exactly the same strife and harassment dished out by the capitalist class against the rank and file.

The novel shows the struggle of the miners of Northern France in the 1870s against the discrimination and social injustices which still prevail today. In those days the arguments were against capitalism and about an over-all basic need for socialism and for trades unions.

Although the book was written about and during the 19th century, the characters in it, such as Maigrat, the insanely patriotic shopkeeper, still flourish in this stinking society we now live in.

Not only does the book show the need for trades unions, but that people need to take a more active role within them. It also shows that the socialism we need must be more than just on a local or national scale but an international one.

When it comes to strikes, we think that nowadays they are usually efficient and effective. But even from the 19th century lessons can be learnt. For instance there is reference in the novel to a flying picket, which

UNDER THE INFLUENCE

the miners of Montseau brought into operation. They did not have cars to 'fly' from pit to pit, but actually went from pit to pit on foot.

Eventually all the miners' pent-up grievances came to the fore, and they destroyed everything they saw that represented their oppression by the capitalists.

Even the bosses then had quite a few things in common with the bosses now. Even then they tried to provoke strikes to suit themselves but when they wanted the men back, and found they wouldn't come, the bosses tried to split the workers. This was done by frightening some and promoting others.

Suffer

For those who would still not have anything to do with a return to work, they brought in the army, just as they do today to oppress and rule the working class in many countries.

When the workers tried to work out terms for a return to work and sort out their grievances, the capitalists did exactly as they do today, by hiding behind excuses. In those days they said they had their orders from higher up the ladder and were in just the same position as those who worked under them.

One can also bring to mind the role of women in a socialist state.

UNDER THE INFLUENCE—where socialists write on the books which helped make them revolutionaries this week features Eddie Tomlinson on Emile Zola's *Germinal* (Penguin Books 60p). The IS Bookshop, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 has all books dealt with in the series in stock or on order, and will be making special reductions for bulk orders from IS branches.

Eddie is a metal worker in Rugby and has worked in the Coventry car industry. He is a shop steward in the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers. He and his wife joined IS early in 1973.

During the 19th century as portrayed, in the book, the women stood behind the menfolk in supporting the strikes, and even to the point of facing the soldiers who shot them down without a second thought.

This is where strikes nowadays fall down—for not enough women get involved in what their husbands have to endure. If they did take a more active role, socialism might take a great step forward, for usually it is the wives who drive their husbands back to work through lack of money.

Another thing that has changed little since the days *Germinal* was written is the industrial accidents, not only mining, and the pit disasters. As for pit disasters or accidents, we only have to read the papers or watch television to see that they are still happening now over and over again. The question we should ask ourselves is why should they still be happening when lessons should have been learnt from previous disasters?

When you come to the families of the miners you can see quite a difference between those days and now. Because money was so short, they could not afford decent food so that the others could eat, to be able to go out to work and bring home what money they could get.

The times they felt this most were when the well-fed and well-

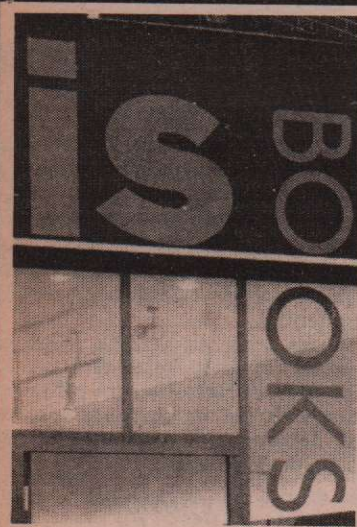
dressed wives and daughters of the capitalists came calling on the workers. Usually they brought their friends to show off that they thought they treated the workers very well, and it was quite enough to have a roof over their heads and their men in work.

You can still see that sort of thing nowadays, when town hall officials came round to show people new housing estates and new buildings, but forget to show them the slums and derelict areas hidden behind the facade. One thing which they and we have in common are the extortionate rents robbery by the landlords.

Obviously the picture created in this book describes what a hard and long-fought battle it was to bring trade unions and an ideal of socialism. So, with this in mind, we must continue with this struggle for the freedom of workers, not only for ourselves, but to show that these forgotten men and women did not fight and die for nothing.

Next week:

ALAN BOLD, Edinburgh marxist poet and editor of the Penguin Book of Socialist Verse writes on the *Soul of Man under Socialism*, by Oscar Wilde.



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WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

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

Against racism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

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THE UNIONS

Journalists strike for higher wages for juniors

PROVINCIAL JOURNALISTS on weekly, evening and daily provincial papers have mounting a series of rolling one-day strikes in protest at the fantastic exploitation of the young in this field.

Two years ago the National Union of Journalists made its first co-ordinated efforts to get proper basic wages and training for young journalists. Since then the employers have consistently stalled on this key matter.

This is not unconnected with the fact that the exploitation of the young is one key element in making up the huge pile of profits annually extracted from provincial newspapers.

Over the past fortnight journalists on about 40 newspapers have been involved in strike action for meaningful negotiations over the treatment of the young, many of them taking industrial action for the first time in the history of their papers.

The strike moves were organised by the NUJ Newspaper Society Action Committee, a group of rank and file members elected by the union's conference plus the relevant national executive members. Strike action was decided on after

SW Reporter

the Newspaper Society, the employers association, decided that in the current negotiations (in which the NUJ is claiming £15 a week for qualified journalists, plus an appreciable increase and proper training for the young) all it would offer was the Tory Wage Freeze norm. The NUJ was to be left to decide on how the meagre sum should be spread.

The journalists are therefore in conflict with the Tory incomes policy itself. They do not feel strong enough to go through the freeze themselves. But they are determined at least to secure an agreement which the government will then have to halt.

Pitiful

Youngsters in the provincial field have always been abominably treated. Brought in straight from school, they are immediately put on to the full job with no training.

Pay is pitiful at around £12 or £13 a week, often for very long hours indeed. Many of the papers concerned are almost entirely staffed by young, untrained and grossly exploited workers.

On the Dunstable Gazette for example every member of the editorial staff with the exception of the editor is an exploited junior. And on the Worksop Guardian the deputy editor is a junior who again is grossly underpaid.

Against the background of the employers' long history of the super exploitation of the young, now strengthened by the Tories' incomes policy, the National Union of Journalists will have to conduct a tough and sustained campaign against the employers.

Some indication of just how determined they are to maintain their profitable regime of exploiting the young can be seen from the events at the Cambridge Evening News.

There journalists were on strike one week after their one day stoppage. The continued strike was in protest against the editor's retaliatory action.

He told union representatives that if they wanted to work the hours of bank clerks, they would have to come dressed in the clothes of bank clerks—that is, in pin striped suits.

Union representatives insisted on a mandatory chapel (office branch) meeting to discuss this. The editor replied by insisting that he too must have the right to call compulsory union meetings.

TRANSPORT UNION PUTS HEAD IN NOOSE

SW Reporter

THE TRANSPORT and General Workers Union is the latest union to come under the hammer in the National Industrial Relations Court.

It is currently defending itself in the court against the GAS Aviation outfit which trade unionists at Heathrow, London, drove off the airport because they feared GAS would undermine job security.

This case is continuing in the NIRC, and within the next few weeks the Transport Union will be assailed by another two actions. Heaton's and Craddock's, two of the transport firms blacked by Liverpool dockers last year in the course of their fight to defend the docks registration scheme, will shortly launch similar claims for damages for loss of work.

Whatever the outcome, the implications of the TGWU's attendance at the court and its defence in the GAS case are very serious indeed.

Defence counsel Peter Pain stated in the court last week that the union did not want to be the policemen of the Industrial Relations Act.

But, he added, the union had tried to find a middle way to avoid a full-scale confrontation with its members.

Giving evidence to the court, the Transport Union's spokesman, Mr Peter Evans, fully spelt out the union's position.

He told the court that his union would never support shop stewards who took actions deemed to be



DONALDSON: officials should use powers

had told the Heathrow workers that the unions would be giving official support. This, he said, had surprised and concerned him.

Basically the Transport Union is trying to show that it is not liable for damages. To this end it is saying that it did everything it could to discourage the members short of using its own disciplinary powers, powers which include taking away stewards' credentials.

This view has already been challenged by NIRC president Sir John Donaldson, who in an earlier case involving the union, went some way to demanding that the officials invoke these powers.

Invitation

The disturbing aspect of the case is that by attending the court and paying fines levied by it the TGWU has already gone a long way down the road of becoming the 'policeman' of the Industrial Relations Act.

In addition, it could be argued that Peter Evans' statements to the court last week are an indirect invitation to GAS and the court to take proceedings against another union. In the GAS action this is not likely to happen.

This is not thanks to the TGWU. It is because GAS was only just in time to bring any action at all in this case and chose the Transport Union.

And if the NIRC action fails, GAS could still take civil proceedings against individual shop stewards. It might be said that the company would not be able to get much money from individual shop stewards. But then that could soon be altered.

Either way, the Transport Union's stance is an indirect encouragement to companies seeking damages to proceed against individual trade unionists. The essence of trade unionism is, or should be, to prevent that.

Shrewsbury: dockers move

THE Shrewsbury prosecution of 24 trade unionists for conspiracy was on the agenda of the National Port Shop Stewards Committee meeting in Preston two weeks ago. The committee decided that the trial should be considered in the individual port shop stewards committees where commitments to defend the 24 should be sought.

The London port shop stewards committee has agreed it will call for strike action if any of the defendants is jailed. A campaign is to be mounted to explain the issue to the men.

London Branches 4 and 6 of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers carried similar resolutions on the same day. So did branches 1/6 and 1/37 of the Transport Workers Union.

The national executive of the NASD has also come out in support of the Shrewsbury 24. The executive is being pressed for an indefinite official strike in the event of any jailings and for a one-day strike against the court proceedings.

Bernie Steer, one of the Pentonville Five, has now offered his resignation as a steward to the NASD. He has already resigned as convenor of the London Port Shop Stewards Committee.

Stop Heath before we stop eating!

THE ATTACK by this government on the working class by wage restraint, prices—particularly food prices and rent rises must be stopped before we find we are still producing and just not eating.

We believe as trade unionists there must be no let up in our fight for better wages immediately, and for a more socially just society in the near future. In a society where 10 per cent of the population own 75 per cent of the wealth, we, the working class must wake up our comrades and unite them in the struggle against the 10 per cent.

We believe the time is right, the working class now knows they are being attacked by the government and its supporters. First through Phases One and Two, and now Phase Three.

The trade unions must start the action this autumn and it must be united action to force an election to kick out the Tories. We must then realise the struggle does not end there, it must go on until the goal of socialism is achieved.—KEVIN BARRON, MICK OSBORNE, JIM SPEED, ALAN JAMES, IS members, Maltby Main Colliery, South Yorkshire.

Chile: you're wrong Bob

BOB ROWTHORN's criticisms of the International Socialists are for the most part completely empty. But we must accept at least one reproach. Apparently, during his brief membership of our organisation, we failed to teach him anything about marxism.

This has been clear for some time to any reader of Marxism Today, but his latest (October 13) letter puts it beyond all doubt. Does he, for instance, know that only last year General Pinochet was appointed by *Allende himself* to be the military governor of Santiago district? Or that all the members of the Chilean general staff got their first taste of political power at Allende's instruction?

That was their first intervention into affairs of state, and as always it whetted their appetite. What else could one expect, given that throughout the Popular Unity government they were allowed to preserve their agreements with the Pentagon intact?

The fact is, that not only did the comrades of the Chilean centre-left refuse the perspective of a revolutionary mobilisation (as was their right within democratic debate) but they repressed by force those who argued for the revolutionary road.

Israel: is Arab 'victory' enough?

BRITISH socialists were fortunate in the last two weeks that Socialist Worker was able to print both the statement of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee abroad and the article by Neil Rogall. Fortunately, because the front page article two weeks ago and last week's editorial failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the war.

All that is said about Israel as a settler race and about its institutionalised racism is true. So too, its role as the battering-ram of Western Imperialism's oil interests in the Middle East. Zionism certainly is a racist doctrine. Socialists must indeed support the proclaimed goal of the Palestinians to replace Israel with a 'secular, democratic state of Palestine in which Jews and Arabs have equal rights'.

But these are not the sole causes of the present conflict, as is suggested. Neither will this goal be achieved by an Arab victory.

The Arab states have little interest in the future of the Palestinians except for using them as pawns in an international chess game. Sadat's need to distract the Egyptian people from the growing crisis in Egypt (which nearly toppled the government last year) is by far the most obvious cause. Were the Arab states to win a total

military victory what would happen then to the goal of a democratic Palestinian state? Doubtless the victors would install a Palestinian government. But without the existence of an anti-Zionist movement in the Jewish working-class, the inevitable result would be the subjugation of the Jews in Palestine.

Certainly a limited defeat for Israel is desirable, since it would be a defeat for the interests of imperialism. But socialists must not blind themselves to the realities of the situation. We must offer a principled lead to both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, no matter how many friends it loses us.

A useful purpose this war will serve, whatever the result, will be to show people in Israel that their 'invincibility' is a myth; that a next time might be the last. And a necessary element in any progressive movement in the Middle East will be the Israeli working-class, having thrown off the chains of racism and Zionism.

British socialists, however, leaning over backwards to prove their anti-Zionism and falling uncritically into the camp of reactionary Arab nationalism, will do little to cultivate this element.—TOM HICKEY and HARRY TAIT, Willesden.

LETTERS



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

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

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

In that repression they called on the forces of entrenched military oligarchy, and in doing so, they dug their own graves. If Rowthorne and the rest of his discredited party carry on whining 'what else could they do?' then history supplies the answer.

When Leon Trotsky broke the White Armies on a 1000-mile front, he did not scorn to use former Tsarist army officers.

But he did so within the framework of a new military machine. One that was constructed by and for the working class. There is the real lesson of Chile, and those who do not learn from the 'mistake' are destined to repeat it.—CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS, London NW6.

Apologies

Tony Barrow, who wrote the Under the Influence column last week, was wrongly described as a member of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee. He is a member of the Ford National Joint Works Committee.

Out of work—who is helping my struggle ?

I WANT to point out to you what I consider a bad omission in the analysis of Phase Three of this government's concentrated attack on the working class.

It is not merely applicable to Socialist Worker but the same applies to leaders of trade unions, Labour politicians and other socialists and communists.

I am pointing out that there are no voices raised over the plight of many of the unemployed. I am concerned especially with the circumstances of men like myself, who make up quite a large section of the unemployed.

These are men in the age group of 60 to 65 many of whom have been thrown out of jobs, after long years of unbroken hard work, by redundancy and are now unable to get jobs because of their age.

In my own case for example, after leaving the RAF after the war I worked continuously until May 1972, when, due to a take-over I was declared redundant. Since then I have applied for 19 job vacancies with the same story each time—too old, seeking younger men etc.

There it is, too old for employment, not old enough for a pension. Well, after 12 months off the dole—on to social security.

I receive the grand sum of £9.50. This is made up of £7.35 basic and £2.15 rent allowance. I pay £3.50 rent so I am left with £6 to feed and cloth myself, pleasures are out.

I would also point out that unlike the OAPs we cannot supplement our income in any way. Nor do we get the extra hand-outs such as concessionary fares on public transport cheap hair-cuts, cinema seats and holidays. So £6 is the sum total of what I have to live on and many more men like me. Not even at Christmas will we get the £10 hand-out. Surely you will agree we have a case to be heard, not to be ignored as we are?

I have written this not in anger but in sorrow and dismay at the lack of concern. I look back at my life and participation in the class war, in the 1930s. I was deeply engaged in the struggles of the unemployed and in the anti-Fascist campaign and fight against Mosley and his thugs. Now it seems that no one, not even International Socialist comrades are concerned over the conditions inflicted on the unemployed.—F Ford Altrincham.

Sir Robert Mark's fashionable police force

WHENEVER there is a clash between police and public, the newspapers make no bones about which side they're on. 'We must have law and order' they scream in their best Quintin Hogg style.

But when it is the police who are proven, against odds, to be acting unlawfully and in a disorderly manner, the papers stay remarkably quiet.

A couple of weeks ago, for example, 22 year old John Bishop, an assistant surveyor for a London council, won a three year old battle against the Metropolitan Police. He had accused them of assault, wrongful arrest and malicious prosecution.

On the second day of the trial, the so-called liberal Commissioner, Sir Robert Mark, couldn't take any more of watching the dirty deeds of his force being washed in a public courtroom, and offered to settle.

John Bishop was declared a law-abiding citizen and given £125 damages with costs.

His ordeal had started one night in October 1970 when driving with three friends through Tottenham. A saloon car, much like his own flashed him down and our climbed a long-haired man wearing loud check trousers, a polo-neck sweater and casual shoes.

He said he was a policeman. Mr Bishop asked to see his warrant card which was flashed a few inches from his nose so that he couldn't read it.

Punched

Feeling very suspicious, John Bishop drove off to find some real policeman to report what he thought was a bogus copper. But the man turned out to be a detective constable Robert Bull, attached to the drugs squad, which explained his fashionable clothes, now used by the squad as a disguise to trap unsuspecting young people.

John Bishop told the court how Bull caught up with him and punched him in the face, and how the three other policemen to whom he had gone for help, also beat him up.

Mr Bishop was eventually released without being charged, and a doctor who treated him in hospital said he had bruises on his neck, shoulder, chest and back.

Now this was a pretty dramatic story and available to all. Even when newspapers don't have their own reporters in courtrooms, they are still serviced by local news agencies.

And yet only one paper carried the story—the Sunday Times and that at the bottom of page two.

Could the reluctance of the other papers to expose the police possibly have something to do with the recent homily on public relations given by Sir Robert Mark, in which he hoped for greater co-operation,

Another important aspect had to present two sets of consolidated accounts. This last year the consolidated net profits were £79.27 millions for the French and only £72.7 millions for the British.

Strike

This arises because of a different treatment of certain items. French directors, for instance, are usually entitled to a proportion of the dividend attributable to shareholders.

So expect an important UK acquisition before the end of this year. No one is giving any clues as to what sectors and company will diversify into industry, services or property.

But would like to see the final document given to the shareholders of the company which are accounted for the business. Amongst the items which are accounted for differently in the two countries.

between police and press? Certainly, he got all the co-operation he required from the Sunday Mirror which devoted a third of a page to a picture of demonstrators and a story headed: 'Police hurt in big demo riot.'

'Police clashed with left-wing demonstrators in London yesterday during a political protest,' said the Sunday Mirror.

Note the 'left-wing' tag, together with the word 'political'. The paper went on: 'Injured in the battle that followed were ten demonstrators, three policemen and five police horses.'

My arithmetic tells me that even if you lump the police and the horses together, that still means that more demonstrators than police were hurt. And yet the headline concentrated on the police injuries.

Descriptions of these so-called battles are always ridiculous. The papers invariably mention, as did the Sunday Mirror, that 'some police had their helmets sent flying.' If demonstrators were foolish enough to wear hats, they would probably take off, as well.

But what was really sickening about the story was that the reason why people were demonstrating didn't get a mention until way, way down in the copy. Even then there was only a passing reference to the fact that the demo took place outside Conway Hall where the National Front was holding its annual conference.

The Mirror didn't bother to point out that the people outside Conway Hall were objecting to the people inside plotting a 'final solution' to immigrants in this country.

Leonard Hill

Jane Cousins
TURKEY
Torture and Political Persecution

This book documents in detail the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, and the staggering brutality of the methods used. It documents the political trials with which the regime hoped to destroy the left.

Faced with a virtual blockade on real news from Turkey, Jane Cousins went there to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners. She was given access to papers and documents which are here published for the first time.

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YORKS REGION PLANS FOR EXPANSION

Why we're going to the SW conference

by Bill Message
 'THE BEST WEEKEND SCHOOL I've ever been to—that was the verdict of one of the participants in last weekend's Yorkshire IS regional party training school held at York.

Thirty-nine IS members from 16 branches and 13 trade unions attended the school, which covered topics such as 'How to integrate new members', 'How to run a basic education programme' and 'The use of Socialist Worker'.

The school was opened on Saturday morning by John Charlton (executive committee member) who spoke about the present state of IS.

He said that although IS had undergone unprecedented growth over the past six months, there was no room for complacency. The tasks of integrating new members and of building a serious revolutionary party in this country posed tremendous problems.

Laurie Flynn, Socialist Worker industrial reporter, then spoke about Socialist Worker and the role it plays in organising workers in struggle.

The participants split up into several groups to discuss some of the problems that had been raised. At the end of the afternoon the groups reported back to a general session and then heard Frank Roberts from Merseyside IS talk about the internal political and social life of a revolutionary organisation.

On Sunday morning IS national industrial organiser Andreas Nagliati spoke on IS industrial perspectives. After his talk the delegates again broke up into groups to discuss such problems as How to build a factory branch, the work of the industrial fractions and how to work in specific strike situations.

The four miners and six engineers who attended the school found these discussions to be of particular value.

At the end of the school, delegates heard that this had been the first of a series of similar weekend schools which would be held in every region.

GLASGOW GOES ON THE OFFENSIVE

AN AGGREGATE IS meeting in Glasgow decided last Saturday to throw all the organisation's resources into fighting for the engineers' and miners' wage claims. For the next fortnight, action groups of IS members will be visiting more than 30 large engineering factories in Glasgow selling the IS pamphlet on the claim. Similar groups will also be selling at the Lanarkshire pits.

Coaches to the Industrial Conference

TICKETS for the special train from London to Belle Vue return are now available. The cost is £2 return. They can be obtained by writing to London Region IS, 8 Cottons Gardens, E2, together with a remittance of £2. Please hurry before they are all taken up.

Coaches will be going to the conference from the following areas. Contact the addresses given for details: BRADFORD: 12 Heath Road, Bradford 3.

EAST ANGLIA: 15 Bury Street, Norwich. PONTEFRAC: 39 Windermere Drive, Knottingley, Yorkshire. DONCASTER: 7 Rosehill, Cantley, Doncaster.

TEESSIDE: 28 Glenfield Drive, Tollesby, Middlesbrough. Phone: 87616. GRIMSBY: 29 Durban Road, Grimsby. Phone 0472-56269.

BARNLEY, GOLDTHORPE and neighbouring villages: 18 Station Road, Barnsley.

YORK: 25 Swinerton Avenue, Leeman. HALIFAX: 57 Crag Court, Mixenden, Halifax.

LEICESTER: Coach to the Industrial Conference will leave London Road Station at 7.30 am sharp, Sunday 11 November.

N E ESSEX: 61 New Park St, Colchester,

Truth on Chrysler

THE Coventry Chrysler Branch of IS has just produced an indispensable pamphlet, appropriately titled Crisis at Chrysler—the company versus the shop floor.

Produced just as the so-called independent inquiry into the striking electricians' case gets underway, the pamphlet sets out the company's motives in provoking strikes over the last year.

The authors argue that Chrysler is aiming in the long term to turn over its British operations solely to car assembly, rather than car production. In the short term, however, with sales and profits rising, the firm has been trying to destroy strong shop floor organisation in a bid to boost productivity and profitability.

It is only against this background that Chrysler's sacking of the Stoke deputy convenor last year and the provocation of the 'shoddy work' and electricians' strike this year can be understood.

The pamphlet also gets to grips in a systematic fashion with the deplorable performance of the leaders of the Transport and Engineering unions in the present dispute. It shows how and why the Transport Union led the retreat on fundamental trade union principles.

It exposes the phoney 'reasons' given by the trade union leaders for stabbing the electricians in the back and calls on all serious trade unionists to organise for a socialist counter-offensive against the Chrysler dictators.

Copies (not less than 10) are available price 4p a copy from Chrysler IS, 12 Barras Court, Heath Road, Coventry.

THE International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet The Miners Pay Claim has sold out in its first print of 6000 copies. It is being reprinted immediately and all orders will be dealt with as soon as possible.

MEETINGS

WALTHAM FOREST DISTRICT IS public meeting SMASH PHASE THREE. Speakers: Tony Cliff and Jack Aldridge (TGWU). Wednesday 31 October, Ross Wyld Hall, Church Hill Road, Walthamstow, London E17.

LONDON IS Irish Forum THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. Speaker Paddy Prendergill, Friday 26 October, 8pm, The Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Road, London EC1 (nearest tube Farringdon).

CAXTON IS FACTORY BRANCH SOCIAL BLUES STEEL BAND. Friday 26 October, 7pm-midnight. 'Nightingale' pub (studio room 10) Wood Green High Road, London N22. Bar extension. Admission 50p.

NORTH WEST LONDON DISTRICT IS public meeting THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER. Speaker: Paul Foot. Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Willesden Junction Hotel, Station Road, London NW10.

CENTRAL LONDON IS public meeting: Phase Three and how to fight it. Speaker Duncan Hallas, Friday 26 October, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (Holborn tube). Admission 10p.

LEEDS IS: Tickets for the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on 11 November obtainable from 3 Granby Grove, Leeds 6. Price 40p, including transport.

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting: The politics of corruption. Speaker Paul Foot, Friday 26 October, 7.30-9pm, Nixon Hall, YMCA, Ellison Place, Newcastle. Admission 10p. All welcome.

PETERBOROUGH IS public meeting: The fight against Phase Three. Speaker Andreas Nagliati (IS industrial organiser). Friday 26 October, 8.15pm. The Still, Combergate, Peterborough.

BASILDON IS public meeting: Can parliament bring socialism? Thursday 1 November, Civic Defence Building (behind Tesco, next to Ambulance Station), Basildon.

IS BUSMEN: A national meeting of all IS busworkers will be held at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference in Manchester on Sunday 11 November. Details will be announced at the start of the conference.

FOURTH IS HISTORY GROUP School: Trade unionism and socialism in the 1880s. Speakers: Vic Bailey on An introduction to the struggles, Dave Wilson and Ken Montague on William Morris and the Socialist League, and Richard Hyman on Tom Mann, Saturday 27 October, 2pm-6.30pm, Room F107, Lancaester Polytechnic, Coventry (opposite Coventry Cathedral). Open to all IS members and sympathisers. Morning session, 11am-1pm, for IS historians to discuss History Group business. Further information from Alistair Hatchett, secretary IS History Group, 69 Arden Street, Earlsdon, Coventry. Tel: Coventry 76458.

IS ELECTRICIANS: Urgent—fraction meeting for all IS EETPTU members in Liverpool, Saturday 27 October, 10.30am. Contact IS Industrial Department, 8 Cotton Gardens, London E1 8DN (phone 01-739 6273 for details).

FAKENHAM IS public meeting: What we mean by workers' control. Speaker Ian Gibson, Wednesday 31 October, 8pm, Ramant Horse Inn (opposite Post Office) Fakenham.

BIRMINGHAM IS public meeting: The Fight against Racism, Speaker Dave Butchere AUEW, Thursday 25 October, 7.30pm, The Shakespeare, Summer Row.

Big sale for pamphlet

NINE THOUSAND copies of the International Socialist pamphlet on the Engineering Pay Claim have now been distributed and many areas are already ordering additional copies.

BIRMINGHAM IS British Leyland Meeting: Factory and Combine organisation. Speaker Tony Cliff. Saturday 27 October, 12 noon, The Shakespeare, near Paradise Circus. All British Leyland workers welcome.

NORTH WEST LONDON DISTRICT IS public meeting: THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER. Speakers Paul Foot and a TGWU shop steward. Royal Docks, Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Willesden Junction Hotel, Station Road, NW10.

RUBERY OWEN IS public meeting: FIGHT THE TORIES. Speakers Roger Kline, Coventry IS District Organiser and Gerry Jones, TGWU Shop Steward Chrysler IS, Sunday, 28 October, 11am, New Inns Blue Lane West, Walsall.

WARLEY IS public meeting: Why we need a new workers' party. Speaker Ron Murphy (AUEW-AEI Old Trafford). Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Spon Croft, Oldbury Road, Spon Lane.

CROYDON IS public meeting: The Middle East Crisis, 1 November 8pm Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon.

NORTH LONDON IS DISTRICT AGGREGATE CURRENT TASKS FACING IS. Speaker Tony Cliff, Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Lord Morrison Hall, Chesnut Grove, N17. All members must attend.

WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting: The Way Forward in Industry. Speaker Chris Davison (SOGAT) IS National Committee Member, Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Posada, Lichfield Street, Wolverhampton.

CAPPER PASS IS public meeting: Chile—the lessons to be learned. Speaker Chris Harman. Tuesday 30 October, 7.30pm, The Stevedores and Dockers Club, Posterngate, Hull. All welcome.

WIGAN, EARLSTOWN AND LEIGH IS joint public meeting PHASE THREE—THE MINERS CLAIM. Speakers John Charlton (IS Yorkshire regional organiser), Trevor Brown (National Union of Miners, Houghton Main Lodge Committee, Barnsley, Yorkshire), Wed 31 October, 8pm, The Dog and Partridge Hotel, Wallgate, Wigan. All welcome.

NOTICES

SW (LITHO) PRINTERS requires a copy typist urgently. Apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

COVENTRY CHRYSLER IS pamphlet: Crisis at Chrysler. 20 printed pages full of ammunition, analysis, facts and arguments—4p a copy. Orders—for not less than 10 copies—to 12 Barras Court, Heath Road, Coventry.

THE ENGINEERS PAMPHLET is now out of print—if sufficient orders come in we will reprint. If you will be needing more copies within the next month please send orders in now to: Industrial Pamphlets, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

IS INDUSTRIAL AND ADMIN departments apologise for inconveniences caused by the breakdown of their phones last week. 01-739 1878 and 01-739 6273 have now been repaired and should be working normally.

IS BOOKS has a photocopier on hire for a trial four weeks. We have access to a complete file of the printed IS journal and an almost complete file of the weekly Socialist Worker. Also various pamphlets published by the group over the years. Anyone wanting photocopies of these or anything else please come and see us or write to 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Rate: 5p per page plus postage (in advance please). But hurry!

In Manchester, engineering workers are anxious they should not have to carry the brunt of the struggle as they did with last year's claim. There are growing demands for a national lead.

Eight hundred copies have been sold in Manchester factories by members of the International Socialists and readers of Socialist Worker. 50 copies have been sold at Whitton Bourne, in Rochdale, where a meeting was held with Jack Robertson, AUEW convenor in Trafford Park and Glyn Carver, the IS district organiser. 50 copies have been taken by the Electricians Union shop stewards' committee at Hawker Siddeley, Woodford, where there was a 12-week occupation over last year's claim.

In Sheffield more than 400 copies have been sold. Shop Stewards committees at Neepsend and Easterbrook and Alcards (Presco) have taken bulk orders. The greatest effort has been put into selling the pamphlet to convenors and shop stewards and urging them to push sales.

AUEW members in Sheffield have found it easy to get into contact with convenors and branch secretaries to get a wider circulation for the pamphlet. Contact slips inside the pamphlet have enabled militants to obtain extra copies and more information about local IS action around the claim.

Other areas have found it useful to advertise in the pamphlet that speakers can be provided at shop stewards, branch and factory meetings for readers and sellers of the pamphlet.

Special discount rates are obtainable for bulk orders. Copies can be obtained from IS Industrial Department, 8 Cotton Gardens, London E2 8DN, price 3p, plus 3p postage (10 or more post free).

Films strike starts to bite

THE STRIKE by 150 key workers at Kodak's colour processing plant at Hemel Hempstead for union recognition is beginning to bite. A notice has gone up on the company notice board at Kodak's factory in Harrow, begging for funds to help out the members of the company 'union', the Union of Kodak Workers, who are finding it difficult to make ends meet on the basic rate which the company is paying them during the strike.

If, as seems likely, Kodak starts to cut the pay of the UKW workers in the

SW Reporter

next few weeks, the 'union' will find it impossible to bridge the gap.

Already Kodak is finding it next to impossible to find credible work even for their ancillary staff. Workers are being moved in droves from Hemel Hempstead to Stevenage in a desperate attempt to keep them busy.

At the Stevenage plant, meanwhile, the ACTT—the union fighting for recognition at Kodak—has been recruiting

more members during the strike, and funds have been flowing in from the plant for the ACTT strike fund.

Funds

Ken Roberts, ACTT official in charge of the Kodak strike, announced this week that the first £1000 had come in from other trade unions. 'Already we have had a response from dockers and railwaymen in London,' he said, 'and several National Union of Students branches have sent us cheques.'

This week, the ACTT is circulating all union executives with an appeal for funds.

It is vital that all trade unionists attend their branches over the next few weeks and pass resolutions to their executives demanding substantial payments to the Kodak strike fund. Kodak is the biggest firm in Britain which still does not recognise independent trade unions.

Recognition can be won if maximum backing and financial support comes from other trade unions.

Pay 'con-trick' sparks strike

by Glyn Carver

A STRIKE BY test engineers and technicians at the Ferranti Cairo plant in Oldham is already affecting the output of top secret military electronic equipment.

The strike—now in its third week—started when the firm used the Pay Board to try and con the testers into waiting an extra six months for their last increase.

But when their union, ASTMS, discovered there was no legal block on the increase it immediately demanded back pay of around £70. So far management has refused to give it.

The bosses' latest excuse for their failure to honour the increase is that TASS members in the factory would not accept such a deal for ASTMS alone. But as Dave Willetts, one of the men's representatives, pointed out: 'There is no split between us and TASS. They have repeatedly expressed their support for us because they know we haven't been unfair to them.'

'It's the government's Phases One and Two that has done that. When we win we hope that TASS will go in for more money too.'

The strike is strongest at the Cairo Mill because of the solid support for ASTMS action from the shop floor, but it also affects the other five Ferranti plants in the Manchester area.

More than 70 members are on strike and they are ready to escalate the action further if necessary. Neil Hay, secretary of the union at Cairo, explained why the strike was particularly effective:

'Our job comes right at the end of the production process. We do the final testing. So nothing can leave the plant while we are out.'

The strength of the testers' picket lines coupled with the growing solidarity of the shop floor workers are the major weapons in this struggle to force the Ferranti. Never before had Ferranti had to hold down white collar wages.

And this struggle will decide the whole future of white collar unionism in Ferranti. Never before has Ferranti had to face strong staff unions. But now times have changed.

CLASSIFIED

NEW 'RANK AND FILE' TEACHERS PAMPHLET
EDUCATION AND SOCIETY, by Chanie Rosenberg, 10p (plus 5p post and packing) from 86 Mountgrove Road, London N5.

TOWARDS a revolutionary mass movement—developing a socialist strategy. Speaker Sam Mauger. Public meeting, Monday 29 October, 7.30pm, St Pancras Library, 100 Euston Road, NW1, organised by the London Group of the Communist Federation of Britain (M-L).

OWN ROOM available for IS comrade in Harlesden flat. Rent negotiable £4 to £6 pw. Phone Clare 965 1417 office hours.

OTHER CINEMA/LATIN AMERICAN FRONT: Two films from Latin America—When the people awake (Chile 1972-3) and The Tupamaros (1972) NOT TO BE MISSED! Sunday 31 October, 3.30pm, Collegate Theatre, Gordon Street, London Followed by discussion. Other Cinema Latin American Front.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

MARGARET, who's an actress, and Dorian aged 6, would like to meet someone also with a child, who might be interested in sharing their house in NW5 on a communal basis. Phone 485-0077.

Leyland in get tough move at Cowley

SW Reporter

OXFORD: A dispute over lay-off pay at the British Leyland Cowley assembly plant shut down half the plant. When the 5000 workers returned they found themselves facing tough new threats from the management.

The local newspaper labelled it 'Day one of the management's new regime.' It was a regime inspired by Chrysler's management at Ryton.

The lay-off had been caused by the management's refusal to pay for safety boots for workers in the Marina assembly block. The men involved—12 from each shift—refused to work until the boots recommended by a government inspector were provided.

Several lost shifts of production later the management hid behind an outside company's 'donation' of 24 pairs of test sample boots.

Thousands of workers had each lost about £20. They demanded payment—the safety dispute had been the management's responsibility. On 17 October a stormy meeting took place under the shadow of the company's threat to shut down the south side of the plant unless the workers went back.

The senior shop-steward urged a return, and to put the dispute into procedural channels. This was eventually carried. But some sections refused to return.

Back in the plant supervisors announced that since 40 people had refused to work they were shutting everyone out. The stewards had no chance to persuade the men to accept the majority decision.

The management were clearly prepared to lose more production if they could undermine shop floor organisation. Their letter recalling the workers stated that 'unconstitutional actions' will expose the workers to 'disciplinary action at the company's discretion.'

It went on to say that in future British Leyland would send home 'all men affected by an internal plant dispute within one hour of its commencement.' If 'minority groups' went against majority decisions then other workers should be transferred on to their jobs.

Similar threats have been made at Chryslers. If Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon had not forced their Ryton members to work with scab labour then Cowley management wouldn't have had the courage to use the same tactics.

Women under attack

CLERICAL WORKERS at the Cowley Body Plant have also come under attack. Women have been on strike since 9 October against management's attempts to evade the equal pay legislation by consolidating merit money into the basic wage.

Men workers supported them by a work to rule and overtime ban but last Thursday management sent round a threatening letter. This attempt at blackmail was treated with the contempt it deserved by the women, who voted to stay out at least another week.

And the men started an immediate sit-in, and gave strike notice due to start on Thursday night. If the strike takes place, all Cowley will grind to a halt.

Printers walk out

DARTFORD: 600 workers employed at two Wiggins Teape paper mills walked out last Friday in support of a claim for a £10 across the board increase. The strikers, members of the print union SOGAT, are determined to stay out until the full claim is met.

The strike is particularly significant as the first major dispute in an industry which has suffered heavily from the introduction of productivity deals. Basic rates are as low as £27 for round the clock, seven day shift working.

LAY OFF ROW AT BIG CAR FACTORY

SW Reporter

ASSEMBLY WORKERS at Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant on Merseyside are the latest group in the car industry to launch a struggle to tighten lay off pay agreements.

Three thousand assembly plant men, members of the Transport Workers Union, struck last week, insisting that Vauxhall pay lay off money when production is halted by internal disputes. Until now the company, in line with the policy of all big four car firms, has refused to do so.

The men state that they are being laid off without pay far too often as a result of in-company disputes where management is fighting another group of workers. Their strike, which continued this week, has led Vauxhall to shut down all car and commercial vehicle production.

Early this week Vauxhall came up with a paltry interim offer to pay workers up to the end of the shift when lay offs occur. This was to last only for two months.

The offer was designed to get the Transport and Engineering unions to sort out disputed areas of union representation.

The strikers rejected the offer and are continuing their fight for pay for lay offs caused by in-company disputes.

Over recent weeks top bosses and union officials in the car industry have been engaged in a flurry of activity to try and reduce the number of disputes.

In the light of the Chrysler electricians' strike, the employers and top union men have attempted to revive the Motor Industry Joint Council as a possible fire brigade. On Monday this week both sides agreed to set up a permanent paid secretariat with the power to intervene in significant new disputes.

In Chrysler itself, the electricians at Coventry have been continuing their strike while the so-called independent inquiry looks into the dispute.

The strikers are continuing to picket the Ryton plant. But their picketing activities have been scaled right down as electricians' representatives try to persuade Professor Archie 'Fine Tubes Inquiry' Campbell that Chrysler has been involved in intrigue to avoid paying the agreed £250 rise.

TIME CLOCK STRIKE

FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY members of the Engineering Union at the Rotaprint factory in Queensbury, North West London, struck last week against a management decision to suspend two of their members for refusing to clock on and off.

The last pay agreement at the plant gave women workers only two-thirds of the men's rate, but during discussions management agreed to the principle of equal pay.

In Assembly Shop seven, 21 women worked in a section of their own, performing similar work to men. Management were prepared to pay nine of the women the men's rate—conceding the principle of equal pay—but the other 12 women would get the lowest semi-skilled rate for men. This rate had been abolished in the factory following a struggle two years before.

Talks broke down and at a first mass meeting workers voted unanimously for

non-co-operation and an overtime ban until equal pay was granted.

But at a second meeting last Friday the workers accepted a shop stewards' committee recommendation to return to work on the status quo. Management withdrew the suspensions and the union agreed to withhold action pending negotiations. The meeting also agreed to be prepared to strike again unless their demands were met.

DITCHED

Underlining the action is a rumour that the factory is about to close down. Rotaprint has apparently bought a site in Washington, Co Durham, equal in capacity to its three Queensbury factories. The employers claim that this is just an expansion programme but the workers are suspicious and feel that they are about to be ditched.



Last Thursday 700 trade unionists demonstrated at the Con-Mech factory in Woking, Surrey, in solidarity with engineering workers on strike there for union recognition. It is this dispute which led to the NIRC action and the fine on the AUEW. Report: back page.

Picture: Chris Davies (Report)



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name

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Trade Union

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

STRIKE OVER FINES

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



A section of the massive crowd of trade unionists who lobbied the NIRC on Monday over the AUEW fine. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

Gormley sabotage bid in miners' pay battle

SW Reporter

JOE GORMLEY, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, will do anything to sap the miners' willingness to take on the Tory government and win a decent standard of living.

This has long been common knowledge among militant miners. But last weekend Gormley plumbed new depths with his statement that if the miners fought them the Tories could call an election and win it. He showed that he was willing to divert the members in exactly the opposite direction he tried to send them earlier this year when he wanted the miners to settle for £1 plus 4 per cent.

Just prior to the emergency Trades Union Congress in March this year, Gormley put on an apparently left-wing face to persuade miners that it would be foolish to fight on their own.

Stoppage

He said: 'If the trade union movement wants it they can cause a general election in the next few months. If that's what they want, let's do it.'

'We shall not do it by being namby pamby. Government policy can only be changed by the revolt of united trade union action. That calls for all unions to be involved in a general stoppage and for the government to call a general election.'

The present situation is one where

the government and employers are absolutely terrified of the miners' industrial strength. The oil crisis actually strengthens the miners' hand. And the Tories know that the miners can smash through Phase Three. Joe Gormley knows it too. He will use any



GORMLEY: Any excuse

excuse to back off in the hope of continuing 'good relations' with the Coal Board and the government.

Gormley's speech was carefully timed. He made it two days before miners leaders went to see Heath at Downing Street to ask for more. He made it just five days before the miners' delegate conference met to consider action over the new pay claim.

Naturally Gormley's speech greatly impressed the journalists who rushed his words into print. One person his speech did not impress was John Ash, a young member of the Colliery Officials and Staff Section of the NUM who was at the weekend school where Gormley performed.

'Throughout his speech Gormley was looking for any and every way out!' John told Socialist Worker. 'He was really pushing productivity deals, claiming that trade unionism was about more than wages. You just have to look at his record on those things, like safety, to see what hollow talk that is.'

'The business of the election is a diversion. It should be clear to anyone who thinks it through that the more the Tories are challenged and beaten on the industrial front, the less likely they are to win an election.'

'What really worries Joe is an all-out miners' strike. He fears that it might get out of hand, proving to miners and other workers that the best person to look after them is themselves.'

Gormley's speech also brought forth considerable anger from the Scottish executive when it met on Monday. It unanimously passed a resolution declaring that Gormley's statements indicated that he was 'not in tune with the feelings not only of rank and file miners but of the labour movement as a whole.'

FUND RUSH

JUST ONE week to go—and the October Socialist Worker Fighting Fund stands at £602.

The situation is urgent—so please dig deep and rush donations to us to hit that £1000 target.

Send to IS Treasurer Jim Nichol, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

by Laurie Flynn, SW Industrial Reporter

DEFENCE of the engineering union and the rights of all trade unionists against the attentions of robber baron Sir John Donaldson has now fallen fairly and squarely to the rank and file. And the gauntlet has been taken up by North London engineers who will strike on 5 November and close down the national press.

On Tuesday the AUEW executive considered the situation after Donaldson and his fellow Industrial Relations Court judges had inflicted on the union the biggest ever fine under the Industrial Relations Act—£75,000.

Donaldson carefully spelt it out for the executive that he expected to be giving new judgments against the AUEW for carrying on the fight for recognition at slavemaster Robert Dilly's Con Mech factory in Woking.

But in the face of this threat, what did the brave men of the engineers' executive do on Tuesday? They issued a statement instead of a clarion call.

The executive's resolution 'thanked the members for their action in support of the policy of our union.' They hinted that the AUEW's struggle is the concern of all trade unions.

And then they called on district committees to summon meetings of the members with a view to obtaining more support.

As Roger Cox of CAV, one of a delegation of 50 North London engineering workers who lobbied the executive on Tuesday demanding a call to action, put it:

'The executive may claim that it is difficult for them to give a lead for strike action because of the rules. But in an emergency they do have the power to initiate strike action.'

'This is what they should be doing—laying down precise instructions, calling on the members to defend the union in action. They should be campaigning, speaking at meetings up and down the country on the lines that if the Tory courts fine us then we'll fine the employers.'

FIGHT

'Their stand means that the weak factories will have no official lead. It means that reactionary district committees don't have to do anything. In this situation it is vital that the strong factories and district committees do name a day for industrial action and start the real fight.'

The mass picket outside Con Mech last Thursday and the picket of the NIRC on Monday shows that thousands of rank and file engineers are ready to put up a fight.

At the Con-Mech mass picket last week Geoff Hardy, the AUEW district secretary, and other speakers pointed out that the Con Mech dispute showed the real dangers of the Industrial Relations Act.

They also called on the executive to organise a national strike. But once again the union leadership has evaded their responsibilities to give a practical lead.

Robert Dilly, boss of Con-Mech, will go back to the NIRC. Equally certain, the NIRC will be back for another substantial bite at the AUEW's funds. In addition more cases are in the pipeline. In this situation militant engineers are going to have to give the lead for strike action.

For there is no middle road of passive resistance. You either fight or go on losing more and more money courtesy to Donaldson's fund raiders.

On Tuesday this week the North London district of the AUEW decided to organise a strike of its members for 5 November. This lead should be followed up and down the country.

If other district committees shilly shally, then the best organised factories in each and every area must give the lead. They should organise a strike, publicise their decision and campaign for other factories to support them.

In this way, a real fight to call a halt to the robbery and blackmail of the NIRC can be launched.

ROUND 1 TO TENANTS

THE THREATENED 14-day jailing of 32 Merseyside tenants was avoided on Monday when the County Court temporarily dropped its contempt of court charges.

But Tony Boyle, secretary of the Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Committee said, 'The struggle goes on.'

The battle began when hundreds of Liverpool tenants went on total rent strike in protest at the Tory Housing Finance Act. That was a year ago and since then the arrears in Kirkby have mounted to more than £150,000. Desperate to smash this movement, the local Labour-controlled council applied to the courts to have attachments of earnings orders made to deduct the rent from the tenants' wages.

Triumph: now it's a sit-in

by Roger Kline

MERIDEN: 1750 workers at the Triumph motorcycle factory near Coventry hit back at hatchet-man Dennis Poore last week. Faced with a hard line from Poore, the convenors had no choice but to turn the 'lock-in' into a sit-in.

Full-time officials and the convenors had made tremendous efforts to get a compromise. Some workers criticised them for being prepared to release some of the motorcycles—the main asset of the workers. Poore's refusal to compromise put the officials on the spot.

Last Tuesday the men who had been laid off for not releasing the bikes decided to start turning the tables. They occupied the factory, which has now been turned into an entertainments centre with darts leagues and flashing lights.

Militants within the factory, while welcoming the sit-in as a big step forward, are arguing the need to take the initiative from Poore. If he won't climb down from slaughtering the livelihoods of the workers then threats of either selling the bikes to provide income for the occupation or even to start taking the bikes to bits again will increase.

Problems

Already Triumph wives are forming an action group which has leafleted the factory, calling on all wives to back the sit-in and to organise themselves around such questions as social security payments and countering any nonsense which may appear in the local Tory rag, the Coventry Evening Telegraph.

Doreen Cox, who started the group, told Socialist Worker that the idea was to stop the newspaper trying their usual trick of splitting the wives from husbands.

So far things are going well. But two problems remain. The sit-in needs to be turned into a base for further activities aimed at hitting Poore.

Talk of picketing his London headquarters needs to be turned into action. And under no conditions should the bikes be released or the sit-in ended until Poore has climbed down.

Secondly, some of the full-time union officials are still obsessed with the idea of the 'workers' co-op' at Meriden. Although this appeals to the pride that many workers here have in their skill, it can become a dangerous diversion from the job of defeating Poore.

Whatever weaknesses exist there is no doubt as to the determination of the shopfloor to win. The contrast with the disastrous BSA closure in Birmingham a couple of years ago is a sharp one.

Trade unionists everywhere should send messages of support to: Joint Shop Stewards Committee, Triumph Motorcycles, Meriden, Warwickshire.

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