Socialist Worker
PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Slap in the face for Prentice/Tory coalition

RAILMEN: THE SIGNAL IS GO!

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

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

A porter earning £30.05 at present stands to gain £2.65 in new money from the deal—less than 9 per cent. Leading railmen and firemen get £3.50 on top of £53.10 including thresholds, while a ‘well-paid’ driver earning £46.05 gets another £7.05.

The press confidently predicted that the NUR leaders would grovel to this ‘27½ per cent’ just as they have grovelled to even smaller offers over the past 20 years. Instead, they voted by a huge majority of 21 to 0 for a national, unlimited rail strike from 23 June.

Fight

The executive did not call the strike, the newspaper is a pretense, because of internal union intrigue or because they have a new general secretary. On the contrary, the vote represents the pent-up fury of low-paid railmen who have been ’reasoned’ for 50 years, have listened to moderate union leaders, have answered calls for national sacrifice—and have watched their standard of living plummet, their job vanishing, their industry disintegrate.

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

The strike call is the best possible answer to the rubbish that we are being offered by the Government and the unions. It is the best possible answer to the demands of the workers and the working class.

Support

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

The railwaymen’s case needs to be put in public meetings in every area, in leaflets to rail travellers and in letters in every factory. The International Socialists Executive Committee meeting on Tuesday called on all 13 members to do everything in their power to spread the railwaymen’s case and encourage support for the strike.

The strike is not a penny less than the full claim! No surrender to the Wilson–Tory line-up!

International Socialists Conference
REPORT: pages 10–13

Murders in Zimbabwe

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

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

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

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

As if by magic, a counter-demonstration emerged. Equally suddenly, a huge force of police, which had been waiting convenient- ly in safe streets, walked in with clubs and dogs. After flailing about in all directions, the police com- pleted their night’s work by firing indiscriminately into the crowd.

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

On 24 June the day is cast for Smith’s regime in Zimbabwe. That day the trade route through Mocambique will be cut by that country’s new, victorious liberation government. Smith is on the way out.

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

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

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

What the papers called ‘gang warfare’. Police wading in with dogs and clubs in Hightfield, Salisbury last Sunday.
This is class warfare, White...

by Liz Cola, NUPE nurse, and Andy Kuttner, NUPE Assistant Secretary, Hamme

IF WE'RE going to get anywhere with the ca

演讲者，然后我们和 NUPE 和 ASTMS 都组织了与

Meetings National Abortion Campaign

We held a demonstration on Saturday at De

FRANCO LINES UP SHOW TRIALS

AS THE massive wave of shootin

Defence lawyers for Basque militan

The trial, before a military k

Iva Forest and Antonio Duran, two socialist milita

Death

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

With these trials and the broader repression, the most massive since the general strike of 1978, the Franco regime hopes to smash working class and trade union resistance and prop up its new democratic window-dressing.

This, it hopes, will get the country back on its feet and into NATO, and so strengthen both the Franco state and the Spanish capitalism.

Workers in the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, for example, have been killed for a while.

In Vizcaya, 1000 people were diced

— What this has been explained

— What this has been explained

Just good friends? Francois Francois streets Ford, president of the 'home of freedom,' in Madrid this week.

Portugal: Army attacks Maoists

WHILE PORTUGAL'S Prime Minister, Vasco Goncalves, was in Brussels last week to 'rescue' NATO government ministers, a swift and brutal operation was launched against the Maoist MRPP. Perhaps as many as 500 members of MRPP were seized in a series of raids by the military-security force Copa on party offices and members' homes.

— Revolutions. Socialists in Portugal have rightly criticized these moves, understating that no such moves were being made against right-wing parties and emphasizing the right to party organization for all forces which do not front for fascism and big business. Copa have since released half of the MRPP members arrested and Copa spokespersons have also stated that MRPP has not been banned and claimed that the arrests were purely in furtherance of "essential investigations."

The moves against MRPP came amid a growing crisis in the Armed Forces Movement. Its most recent assembly saw the revolutionary position of support for revolutionary councils of workers, soldiers and sailors was increasing support. Right-wing officers are, therefore, anxious to weaken the movement somewheres and to shift the balance of power back to themselves.

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

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

MRPP's excursions into phoney popular just

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

— Stop the murder of Garmendia and Echevarria, Forest and Duran.

— Stop the wave of terror in Spain.

— Picket the Spanish Embassy, Hamme Crossroad, London SW1 (near Knightsbridge Tube) this Saturday 9am-Noon.

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

by Pauline Fenn

The CALL "NO Return to Back Street Abortion" is what really got the campaign against James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill (The Women's Action Group organised a march and a leafletting through the shopping centre in South East London. The West London Theatre Group performed 'Ther/er than white' at the Globe Street Market.

Before the play was short, neat and very good. It got across the point that the Bill in question was the non-working, class women are the ones who will suffer—not the upper crust gals who get preggers and have daddy pay for a Harley Street abortion.

Suffice enough, the older workers will be sympathetic because, as they said, they could remember only too well what a back street abortion really means.

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

The aim of the campaign to defeat the Abortion (Amendment) Bill is of vital importance to working class families. It is class war, as it's most blatant form.

perhaps in the last analysis, it is the birth

of a co-operative called Labour MPs. So

in the long run, I believe, it's safe to say that your MP votes against this Bill at its third reading.

by Pauline Fenn

Socialist Worker party members and the Catholic church were against this as well. They must be purged in every hospital, school, college and factory. They must be purged.

More copers available from Socialist Worker Company, 14 Cottam Gardens, London E2 (0-717 729 285). Leaflets also available, £1.50 for 1000.

Fight the Abortion (Amendment) Bill! Call the action now outside the House of Commons on Tuesday 23 June, 6pm. See you there.

Leicester National Abortion Campaign

Leicester National Abortion Campaign, 31 The Walk, Off The A583, and also other offices in all major towns.

Teachers: Fighting racism at school

By Jenny Jackson
at the East London Teachers' Association (ULTA) Teachers' Association, part of the NUT, is sending two deputys to the Rank and File Conference on Saturday 14 June. We have been involved in industrial action during the past year to fight against racism in the past year. In the past year, we have been involved in a number of disputes, including the one at the NUS conference, where we have supported the struggle against racism. We have also been involved in the struggle for civil rights and against police brutality.

Policy

After this, the Inner London Education Authority decided to make it their policy not to allow any formaed buildings.

The hardest job we have is the one of fighting the attitudes of some teachers and pupils. We organise the Rank and File Conference with the help of organisations, such as the NUT and the Inner London Education Authority.

We also organise a number of events, such as the One-Off Teacher's Conference, to give teachers a chance to discuss their experiences.

White

There is also the question of textbooks. Many books are just not suitable for use in schools. The NUT also tries to provide a wide range of resources, including middle class and working class. Without, they are aware of the need for more non-teaching material.

There is also a shortage of teachers of English as a second language. Many schools in multicultural areas are in need of more support. We have been involved in working with non-teaching staff, such as the NUT. We have also been involved in supporting them.

We have just begun to deal with these issues and we are beginning to see some changes. We have been able to remove some of the barriers to learning and we are continuing to work towards a better learning environment.

Against racism and discrimination in the workplace, the union and the community.

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

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

BRISTOL 15 public meeting. The Worker's Committee. 
7 June, 9pm, in the Alliance Hall, with representatives of other local IS groups.

REDFORD IS public meeting. Labour's campaign for the UEW Broads. 
9 June, 8pm, Labour Party room, 46 St Mary's Row, Newcastle.

HACKNEY IS public meeting. The United Workers' Federation. 
10 June, 8pm, The Hollies, Monday 9 June, 8:00pm.

CHESTERFIELD IS public meeting. Friday 9 June, 6pm, United Workers, 2 June, 6pm, Plough Hall, 24-26 Deane St.

NOISY (National Organisations of IS Members) public meeting. 
Women and the Family, the Women's Committee 26th May. 
19 June, 10am, 26th June, 9am, Horton Street, London NW8. 

A postcard illustrates the meeting with the header and subheader: "NOISY (National Organisations of IS Members) public meeting. Women and the Family, the Women's Committee 26th May. 19 June, 10am, 26th June, 9am, Horton Street, London NW8.

Meetings for IS members

TAS: TASS, National Meeting. 
Saturday 7 June, 11am-12pm, 17 June, 8pm, 19 June, 7pm, 21 June, 8pm, 23 June, 8pm, IS member's drinks room.

IS ITALY GROUP Day School. Saturday 16 June, 10am-6pm, IS member's drinks room.

NW LONDON IS District School. What's happening at the RCN? 
IS member's drinks room, Tuesday 19 June, 5pm.

EAST LONDON IS District IS member's drinks room. 
20 June, 6pm, 21 June, 5pm, 24 June, 3pm, 25 June, 5pm, IS member's drinks room.

INNER EAST LONDON IS District IS member's drinks room. 
26 June, 5pm.

IS YOUNG WORKERS' CONFERENCE. 
Sunday 24 June, 2pm-5pm, IS member's drinks room.

IS notices

IS needs a fast, accurate typist for an IS member's drink's room. Phone 0269 4271.

CELEBRATION for the anniversary of the Workers' Committee. 
Saturday 15 June, 9pm, IS member's drinks room.

Postcard illustrates the meeting with the header and subheader: "CELEBRATION for the anniversary of the Workers' Committee. Saturday 15 June, 9pm, IS member's drinks room.

LICESTER IS. Socially 7 June, 9am, 9pm, 13 June, 8am, 13 June, 8pm, IS member's drinks room.

MANCHESTER IS District. 
Grand Union, Thursday 13 June, 5pm, 16 June, 7pm, 20 June, 8pm, IS member's drinks room.

LONDON GREATER IN CITYMAKER: Social Worker film tour of a film and secret society. Whitley, 9 June, 6pm, 10 June, 8pm, 11 June, 3pm, 12 June, 7pm, 13 June, 8pm, IS member's drinks room.

PRIVATE PUBS: The IS private member's drinks room. 
Wednesday 11 June, 8pm, IS member's drinks room.

Last minute changes to IS meetings: Please check the IS member's drinks room.

**Flashback**...to the Socialist Worker article on Bernard Panter

**Here TAKE IT!**

A vital UEW election — and a Broad Left candidate had been the right wing on plate.

**Panter: The one who live the sword...**

**Social Worker's report on Bernard Panter (24 May), and his article on the UEW Broad Left: The UEW Broad Left for an appointed job with the Electrical Power Engineers Association, shows how the Communist Party policy of seeking to bring down union positions at all costs is wrecking the UEW as a fighting union.

The Panter's strategy was a series of repressions inside the UEW, with a challenge by the government, through the Electricity Council to defend a pay agreement made in 1974, was moving towards a strike ballot.

Panter's appointment and sacked would have been used by the media to embarrassed the Executive a time when support from the membership was crucial. The EPEA has been written under for a 31-34 per cent average increase.

The report described the EPEA as viciously anti-communist and, indeed, at the annual conference in April, the Panter renounced the longstanding ban on CP members holding office.

Such a ban has no place in a union which claims to be democratic.

To the working class it was the right wing they had been waiting for, and they took control of the union amid a ferocious anti-communist witch-hunt.

The Communist Party and the Broad Left have still not learnt, suggesting that they are not firmly in control of the EPEA, the election of official positions in the unions without the development of a strong and democratic rank and file movement must result in disaster.

-JOHN OWEN, IS member, Crawley.

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

The six-point plan draws up by the TUC steel committee and the RUC Steelworkers' Union, is now redundant as a vehicle to fight for a future for steel workers. We are not con

Finistron has played his hand cleverly. His threat of mass redundancies after the profits announced by our union officials into giving away our own workers. But the other plant committees to police the plan will have to be to do no longer fighting redundancies, but asking about how many workers are going to be there.

This will only lead to demodulation by the management of the police of the shop floor. Doing this will only set worker against worker.

A second feed this plan in- tends to save work by going into the threat of mass redundancies, but this would not be the end of the crisis in the steel industry.

The plan will only weaken our spirit and organisation, so Finistron is likely to have his cake and eat it! Working together with manage ment has never protected our jobs, and the only way to achieve this is to stand in concert as a union.

**FINISTRON'S DREAM...**

ONE POINT the press has care fully noted against steel boss Sir Monty Finistron is his determination to deal with an illusory situation. Finistron's problems are now even more clear.

OSSIE LEWIS, Honorary Treasurer, Shrewsbury Steelworkers Union, 25 Park Road, Chesham, Surrey.
LAST FRIDAY, freedom of choice returned to the homes of millions of workers. Independent Television was back on the air. After a whole week of 'monopoly', in which they were forced to watch BBC programmes only, they could switch to Crossroads and the Main Chance.

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

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

Before the Tories’ 1972-74 wage freeze, the television technicians’ union, ACTT, negotiated threshold payments which amounted to a significant cost of living index. These payments were held up during that pay freeze. When it ended, the union asked for payment to be made up. The union was entitled to the money which hadn’t been paid (about £500 a technician).

The Department of Employment said yes. A whole year passed in negotiation. Finally, suddenly, the television technicians said No, they weren’t paying the money.

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

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

He was, for instance, editor and chief executive of the Sunday Independent Television News from 1956 to 1968. Then he got a lot of shares in Yorkshire Television. He now holds 242,000 shares in Trident television, which in a good year brings him in an annual income in tax-free dividends alone of about £9000.

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

When he talked about the strike, he seemed to have lost all that objectivity learned from the New Zealand Army or the Sunday Independent Television News. He sounded like a.1973 Tory minstrel.

There would be no work in contemplation, he said, until the union dropped the claim. Not until they stopped going on strike, mind you. But if they gave up a claim to which the government (and the employers) admitted they were entitled.

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

Record

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

O’Keefe came from the Newspaper雯 Ministers Association where his ‘rough labour’ policies led to the splitting of the Daily Mirror from the IPC.

In November Cox, supported by representatives from the smaller companies, culled the idea that a lock-out was a strike-over a settled issue which, they hoped, would smash union before the annual wage negotiations start in the autumn.

They imagined that a lock-out would somehow smash the union but it is no use, they claim, and start a witch-hunt among the unions, especially since the union is the outing of Alan Sapper, the union’s general secretary.

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

A licence to print money

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

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

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

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

Until 1964, there was no limit on those profits. Almost all the profits were handed back to the shareholders. In 1964, the Tories imposed a levy on the profits. This levy was cut in 1965 by the Labour government.

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

By PAUL FOOT
Nationalisation: Is it a job saver?

BY DUNCAN HALLAS

How James White got 'tongue-tied'

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

Before he made it to Peacock's lawn the Labour MP he put in many a previous effort, like in Glasgow Woodside, back in 1963. The Tory MP had died, and the left-wing Labour Party had to choose a by-election candidate. The General Management Committee opted for the left-wing candidate, Carmichael.

The election conference was open to all the mandates at the union, even if they were Tory voters, or never attended Labour Party meetings. Left and right iqstimated vitriolously for their candidates. Then the Carmichael backers were dismayed to find another allegedly left candidate, backed by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

A Mr. James White.

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

THE sphinx in Portugal has shoked neighbourly fatas in more ways than one. The workers and peasants of the area bordering on Portugal were treated a few weeks ago to the Portuguese election campaign on television. This has given them the chance to assess their views of the Communist Party and various revolutionary groups in the privacy of their own homes.

And there's more than that on the box too. Many 'advertisers', films are shown in Spain—driving, cutting and sub-editing that nothing likely to offend Franco's regime is conveyed to the audience. Where there is no audience. Recently they networked 'Las Tres Potras'. This apparently did much to entice the viewpoints of jaded Spanish viwed...
British Leyland's super bus' 

A rolling death trap

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

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

The employers, in response, have always blamed lack of spare parts and maintenance workers. This excuses has now been exposed by the appearance of serious defects in the design of Britain's Leyland National.

With the London Country Buses, for example, blacked their entire fleet of Nationals after one driver had been booked for failing to stop at a red light. The road was wet. And when the lights changed, the driver was unable to stop and the bus skidded through the lights. The next day, the same bus skidded on a wet road and was badly damaged.

In Blackburn, the Ribble depot have had Nationals for only a few months, but in that time there have been two serious accidents, in which the driver and a number of passengers were injured, told me.

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

Tank

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

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

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

Colin had a month or so off work, and some of the worst bruising I've seen. He had a black and yellow band of bruising around his neck, about a quarter wide, where the steering wheel drove into his stomach. His hand and face were cut by flying glass. He still has some embedded in his arm.

But he was lucky. He could be dead.

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

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

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

You may as well be in a dark room with just a television screen and a few buttons to push. You don't get any feel on the road. The air brakes are particularly insensitive — a fact only now recognised by the management, who have started a few small modifications.

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

Inside a National: The pedals are dangerously close

By LES KAY, TGWU

A bus driver at Ribble garage, Blackburn

"The brake and accelerator pedals are the same size and height — and are less than two inches apart. Often you press the wrong one, or even both, at the same time."
When moderation means suicide

REVOLUTIONS pose new and complex problems. You learn about these problems in strange ways. We walked into a bank in Lisbon to get some money, and were addressed by the police, come on question: What do you think of the new Portugal? We must have answered with the correct reservations. Within seconds, a whole team of revolutionary bank workers were talking with us.

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

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

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

You LEARN about a revolution in strange ways.

You might be that someone just happens to mention that Benfica's attendance figures have dropped since the fall of Franco and that the players are organising against the 'degradation' of transfer fees. You might be that you come across it via the National Republican Guard, a body desperate to avoid liquidation and which, like the rest of the police, is staying off the streets.

Power
There are other fearsome consequences.

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

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

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

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

Among those who take the greatest risks, revolutionary soldiers, sailors and airmen, hesitation is perhaps only too understandable. But its consequences are only too serious. Furthermore, the longer you delay, the more you toy with some phoney middle road, the longer the scattered forces of the right, assisted by big business everywhere, have time to regroup and prepare for a situation that suits their book.

In that time, too, the creative energies and fighting will of the working class can wind down. A revolutionary crisis does not last forever.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inside the barracks, it is clearer what is going on. There are political powers on the walls, political papers on the beds and political ideas at the centre of army life. When you've sorted out your untainted British ears enough, you find that 'Long live the working class' is a common greeting among the soldiers. The first time I heard it, I nearly collapsed.

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

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

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

Report from Portugal: Laurie F.
'How we can move the struggle forward'

ANTONIO Amaro, a member of the secretariat of the revolutionary council, a bodemaker at the Suteiro shipyard and sympathiser of the FRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), explained just how serious the situation is.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nato

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

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

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

We have had, and have, more than a year. But what we build now will be of crucial significance when the time comes. With that in mind, every step we can take to increase working-class unity in action, to spread revolutionary socialist ideas in the working class and to extend the range and influence of our organisation in the here and now takes on a new, and revolutionary, aspect. And make no mistake, our time will come, in Britain as in Portugal.
CONFERENCE 1975

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

In the 1920s and 1930s workers didn't fight unemployment, but today the working class is locked in struggle over unemployment—and before it happens to them, while still in a job, they take it for granted that revolutions don't know all the answers. The whole purpose of a working conference is to share experience and generalise it. Key problems were the role of the Communist Party, a precise analysis of Renneny, how to build the rank and file trade union movement and how to build the International Socialists.

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

Crisis: End of the phoney war

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

British capitalism faced immense problems, he said. The employing class via the Heath government had tried to crack down on working-class living standards before British capitalism entered the crisis, and they had succeeded in inflicting this attack on the working class. It was against this background that the frenzied attacks on Benn had to be seen. While its politics amount to no more than an explosion of workers into the present system, the ruling classes see it as a consolidating element when they need outright attack on the working class. The ruling classes means that Benn's speeches can be interpreted in quite a different way from what Benn says. Revolutionary socialists have to be clear, said Harman, that even when Benn is under attack, there is no trap for workers. For this reason we must never hold back in the ideological fight against his ideas. That being said, Benn's ideas could well be the best ambassadors and all their reformism, to be a catalyst for workers if there were however moved and working-class organisations were to use them, a contrast between, then IS would have to see them and their struggle.

Revolutions should also avoid the pure form of a party, Harman said. If Benn was removed from the government, the significant sections of workers might move in protest. Revolutionaries had to be the force of any such development, broadening the struggle.

John Palmer kicked off the discussion. He argued that not to take clear political demands on the Labour government at a time of tightfisted state was a serious error. This did not mean revolution-stopping, he said.

TONY CLIFF: 'The real differences between the Labour and socialist parties are proved in struggle'

WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED:

HERES the conclusion of the conference's report on the deepening crisis and the right back. It was carried as 77 votes to 16.

It is necessary to press more strongly than ever the case for a socialist society, to expose the irrationality of capitalism, to argue in the struggle, to present the socialist answer, to say what a workers' government would do. That our weapons for confronting our politics from those of the task, for winning their support for revolutionary politics, are always the specific, detailed, demands that arise from the class struggle from day to day.

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

REDUNDANCIES AND SHORT TIME WORKING

1. New initiatives: no blackmailing; for 100 per cent ex-employees' associations.
2. No free in public expenditure; avoid workers' services.
3. The 35-hour week and work-sharing for 40-hour wages.
4. Five days work or five days' pay for the right to work.
5. Nationalisation without compensation and with shop stewards' control of running, jobs, conditions, and a militant wages policy.

INFLATION

6. No time limit to any agreement. For the right to challenge agreements and re-negotiate whenever the workers decide.

7. A daily wage rise to 10d a day and improve working class living standards. No "improvements" that reduce take-home pay. The workers' share of the output that they alone produce.

8. For cutting wage differentials to fight for greater wage rise for the lower paid. For a minimum wage of £7 a week.

9. Real equality of pay and opportunity for women.

10. No discrimination through productivity deals or job classification.

11. Absolute opposition to all wage restraint, whether voluntary (Social Contract) or compulsory (a new incomes policy).

THE STRUGGLE

11. Get the army and police out of industrial disputes.

Against the conspiracy lines and for the right to picket.

12. Fight racism in the factories and workplace; full race union support for black workers.

13. For rank and file organisation within combines, industries and unions and in the localities to mobilise full unity against the state and the employers' attacks on workers' living standards and for rank and file control of the trade unions.

14. For building the National Rank and File Movement to link up those in struggle in different unions and to build rank and file organisations.


It must be part of our present strategy to consolidate and extend the new left in the Labour Party, to come forward with policies which show the limitations of the Government. The main goal of the conference was to make Labour members take it for granted that revolutions don't know all the answers. "We were putting out the line of wage struggle enough and showing how international, Benn-style, was not in the workers' interests, and we're clear about it," said Jimmy McCallum from Glasgow.

"There is no debate that with capitalism in crisis we must continue to mobilise general support against and above the system. But we have been side till we have worked out the position, for example Jack Jones. We have been trying to build. The problem is not to make an issue, it is to win the mass of workers against the system."

Tony Cliff agreed strongly with this. He insisted that if you spoke to the general level without relating to the struggle, the reformists get off the hook. They would have no clear opposition with socialism and all sorts of general demands, but the real differences were proved in the struggle. London cottonworkers illustrated that in the newspaper industry workers were involved from the outset in ideological questions.

"We must make our demand operative in the class struggle."

Peter Bain from Glasgow said it was essential to understand the relationship of the Communist Party with Benn. "If Benn doesn't do it, we must do it ourselves."

"We have seen the virtual destruction of the Social Contract, the pacification of Labour. The only hope we see is the so-called left fight in the Labour Party."

JIMMY MCCALLUM: 'We must make our demand operative in the class struggle'
YOU CAN'T SPREAD IT, YOU MIGHT AS WELL FORGET IT

OPENING THE section of the JSU Conference on the six-day-long, eight-hour-a-day fight against redundancies and against lay-offs, John Denson for the executive said that the fight for jobs was much less intense than it had been in the days of the UCS and Fisher Bendix sit-ins.

The crisis made workers less confident in the industrial action they could observe; their employers, he said, were using ‘psychological warfare’.

The Budget had been a turning point, ‘There had been a spate of occupations and redundancies and you would get workers in good heart and the day after they would be sacked and factories; closed.’

Then the six-day-a-week, eight-hour-a-day fighting back was to spell out our direct aims so that we were talking about something real. The employers were not going to get away with the psychological warfare, ‘If we mean serious action, serious action, for instance, meant serious control of manning and the factory managers must mean it as well as the managers shifting the responsibility for the crisis on to the government.’

Won

Cuts must be fought on the shop floor

OPENING the debate on public expenditure cuts, Steve Jefferys for the executive said that the cuts were in many ways a more sinister and more effective attack on existing living standards than wage controls and the Social Contract.

They were more difficult to fight because they cut across the lines of traditional militancy. They cut across the traditional militancy. They were the only way forward because an action which is not partial.

The central aim was also to get the fight against redundancies and lay-offs off the factory floor and into the factories to fight against the cuts. The executive was fighting for the social services.

The need of the strike committee in the recent elections in Glasgow, a delegate from the General Corporation 15 branch, spoke about the building of a political programme of GS in Glasgow. The branch was growing and getting ‘stronger’, but it was hard work.

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WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED

THE FOLLOWING report on the fight against redundancies and lay-offs was passed overwhelmingly, as amended.

1. IN THE DEVELOPING fight against closures and retrenchment workers want to set up a series of demands that clearly state their alternative to the factory closures. The demand will be made by the management and the government that the factory closures and the appeal of the companies to the government and the government.

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The conference discussed the organisation of the "periphery" — the large numbers of workers who are close to us, who buy, read and sell the paper, but who are not members.

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

**Conference decided**

**CONFERENCE 1975**

**How we can put on muscle**

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

The same was true in a smaller way in every factory. Sixty per cent of our membership is organised in places of work, but our ranks are still too small and too vulnerable to give the necessary political lead. We have to look to all the workers who are prepared to work with us, he said. "There are lots of them."

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

Partly there was a reluctance to "join the profession." Many of our members spent up to 15 weeks just being IS members — all sorts of expenses were constantly run up. Then there were boring meetings, endless arguments, diabolically hot issues.

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

One office branch in the North East, which sold 100 copies of Socialist Worker, had set up a category "office member" upon whom they could rely when political issues were raised in the union. That way they had carried a motion by 72 to 26 to support the Rank and File demonstration on October 7.

Meyer wasاعد on such successes, regular 15p was crucial to building the periphery closer to us.

Socialist Worker supporters cards were one way to help organise workers. Besides these useful, others had not. Jim Nichol did not want conference to "lock a fork in them". The union was now developing positive direction and commitment to action on the periphery.

**Biggest**

Mike Gormley from Glasgow did not agree with the organisation of the periphery as described. He thought it could have been better.

Chris Harris thought this was mechanical nonsense. He said the important aspect of the periphery was its ability to grow for 50 years" he said. "But these are the biggest class struggle for 50 years and we are too small properly to cope with them.

Two speakers from Manchester spoke about the large numbers of workers around them who were sympathetic but who wouldn’t join. The Manchester branch thought these workers were especially important to IS when things were on the downturn.

**Defence**

One young man in the North East said there were 70 FBU people around him who wanted to join. And don’t need an excuse. There was an issue of the paper if necessary, and there were about 600 people in the factory each selling six SW, some of them well over 100.

These people were very important when political issues were raised in the life of the factory. They could be used to organise the periphery.

A worker from Middlesbrough complained that he did not get enough support when he tried to organise the periphery. He said they wouldn’t join, so he had a field day. After they had passed the motion, he was told there were no more meetings.

"It was too much, but that was wrong. The 'periphery issue' had proved a 'watered down' for 15p Funds, " he said. I don’t know anyone involved in the periphery issue in the meetings. They have been used to organise the periphery.

**Building**

The management knew these meetings took place but not what they were about. The meetings were invaluable for the union as well as for building IS.

The general feeling was that this was one of the best discussions of the periphery that the union had ever had. It was an important issue that was not necessarily or immediately or want to join the organisation.
OPENING the discussion on black workers’ conditions, Nigel Barret of the IS Executive said the working-class movement was steered by divisions, had been skilled and unskilled, day and night shift, men and women, black and white.

"That’s the case," he said, “how do we build a united working-class movement? How do we bring black and white workers together? It is necessary, as many disputes over the last year and a half have demonstrated.

"That’s why we need to organise ourselves in the workplace, mobilise support among workers, not just among black workers but amongst all workers."

The Chiungrai London Rubber Special Area Committee, representing Socialist Workers being taken into the factory, described how black workers had actually seen some improvements in their working conditions.

"When the workers first arrived here, we had to work 10 hours a day, with no breaks. Now we have a 12-hour shift, but we have been able to organise ourselves and get better conditions," said an activist.

"But there is still a lot of work to be done. We need to organise more widely, to bring in more workers, and to build the organisation down to the shopfloor level."

The discussion took up some of the key issues of the conference.

"The conference resolved to support the work of the committee, to organise more widely, and to build the organisation down to the shopfloor level."

The meeting ended with a call to action.

"We need to organise more widely, to bring in more workers, and to build the organisation down to the shopfloor level."

The conference agreed to support the work of the committee, to organise more widely, and to build the organisation down to the shopfloor level.
The building workers on the occupied Henry Boot site in York have to tell the boss that he should inspire every militant and socialist in the land.

Two weeks ago they joined the union to put an end to murderous working conditions. The response of Henry Boot was predictable: eight of them were sacked on the spot. But the boss reckoned without one thing—the determination of the men and their wives to fight the issue.

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

When the police arrived, the Factory Inspector, who never came before, have got themselves down there. They have pronounced that the boss is a reformed man, that they're looking to the future not the past. Then of course they walked away.

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

But the Henry Boot occupiers are undaunted. They know who their friends are or should be. They're out looking for support in the working-class movement, locally and beyond.

They came to the International Socialists' conference last weekend and collected £100 for the strike fund.

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

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

In NORTHAMPTON, workers on the Henry Boot site are now in the sixth week of their strike over a bonus scheme. They are now in touch with the York site. Both sites urgently need support. Messages and donations to Martin Dockey, 51 Holly Road, Northampton. Eric Golding, 211 Melemygate, York.

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

by Gerry Jones, TGWU Shop steward Chryser Stoke, Coventry

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

The offer is not just for Chryser workers, but for all national negotiations and the threat to break step which negotiated groups and national negotiations are not.

Offer

The strike was for a substantial increase in wages as a basis for further negotiations. But the offer of a wage increase should be made subject to the right to strike action in three weeks time at an amendment date.

Two

Only two or three workers for the proposed increase. The Shop Stewards' Committee, who have £8 have offered a £500 lump sum for negotiations are returned.

The workers believe that the cost of living is not rising at all. The offer is not for a wage increase but for a cash settlement.

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NO RETURN TO BACK STREET ABORTION
Demonstrate Saturday 21 June, 7pm. Women's Abortion Campaign (organised by Charing Cross Tabled, Rally and speakers from Solidarity Corner, Hyde Park. All IS branches to support.

By Murray Armstrong

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

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

But the stewards’ committee have stood firm. They decided on Monday to boycott the courts and stay inside the plant, despite attempts by Engineering Union officials to undermine the occupation by instructing their members to retreat to “peaceful, legal picketing”, and despite as attempts “red under the bed” campaign by the national press.

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

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

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

Massey’s urge of the state to break the strike must concern every trade unionist.

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

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

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

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

At Massey’s, management may back off from a confrontation. The decision of the stewards to ignore the court may well save their jobs.

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

MASSEY WORKERS BEYOND THE LAW

So much for the “neutrality” of the courts...

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

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

But those workers have done more than that. They decline to attend a court whose neutrality amounts to this: provided you accept that bosses have all the rights in the world and workers have little or none, then bosses and workers are equal.

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

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

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

That, like an occupation, is a crime.

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

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

They mix with and control the grouper.

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

He will have with his second their cousins, the Lords of the Court, who keep the Shrewsbury Two inside, or Sir John Donnelly, who joined them.

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

He might even be on friendly terms with one or several of the Massey directors. All of them, three of them are important figures in the British establishment. That’s why they’re in the box.

Lord Crathorne, for example, is a director of Fisons, a newspaper publisher and private secretary to Stanley Baldwin, the man who broke the General Strike.

Admire
Then there is the Magnates of Aberavon and the Duke of Westminster, both men of wealth and influence who have been visited by person judges admire and must have been raised.

And Massey’s lawyers, Allen & Gough, think they have enough good people in high places. For example, the company has been calling the Regional Mandelung of the Shadow Foreign Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

OUR FUND: HELP US TO HELP YOU

MANY people talk about socialism. We’re doing something about it.

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

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

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

Send your donations to Mel Norris, IS National Treasurer, 8 Cottages Garden, London E2.

Our fighting fund raised £236.73 last week, thanks to

Imperial College IS Soc £1.35, SW Reid’s Willow Press Ltd, Barclays in Forment (f), Leicesters rader (f), General Engineering Co Radcliffe, S WI Supporters £1.50, Harrow IS jumble sale £10, B London Hospital Workers member £10, Paddington IS £10, 6, C A Parsons £14.95, Hallian £10, A supporter £5, 809 Branch AMST£10.

Members: Special levy: London Print workers £1.00, Creative Sorting Office £3, Members £1.00.

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