

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# KEEP THE

# TORIES OUT

# VOTE LABOUR — but

# No Social Contract

# Fight wage restraint

**Build a revolutionary socialist party which will fight for workers' power!**

**THE SOCIALIST ANSWER Special supplement starts on Page 5**

# Election policy? They're all agreed

AS THE ELECTION campaign goes into its final stages, the hysteria of all three major parties about the need to cut workers' living standards reaches fever pitch. The Prime Minister has contradicted everything he said about inflation in the last election.

Then, Wilson attacked the Tory theme that wages caused inflation. Then, he protested that prices caused inflation, and prices had to be attacked first.

Now, in a series of speeches, Wilson has hammered the theme that 'just about now' things have begun to change. Now, for no apparent reason, wages cause inflation.

He says that wages will have to be controlled if inflation is to be controlled. And then he talks about the social contract.

At the same time, Heath, encouraged by the growlings from his Right-Wing lieutenants, notably Michael Heseltine, Tory Industry spokesman, has started up on the old theme 'who runs the country?'

John Pardoe, Liberal spokesman, is trying to outbid the Tories in his support for capitalism. He says that hundreds of firms are on the verge of bankruptcy and must be saved by relaxation of controls on prices and cuts in corporations (profits), taxes.

These prices would mean higher prices almost at once, and less money around for such things as schools and hospitals.

Meanwhile, prices continue to rise—and no party has any policy to deal with that. All the indicators show that over the past week, prices, specially food prices, have been rising at a faster rate than at any other time in the last year.

Shirley Williams' 'unofficial contract' with shopkeepers last June, in which she scrapped Labour's promises to bring down prices by compulsory direction in the shops, is a sham. In her statement last June,

which was agreed with the super-market kings and the grocers, Mrs Williams promised 'stability' on a list of 14 basic items.

In two and a half months, ten of these items have gone up in price. A pound of cheese has gone up 4p—a pack of three bars of soap by 4p, a pound of frozen chicken 3p.

These rises are in clear breach of the agreement between Mrs Williams and the retail traders. That 'social contract' does not matter.

Hold down wages. Let prices rip. That's the economic policy of all three parties.

# If you love the boss, vote

## Ross of Ross

AFTER its not unsuccessful attempts to snare some of the czars of the Scottish business community, the Scottish National Party is now trying to love up to the lairds, lords and dukes of the Scottish landowning class.

Eighteen months ago, the SNP wrote to the 350 top businessmen in Scotland for cash and support. Just how successful they were is unknown. But according to The Scotsman newspaper they netted at least several hundred pounds from 'undisclosed business sources.'

They also joined up ardent gambler and wealthy business tycoon Sir Hugh Fraser who woke up halfway through an aircraft flight with the thought that the SNP would be a useful antidote to trade unionism.

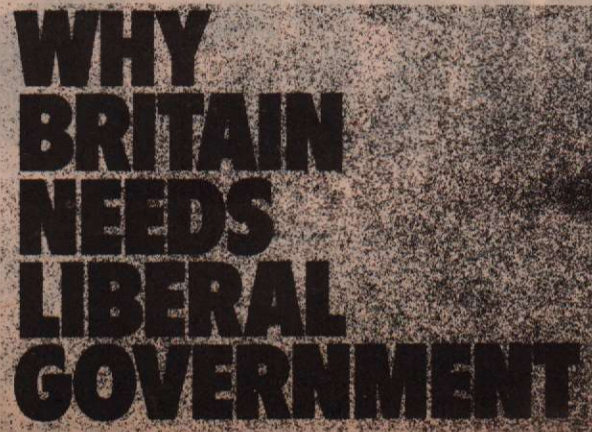
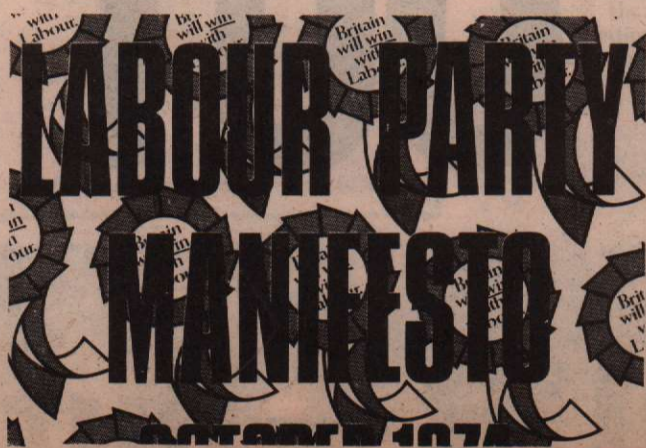
Since then the SNP and Sir Hugh, in company with Margo McDonald, Winifred Ewing and William Woolf have stayed on the treasure trail.

They held a splendid lunch and bun fight for Scottish businessmen at Glasgow's plush Central Hotel. The cost of this little operation was £1800, including that typical Scots businessmen's fare Contre Filet Boeuf de Richelieu.

It is understood that the SNP are hoping for a particularly favourable response from such creatures as the Duke of Sutherland.

*The ancestors of this gentleman proved their undying love for ordinary people by setting fire to their houses and running them off the land to make way for a more profitable commodity—sheep.*

The present version is currently engaged in a similar expression of love and respect. According to the



Daily Mail of 19 September, the Duke is considering withdrawing the 30 paintings he lends to the National Gallery in Edinburgh in protest against a wealth tax.

The paintings, which include Rembrandts, Titians and Raphaels bought from the spoils of a century of exploitation, are worth £20 million.

Another ancient but still influential reactionary now rallying to the SNP cause is The Ross of Ross.

He put in an appearance at the adoption meeting of SNP candidate William McRae, who announced himself as a 'cultural nationalist' and noted that 'the cost of a culture can only be in blood.'

Mr McRae is a wealthy Glasgow lawyer.

# PUTTING BRITAIN FIRST

A national policy from the Conservatives

## Can YOU spot the difference

by Bryan Rees

ARE Plaid Cymru the alternative for Welsh voters sickened by Labour's corruption?

There is a great deal of left-wing talk from the Plaid. But if we are honest, Plaid has nothing to offer workers in Wales.

Take wages. In Wales, average weekly earnings are 15 per cent lower than elsewhere in the UK.

At the same time, productivity is the highest in the UK. Now there is something wrong here—but it has nothing to do with nationalism. It looks like a case of poor shop floor organisation.

Perhaps, to cover the current rate of inflation, we should be demanding 45 per cent across-the-board wage rises—parity with our brothers and sisters across the Severn.

Plaid Cymru say that if we have a parliament with power to legislate in Cardiff these problems will be solved.

Unfortunately for them, capitalism is not limited by mountains or rivers—it simply knocks them down and dams them up and makes a profit wherever it can. All the Welsh speakers or MPs in Cardiff won't stop it, and from its manifesto, Plaid Cymru has no intention of stopping it.

## I.S. PUBLIC MEETINGS ON THE ELECTION

**SOUTHWARK IS:** Speakers Will Fancy (NALGO executive) and Europe Singh (NUT). Monday 7 Oct, 8pm, Rotherhithe Assembly Hall, Neptune St, London, SE16.

**OXFORD DISTRICT IS:** Speaker Tony Cliff (IS executive). Wednesday 9 Oct, 7.30pm, Blackfriars, St Giles.

**FALKIRK IS:** Trade union speakers. Monday 7 Oct, 7.30pm, Sitting Room, Temperance Cafe, Lint Riggs.

**EDMONTON & ENFIELD IS:** Speakers Duncan Hallas and Mary Lerner, Golden Fleece, Fore St, Park Road, Edmonton, N18. 8pm, Tuesday 8 Oct.

**NORWICH IS:** Speaker Margaret Renn (Socialist Worker), chairman Pete White (TGWU shop steward). Tuesday 8 Oct, 8pm, Central Library.

**CARDIFF & EASTERN VALLEYS IS:** Speakers Billy Williams (EPTU) and Colwyn Williamson (ASTMS). Wednesday 9 Oct, Four Elms pub, Elm St (off Newport Rd).

**CROYDON IS:** Tuesday 8 Oct, 8pm, Ruskin House (corner of Coombe Rd and Park Lane).

**NORTH LONDON DISTRICT IS:** Speakers Paul Foot and Martha Osamor. Thursday 3 Oct, 8pm, Earlsmead School, Broad Lane, Tottenham N15 (2 minutes walk from Seven Sisters Tube). All welcome.

**BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS:** Speakers Duncan Hallas and Wally Preston. Entertainment by Grey Cock Folk Group, Sunday 6 Oct, 7.30pm, Assembly Rooms, back of Digbeth Civic Hall.

**FULHAM & HAMMERSMITH IS:** Wednesday 9 Oct, 8pm, The Swan, Fulham Broadway.

**ILFORD IS:** Speaker Paul Holborow, Monday 7 Oct, 8pm, Co-op Hall, 203 Ilford Lane.

**SHEFFIELD IS:** Speaker Paul Foot, Monday 7 Oct, 8pm, The Red Lion, London Road.

**CENTRAL LONDON DISTRICT IS:** Speaker Duncan Hallas. Monday 7 Oct, 6pm, The Museum Tavern, Great Russell St.

**WANDSWORTH & LAMBETH DISTRICT IS:** Speaker Geoff Ellen. Thursday 3 Oct, 8pm, Battersea Library, Lavender Hill, SW11.

**BEDFORD IS:** Speaker Hugh Kerr. Tuesday 8 October, 8pm, Bunyan Centre, Mile Road, Bedford.

**BARNET IS:** Speaker Laurie Flynn. Tuesday 8 Oct, 8pm, Bull & Butcher, High Road, Whetstone, London, N20. All welcome.

**KINGSTON IS:** Tuesday 8 Oct, 8pm, Union Hotel, Surbiton Road, Kingston.

**DUDLEY IS:** Speaker Wally Preston (AUEW Manchester). Wednesday 9 Oct, 8pm, Castle & Falcon, Wolverhampton Street, Dudley.

**DUNDEE IS:** Trade union speakers. Wednesday 8 Oct, 8pm, 4 Roseangle, Dundee.

**HULL IS:** Speaker John Taylor (Bradford IS organiser). Monday 7 Oct, 7.30pm, Stevedores and Dockers Club, Posterngate.

**LOWESTOFT IS:** Speakers Ian Gibson (victimised member of ASTMS executive) and Ross Pritchard (NGA, printer on Socialist Worker). Monday 7 Oct, 8pm, Norfolk Hotel, Denmark Road, Lowestoft.

**PETERBOROUGH IS:** Speaker Jim Higgins (ex-executive member POEU). Sunday 6 Oct, 7.30pm, The Cobden Arms, Bourges Boulevard, Peterborough.

**RUBERY OWEN IS:** Speakers Terry Gallagher (AUEW shop-steward British Leyland Tractors) and Granville Williams (IS District Organiser). Sat 5 October Noon, Red Lion, Parkes Street, Willenhall.

**CANNON INDUSTRIES:** Dudley. Spkr Wally Preston. Tuesday 8 October, 12.30pm, The Rising Sun, Dark Horse Lane, Cosely.

**WOLVERHAMPTON IS:** Speaker Wally Preston. Tuesday 8 October, 7.45pm, Posaday Inn, Richfield Street, Wolverhampton.

**WEST BROMWICH:** Speaker Arthur Harper (Convenor AUEW British Leyland Transmissions) Thursday 17 October, 7.45pm, White Hart, Walsall Street, West Bromwich.

**WARLEY IS:** Open air meetings with local speakers, Saturday 5 October, 2pm, Corner Rolfe St/High St, Smethwick.

**BLACK COUNTRY COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM:** Open air meeting, Saturday 5 October, 2pm, Market Place, Dudley.

## The Army's vote: Terror as usual

NEXT Thursday will be Northern Ireland's fifth trip through the polls in 18 months. We had a referendum on the border, local government elections, elections to the now defunct Stormont Assembly and the February Westminster election.

And there is the 'constitutional conference' elections to come early next year.

For all that, there is little sign of weariness and there will probably be a higher percentage poll here than in any part of Britain. Which is not to say that anyone expects the elections to solve anything.

Two killings in Belfast on Monday brought the sectarian assassins' weekend total to four. Buses were burned in the Bogside on Sunday afternoon after the army arrested a number of youths. And the Provisionals and the British fought a pitched battle near Crossmaglen on Saturday evening.

No matter who has won or lost on 11 October things like that will go on happening.

There will be a high poll because sectarian demagogues on all sides are whipping up tribal feeling—no difficult task in Northern Ireland.

The pre-nomination period saw

a desperate scramble to find one Catholic and one Protestant candidate in each constituency so that two communities could vote separately and en masse.

In Fermanagh, South Tyrone for example, former MP Frank McManus and SDLP leader Austin Currie both stood aside for a local publican Frank McGuire—whose politics, if any, are a mystery but who, because he is now the only Catholic in the field, can expect to garner the 30,000 available Catholic votes.

To their credit, the Official Republicans have ignored these attempts to create an all-class Catholic alliance constituency by constituency, and have insisted on fielding five candidates.

In Derry, their candidate is ex-internee Micky Montgomery, one of the men who was hooded and tortured by the British in 1971. And in Mid Ulster Bernadette McAliskey is campaigning on their behalf.

The Republicans will not be helped by the idiocy of their Dublin leadership but their presence in the election at least ensures that some sort of radical non sectarian voice will be heard.

# IT'S DIVIDE AND FOOL YET AGAIN

by John Charlton

THE CONTROVERSY in Leeds over the right of Sikh busmen to wear their turbans at work took an ugly turn last Sunday. A mass meeting of busmen rejected the attempts of officials and agreed by an overwhelming majority to maintain their ban on Gian Singh Rehal, Kewal Singh Riyat, who have been Leeds busmen since the mid-Sixties.

The turban has been allowed, after bitter conflicts, in Manchester, Oldham, Huddersfield and Wolverhampton. In Leeds, on the other hand, the two men have been suspended from work for two months.

Workers in other transport concerns have already shown their anger at the Leeds busmen's decision. The Rank and File paper Platform has already issued two leaflets to Leeds busmen.

The issue is obviously of concern to the entire Sikh community. To maintain the dignity and self-esteem of Sikhs, Gian and Kewal Singh must win.

It is also of central importance to all Asian and West Indian workers in Britain. Because bitter racist sentiments are being expressed by certain Leeds busmen and allowed to go unchecked by the majority, a defeat for Gian and Kewal will be a major setback for all.

But neither can white trade unionists stand back. The evil forces who use racism have the wider objecting of splitting, fragmenting and destroying the trade unions altogether.

Many white Leeds busmen feel ashamed and humiliated by the actions of their colleagues but they remain silent in an explosive racist atmosphere.

All militant trade unionists who read Socialist Worker must raise the issue immediately in their trade union branch, sending the resolution to Transport House and Yorkshire Regional Secretary of the T&GWU, Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

In Leeds district, we must press for delegations of shop stewards and trade union members to visit the Leeds bus garages and argue the case out with the members. It is especially important for local busmen in uniforms to be there.

Leeds IS are organising a major publicity campaign in the area. Mass leafletting in Punjabi, Urdu and English will be starting this week. Labour election meetings will be attended and questions asked.

Members of the public are urged to join in this campaign. Full information from Leeds 671820.

## Asian strike sabotaged

LEICESTER:—The Kenilworth components strike of newly organised Asian women has ended in defeat. It was a six week official strike where no strike pay was given, no appeals were made from the Transport and General Workers Union district office for money, and a promised district levy never appeared.

The responsibility for the defeat lies with the TGWU. A full report of the battle will appear in next week's Socialist Worker.

## Police guard scabs

IT WAS a dead week in Slough last week. Each day outside Combined Opticals, the firm that has locked out 32 Pakistani workers who complained about a 57½ hour working week, pickets have looked on helplessly as the blacklegs have gone in under police protection.

These blacklegs are now arriving at different times in the afternoon after the confrontation a week last Wednesday, when two AUEW shop stewards were arrested.

The Slough AUEW district committee organised no solidarity support. They are relying almost entirely on the success of blacking Combined Opticals' goods at the Timex factory in Dundee, which is Combined Opticals' main buyer.

Yet there is no blacking at Dundee. According to shop stewards at Timex, there have been no 'official requests' for blacking. Indeed some are under the impression that the dispute is probably over in Slough.

Pakistani workers who picket the factory every day for 13 hours have been convinced that the union's strategy of blacking is going to force the employer to clear out the scabs and re-employ them under their conditions.

If the Slough AUEW intends to win it has to come up with some fresh plans—fast.

## Mrs Allende gives the game away

WHEN MRS ALLENDE, wife of the murdered former president of Chile, visited this country three weeks ago she was much feted by leaders of the Labour and Communist Parties.

One thing that has received much less publicity is her assessment of what happened in Chile, given in a recent interview with the French paper *Le Monde*. Perhaps this is because it clashes wildly with what British Labour and Communist leaders are still saying. We reproduce part of the interview below.

THE ballot-paper is not sufficient to achieve socialism. One also needs an army at the service of the people. The coup has shown us that, at least in Latin America, it is an illusion to commit oneself to the constitutional and pluralist road.

To get into government does not necessarily mean to control political power. And we never succeeded in controlling the state apparatus.

We did not have in our hands either the legislative machine, for the majority in Parliament supported the opposition, or the judicial machine, which was systematically favourable to the big property-owner and the plotters, or alas!—the military machine, as we saw on 11 September.

## Action call to fight union racism

THE following resolution was passed by the IS conference this week:

Conference notes with dismay use by racials of the Leeds Busworkers Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union to victimise two Sikh busmen. We call upon all TGWU members to pass resolutions at their branches/District Committees:

Condemning the actions of the racials in the Leeds depots.

Condemning the local and national full-time officers of the TGWU for failing to mount a campaign against racism where it appears on the shopfloor.

Demanding that the General Executive Committee mounts an

immediate campaign into the activities of racials and fascists in the TGWU with a view to withdrawing membership from proved members of the National Front and similar fascist organisations.

T&GWU members of IS at Conference met to discuss how the spirit of the resolution could be implemented, after a good discussion, with contributions from dockers, carworkers, builders, busmen and hotel workers, a list of basic areas of work was drawn up.

Particular mention was made of the growing number of racist strikes in the T&GWU, with the Leeds turban dispute rapidly following in the footsteps of the Burnley bus victimisation strike and the strike at Imperial Typewriters, Leicester.

While we agreed that the best way to help the Sikhs was by organising support within the T&GWU factory branches, particularly in the motor industry, it was still agreed that a resolution campaign was necessary.

T&GWU full-time officials fail to intervene and give a lead against racism because they like a quiet life and aren't prepared to combat racism when that means arguing with their members.

Life must be made more difficult for them with floors of resolutions from all over the country protesting at their inactivity and forcing them into action.

The call for an inquiry was seen as a central part of our ongoing work against racials in the T&GWU.

All the comrades were urged to fight for the resolution in their workplaces and union branches and in particular to ensure that copies of any successful motions are sent to Socialist Worker, the Leeds Bus Branch, the two Sikh busmen and Jack Jones, T&GWU General Secretary.

All IS T&GWU members are strongly urged to send immediate reports to the Industrial Department of their experiences with racials in every locality.

All messages of support and copy resolutions can be sent to the Sikh busmen via *The Platform*, c/o Sandford Road Bradford 3.

### Tenants fight on

NORTH LONDON:—The case of the ten defendants from the Islington Tenants Campaign comes up before judge in chambers at the High Court next Thursday.

For months, the Campaign have been picketing Prebbles Estate Agents in Upper Street, Islington. Prebbles have been accused of harassment of tenants and the Campaign has been directed against the tactics of property developers in the area.

Prebbles have sought injunctions against the ten and have taken proceedings against them, alleging libel, conspiracy and besetting.

A temporary undertaking was made by the ten in July, pending preparation of the defence.

Send donations to the Islington Tenants Campaign Defence Committee, 7 Barnsbury Park, London N1.

## NALGO: A mindless moderate hits out

THE NATIONAL PRESS has been publishing the Save NALGO Campaign launched by union executive member John Fraser. The campaign follows letters from Fraser trying to save the union from the NALGO Action Group and worse, the dreaded International Socialists.

The support of the press is no surprise. They specialise in using men like Fraser to distort all causes which run counter to their own scheme of things. The main smear in Fraser's diatribe is that IS members are power and position seekers who manipulate the NALGO Action Group with a view to getting themselves into high positions so they can manipulate the whole union.

The International Socialists are happy to leave manipulation to the Save NALGO Campaign. IS members in NALGO, as in all unions, are not interested in position seeking, in getting executive places as an end in itself.

IS members work to involve rank and file union members. IS members constantly promote the cause of more, not less democracy in all unions.

### Involve

NALGO Action isn't the property of IS. IS members are active in it. It is an organisation open to all who believe in militant action against repression of trade unions, and who are NALGO members.

NALGO Action has a fine record, not only in promoting wage claims that unite and involve the membership, but in increasing democracy in the union.

NALGO Action has for example fought successfully for the union to circulate election addresses for NEC candidates so the members know what policies the candidates stand for.

In a letter to fellow NEC members during the London weighting struggle earlier this year Fraser exposed his attitude to democracy. He wrote:

'The NEC is in danger of losing control of the London Weighting situation. It should now be obvious to all but the wilfully blind that politically motivated members in the London area and on the NEC (and I don't confine that term to members of the Action Group) are pressing on irresponsibly with a campaign of mindless militancy simply for the sheer hell of it ...'

'I now learn that Islington members are refusing to return to work! Really, who is running this Association? Isn't it high time we on the NEC got some strength back into our palsied hands and asserted ourselves? I believe that we must immediately cut these members off without a penny of strike pay in order to bring them to their senses and their holiday to an end ...'

Yes who does run the union. Brother Fraser? The members—or your 'palsied hands'?

The most disgusting smear in the Save NALGO letter is a reference to the NALGO strike fund being milked by the London weighting strikers.

For five years, the Right-wing campaigned to get £1 million from the strike fund into a scheme for a new office black headquarters.

### Affect

They succeeded at conference in 1973 after assurances that this wouldn't affect the strike fund and that the money could be liquidated at any time.

During the London weighting campaign, Fraser and others started to discount the £1 million. So much for milking!

Fraser ignores the union structure, to attack conference decisions—while NALGO Action works within the structure. Fraser is scared of an articulate rank and file—so he attacks NALGO Action.

To do so, he grossly exaggerates IS influence, making it the centre of a conspiracy.

Not bad for a Labour man who seconded IS member Will Fancy's anti-Phase One motion less than two years ago.

His main problem is that he isn't the centre of the universe on the left in NALGO anymore. It seems he'll do anything to get reinstated ...



# Labour: what they want, what they get

IN YOUR issue of 14 September you say on the first page that the policies of the Labour Party have one aim: to cut the living standards of workers so that a parasite class can maintain its privileges, its leisure and its power.

I am no great lover of the Labour Party and my membership has been rather erratic from 11 years as a Labour councillor to resignation over the policy of the Labour government towards the Vietnam war. Moreover I have been thought sufficiently respectable for International Socialists to suggest I might join the organisation, along with other members of my family.

But I do firmly believe that it is both morally wrong and politically foolish to say what is untrue, and that statement about the Labour Party is demonstrably untrue. I am willing to concede that some of the policies of the Labour Party may have the result suggested. I think the social contract is, at best, a very temporary expedient and could be supported only

in a society very differently structured from that of the present. But it is still false that it is the aim of the Labour Party to cut the living standards of workers so that a parasite class can etc.

You may think it is quibbling to disagree with 'aim' when I am willing to concede 'result'. But I don't think so because that kind of statement has various consequences and implications. First it prevents people paying attention to your solid case for radical change. Secondly, it is insulting to the intelligence of the workers who read your paper. Thirdly, it is shrill and so bad propaganda. Fourthly, it is cynical because since you cannot believe it is true you must intend to mislead. And lastly, it uselessly adds to the general internecine warring between groups on the left.

I do not mind you attacking the Labour Party—I do enough of that myself—but there is no advantage to you or anyone else in attacking it for vices it does not possess.—J A G GRIFFITH, London School of Economics.

**GIVE US SUPPORT . . .** Harringey Trades Council's committee against racism and fascism in the borough has called for a march against the National Front and the National Independence Party. The march will assemble at Bruce Castle Park at 2pm, 5 October. Bring your banners, it's vital we have a really big turnout, come and join us! In Tottenham we recently lost a council seat to a member of the NIP and we intend to take the march through his area culminating in speeches outside Tottenham Town Hall. It is very important that we expose the NF for what they are wherever they appear.—SHEILA PEACOCK, Convenor, Tottenham, N17.

**IT WAS THE SPG . . .** I was disappointed in your report on the National Front demonstration (14 September) that you didn't point out that the fascists were completely surrounded and protected by the Special Patrol Group. The same SPG attacked a May Day march of trade unionists, and defend fascists. Makes you think doesn't it? On any picket or march if you want to spot the SPG they have CO on their shoulders.—IAN OLLEY, London E.15.

**LET HE WHO BE WITHOUT SIN CAST THE FIRST . . .** I hate the ugliness of capitalism but I don't believe in pulling down one person in a group of people who do the same thing. I refer to the article on Mick Jagger (21 September). The whole pop scene consists of capitalists. Why pick on Mick? Is it because his act has been that of a rebel? Until we become a fully socialist world we can't put people down on how they spend money they earned. Don't forget its our fellow workers who bought the records. I for one will remain an ardent fan of the Rolling Stones.—J WALSH, Liverpool.

**INFLATION . . .** There ought to be a short series on inflation; this often comes up in talking to people about politics . . . We hear a lot about the rise in world commodity prices—as if this was an act of God or the result of a few nasty capitalists . . . I think Marx's Wages Prices and Profits ought to be plugged more because it explains why wage rises don't cause price rises.—PETE BRAHAM, Leeds.

**THERE'S ALWAYS THE BOSS . . .** On 9 September we, the workers at Caxton chocolate company who're in the union held a meeting to nominate a female shop-steward and to ask for a rise of £10 . . . There were four candidates and the contest was closely fought. But for the second time the workers elected a chargehand to represent them . . . One brave worker stood up and asked the crowd how they could elect a person who was asked by management to supervise the female workers . . . The chief shop steward said he couldn't do anything—he should have told the workers that no chargehand is entitled to become a shop-steward but all he did was sit back and let the show go on . . . We're going backwards as far as union matters are concerned.—CAXTON WORKER, North London.

**I WASN'T, I DON'T, I'M NOT . . .** My attention has been drawn to a photograph in Socialist Worker (10 August). Part of the caption reads: 'In the centre is Danny Harmston, formerly Sir Oswald Mosley's bodyguard. I was not on the march, nor any other march of the National Front, to which I am opposed. I have never been 'Sir Oswald Mosley's bodyguard' because there has never been one.—DH HARMSTON, London NW3.

**MARRIAGE? STRIKE? . . .** I work at the Ford Assembly plant at Dagenham but was laid off on 10 September. Nine days later I went along to the Social Security to claim some money—being short . . . But I was, they told me, despite repeated denials, a striker, entitled to no benefit at all since I'm unmarried . . . They said I would eventually receive strike pay (I'm not on strike!) Ford don't pay lay-off money to workers who they temporarily unemploy . . . I'm not sure how to fight the SS or where I stand. Could anyone offer any advice?—NAME SUPPLIED, London, NW.

**GRANNIE IN TROUBLE . . .** 'Battling' Grannie Brookstone, head of the publicity stunts for Alan Fisher's hospital workers union NUPE at Charing Cross Hospital, is in trouble with her members. A rank-and-file campaign has been launched by Cross Fire, Charing Cross's rank-and-file TU broadsheet, to force Brookstone to stand for election as Branch Secretary—for the first time in 10 years. Her reputation following her strike-breaking antics during the technicians' dispute will not have been helped by her appearance in Socialist Worker two weeks ago—in the middle of the TUC, voting for the Social Contract.—STEVE LUDLAM, Editor of Hospital Worker, London.

# LETTERS

## Why I'm going to

## vote Labour

WITH THE election a week away the most significant aspect of the build-up so far has been the virtually identical positions taken by the three major parties in their calls for 'national unity'. At times it is virtually impossible to distinguish between them.

This makes it very tempting to dismiss the election as being irrelevant to the real problems facing the working class, as some kind of meaningless distraction designed to divert us from the real struggle for socialism.

There is some truth in this—after all the real power of the working class lies in the work place, not the ballot box.

But it'll still be important to keep

the Tories out at the next election. At the moment the only real alternative to a Tory government is a Labour one.

Despite the fact that the Labour Party's antics in government have discredited it with socialists it still gets the votes of the vast majority of trade unionists. Although committed to 'making capitalism work' a Labour government allows workers more freedom to organise and defend their ideas than either of the

other parties.

If the Tories are elected, or some form of bogus coalition is concocted in the interests of 'National Unity' then it is clear that workers can expect a vicious attack on their living standards and on the trade union movement. A Labour government gives the ruling class less room to manoeuvre.

The deepening crisis is going to make it more difficult for Labour to dole out the few reforms through which it keeps its credibility. This in turn produced much better opportunities for presenting revolutionary politics—and building the revolutionary party as the only way forward for the working class.

During the election period in Scotland one of the main two tasks of the International Socialists will be exposing the reactionary role the Scottish Nationalists and the contradictions in their politics.—DAVID SHERRY, Glasgow.

**YOU SHOULD** have mentioned that strikes and demonstrations have been banned in Ethiopia by the military. The militant workers and students have demanded that they be legalised.

The workers have also demanded a civilian, presumably elected, government. But the military want capitalists—local and foreign—to be well protected. No doubt some individual excesses—corruption etc, will be punished, but capitalism stays until the workers can overthrow it.—L F HOLLEY, Bath.

## SCOTS AND THE SNP

IF THE best advice you can give to Scottish workers in this election is to vote for the British Labour and Unionist Party, then you might exercise more care in your criticisms of the Scottish National Party.

If your main criticism of the SNP is that its leadership is full of capitalists and their political henchmen then your advice to vote Labour is strange indeed, as none of their leadership would exactly face the dole queue on retirement.

Presumably you would argue that the Labour Party is more than its leadership, but if you do you should examine the SNP under the same microscope, instead of cheerfully lumping Scottish Nationalism and the SNP, two not necessarily identical things, into the same bundle.

I suggest that well-meaning people like yourself re-read the history of these islands, and observe how a precondition for the expansion of English 'Britain' was the destruction

or assimilation of the minority nations.

The policy for Wales was that of cultural genocide; from 1400 onwards the Welsh were subject to a policy of Anglicisation. Three centuries later, it was the turn of the Scots, whose culture was mutilated into the harmless (to the English establishment) Scotticism of the White Heather Club and the Edinburgh Tattoo.

This was a process not unconnected with the development of capitalism either. Is it any surprise, then, that left-wingers in Scotland often support the national movements?

Having said all of which, let me finish by wishing you all the best and by placing an order for Socialist Worker. I don't have to agree with all that you say to recognise that yours is the most readable, most trenchant and most honest publication on the 'British' left.—BOB WAUGH, Oxford.

## UPW: a little help from their friends

THE UNION of Post Office Workers action in banning John Halet and Sylvester McGovern of London Overseas Telephones Number Two branch demonstrates once again the extent to which union headquarters are prepared to collaborate with management in victimising those union

members who take the principles of trade unionism seriously.

In my own case (reported in Socialist Worker (25 April) the union sat back and allowed the Post Office to sack me on blatantly trumped up charges of misconduct. They also discouraged local resistance and

generally seemed pleased to be rid of a long standing activist.

However the worst aspect of these cases is the level of collusion between union headquarters and Post Office management. When I was threatened with dismissal I suspected such collusion. Subsequently events confirmed this suspicion in that union headquarters refused to take any action until I was actually given notice, and then failed to carry out their part in the internal disciplinary procedure and simply marked time until the period of notice was expired.

The lesson for ordinary UPW members is this: organise in the union for rank and file control. This means scrapping the system whereby full-time officials are there for life and systematically changing the union rules forbidding communications between branches except through union headquarters.


Local branches should elect their own full-time officials and should be encouraged to do so. This will ensure that the union is controlled by the rank and file and not by a few full-time officials who are not accountable to the members.

Tony Cliff:

### STATE CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

Russia today is a centre of reaction as vicious and almost as powerful as the U.S. and as capitalist.

What is state capitalism?  
How did it come about?  
Why is Russia not a workers' state?  
Are there communists?  
Describe the level of reaction against Russia?  
Describe the level of reaction against the U.S.  
Why are the U.S. and Russia so powerful?  
Why are the U.S. and Russia so powerful?  
Why are the U.S. and Russia so powerful?



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## THE ELECTION:



# The Socialist Answer

“I think we’ll be fighting until there’s a change in the whole system”

WELL, of course I’ll be voting Labour. And I’ll be urging the don’t knows and the not sures in the Ford Body Plant where I work to do the same. But Labour are just the best of three evils.

I can’t really say that it makes that much difference who you vote for. I can’t see that Labour will make much improvement on the really important things: wages, old people, nationalisation.

The members I represent realise that it’s going to be tough anyway. Quite honestly they believe that whoever gets in, the first thing they are going to do is introduce some sort of wage freeze.

## Not on

In my members’ minds, promises are nothing. They promise, promise promise and it just doesn’t mean anything. We’ve been promised a lot in the past and we’re still fighting. I think we’ll be fighting for years until there’s a change in the whole system.

As for Labour’s Social Contract, if it means we have to work longer hours for less money, then it’s not on. It’s meant to involve us, it already does involve us but it wasn’t even discussed with us.

We didn’t sign it. Anyone can sign a bit of paper. But we are not bound to carry it out.

Inflation has overtaken everything. It’s strike or starve really and that’s not an exaggeration. The lads are more determined now than we’ve ever been. Fords are way ahead on profits and we are the worst-paid workers in the industry. It just doesn’t make sense.

How is parliament supposed to

# I’m voting Labour—but what’ll happen AFTER the election?

NO TRADE UNIONIST should have any doubts about how to vote next Thursday. A Labour majority would represent a small advance for the working class movement, a Tory victory a small set-back.

We do not say this because we have any illusions that Labour can solve the growing economic crisis or prevent it hitting wages, working conditions or employment.

Far from it. When the leaders of all three established parties tell us the crisis is coming and that there is nothing they can do about it, they are telling the truth.

Labour, as much as the Tories, accepts the big business system. It has no greater ability than the Tories for preventing the crisis of that system wrecking havoc on the lives of workers. Whatever they say now, Labour in power will, as in 1964-70, accept unemployment and try to use the law to hold back wages.

The election result will, however, make a difference to one thing: the conditions under which the fight against unemployment and wage restraint takes place. If the Tories win, it will signify that large numbers of workers have come to accept the message that they themselves are to blame for the rising prices and the redundancies. It will give new heart to all those who want to lead a real onslaught against wages, conditions and the social services.

The Keith Josephs, with their talk of massively increased unemployment, and the Geoffrey Rippons, with their plans for private armies of scabs, will feel much strengthened.

On the other hand, if Labour wins, and gets a big majority, that will be yet another slap in the face for those who preach an open and direct attack upon the working class organisations. The Labour government itself will then find itself in a weak position to try to make workers pay for the crisis.

That is why we say vote Labour to keep the Tories out.

But, that cannot be the end of the matter. Unlike most of the leaders of the trade union movement, we do not see a Labour majority as an end in itself.

On the contrary, we want it because it makes it easier for us to fight the policies which any government that accepts the big business system will be forced to implement.

What is needed is not merely a Labour vote, but a policy for fighting back against wage restraint and unemployment whether Wilson or Heath is in Downing Street. Such a policy must include the following points:

**30 per cent across the board wage rises.**

At the moment, prices are rising by about 20 per cent a year. Under such conditions the wage restraint embodied in the Social Contract means a cut in real wages.

Massive wage demands are needed to recoup the loss—particularly since a third of any pay increase is taken by tax and national insurance deductions.

**No time limit to any agreement. The right to renegotiate whenever the workers decide.**

The Social Contract stipulates that agreements should last 12 months. But with inflation rising ever upward, that means accepting wage cuts for months at a time.

**Equal pay for women**

Both Tories and Labour have promised 1975 as the ‘year of equal pay.’ But with three months to go, women workers still earn, on average half as much as men.

**A minimum wage of £35 a week.**

There is no other way for millions of workers on low wages to avoid being pushed into dire poverty.

**Five days’ work or five days’ pay.** All the politicians accept unemployment will rise to around the million mark in the next few months.

## Dole

The Social Contract has not one word to say on how to stop this. Workers must fight to prevent their lives being wrecked by the bosses’ crisis.

**The 35-hour week for 40 hours’ pay.**

The fight for the shorter working week can force the employers to take on workers, and cut the length of dole queues.

**Nationalisation under workers’ control without compensation.**

Workers need to fight redundancies with strikes and occupations, demanding that if the bosses cannot provide work and a living wage, they have their factories taken off them—and not get a penny in return.

To prevent nationalisation of the old sort, as in the mines and British Rail, workers’ control is needed to safeguard jobs and wage rates.

**For rank and file unity, against the employers’ attacks. For a national rank and file organisation.**

The willingness of the leaders of all the big unions to support the social contract shows that no reliance can be placed on them in the struggles ahead.

That is why as many groups of workers as possible should be represented at the national conference called by the Rank and File Coordinating Committee for 30 November.

**Build a revolutionary workers’ party. Build the International Socialists.**

As the crisis gets worse, merely defensive struggles are not going to be enough. Workers will need to go on to the offensive against big business.

For that a new form of political organisation will be necessary, one which co-ordinates the different struggles of workers into a single strategy for fighting for socialism.

**The International Socialists exist to build such a new revolutionary workers’ party that will fight for workers’ power.**

## WHAT WE THINK



Gareth Williams, an Engineering Union steward in one of the most militant departments in Fords, Dagenham, which led strike action against the Industrial Relations Act and the massive fines on the AUEW. The plant has twice been occupied and run under trade union control.

deal with Henry Ford? People find the only time they can speak to their local MP is election time. Otherwise they have to make appointments, wait, sit around and get no satisfaction, no matter how important the issue.

The MPs on TV just contradict each other and make accusations. They never talk about the really

important things.

Take picketing. This is very important to us. On 8 May this year we were out on official strike and the Special Patrol Group lifted four of our lads right off the line. They had come out with one intention, to smash and demoralise the picket, to slow down the movement.

People are looking for something

different. Obviously the answer is socialism. There’s no doubt in my mind that a workers’ state is possible. The working class has the skills and the abilities and we even have the right people to lead us.

We’ve proved this on a small scale in the Body Plant. When we have worked without supervisors we just didn’t get problems. It’s management that causes problems.

When workers themselves do things as a team, no problems occur.

But people ask themselves, what’s the alternative going to be like? Until people really do something and prove that it’s going to work people are very reluctant to come forward.

Until we can prove that this is the right thing to do, the right system to aim for, that we are for the working class and we are there for them, until we have some sort of real workers’ party it’s no good. It’s the only way workers will get control. And then they will have their say.

If we could do this, then I wouldn’t need to be voting Labour in the next election.

## ELECTION SPECIAL

WHY ONLY THE WORKERS HAVE THE ANSWER TO THE CRISIS—PAGES 6 and 7

THE PEOPLE WHO WILL STILL BE IN POWER WHOEVER WINS THE ELECTION—PAGES 8 and 9

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER—PAGES 10-13

HOW WE ARE FIGHTING FOR SOCIALISM—PAGES 14-17



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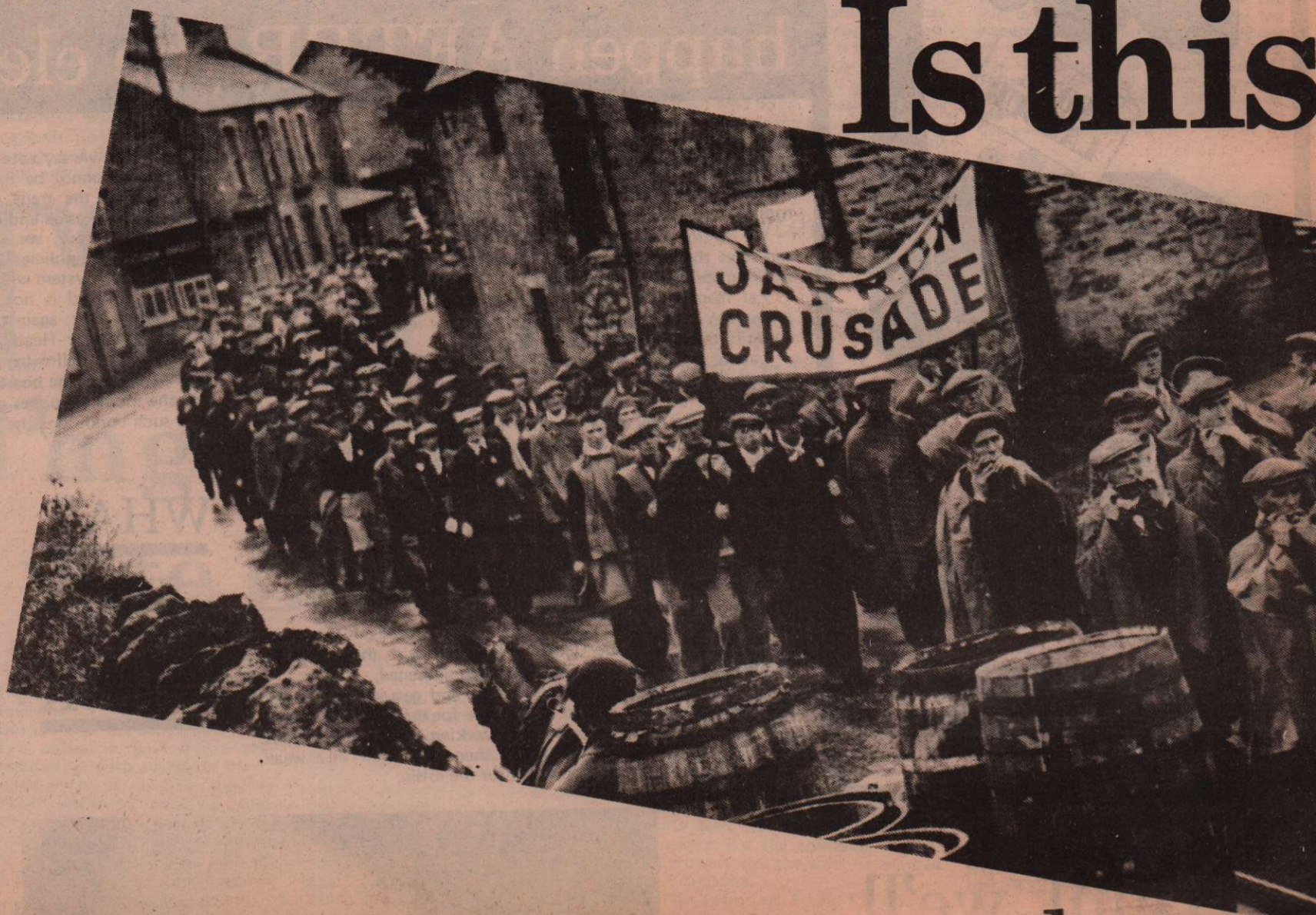
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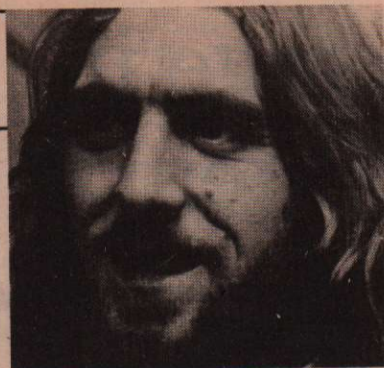
# What's happening to my wage packet?

# Is this



# Why food costs more and more

By CHRIS THOMPSON



IT WAS announced two months ago that 40,000 members of the Country Landowners Association owned between them half the agricultural land in England and Wales. What a lot of fuss this small gang have been making recently.

With tears running down their fat faces they tell us we must pay more for our food—from our ever-shrinking pay packets—or they will no longer produce it. I am sick of their whimpering, because I'm a farmworker who, with fellow farm workers, produces everything they've got. For which they pay me less than £30 per week.

Their so-called crisis is just the sharpest end of the chaotic, wasteful and ridiculous system that they and a small minority of others have grown fat off over the years.

The world capitalist crisis highlights all the idiocies that have taken place on the farms since they stole the land from the people.

It seems every section of agriculture takes it in turns to have a crisis. First the cereal farmers have a bad harvest, so a crisis is declared, and the price of bread goes up.

The next year, livestock producers, who use grain to feed their animals, declare their own crisis because feed costs have risen. Of course, the price of meat and

eggs goes up.

The next year, potato and tomato producers have bad seasons with the usual results. By which time it's back to the cereal farmers again.

No-one seems to notice that when each section is out of the crisis limelight, they're busy throwing away good food and making a handsome profit.

## Dump

Some people may have seen lorry-loads of potatoes of a strange purple colour being driven around the country. This is not some strange disease. The potatoes have been sprayed with a dye by the Potato Marketing Board, which means they are destined to be eaten by cattle or pigs.

No, there's nothing wrong with them. Nor has every pensioner got enough potatoes to last the winter.

Under this system the Potato Marketing Board has to waste them to keep the price up to farmers' profit levels. What a job—spraying good potatoes with dye so humans

as the system marches on.

Soil panning is becoming a problem because of the use of larger and heavier tractors to cut down the labour force. Excessive use of nitrate fertilisers has already poisoned some water supplies in Virginia, US, making most of the land less productive and some of it useless. How long before it happens here?

It's not a matter of producing more food, for as we know the bosses will put two fingers up and throw it away before they'll take a cut in their profits. They stand between us and enough food for everyone.

The answer to the bosses' food crisis is the same as to all their crises. If they can't handle the world's resources so as to benefit mankind, we can.

Workers' control of the land would mean an end to the dumping of good food, and to the castration of good land to no purpose.

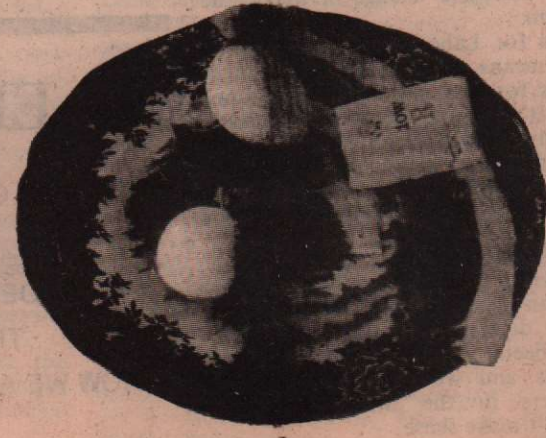
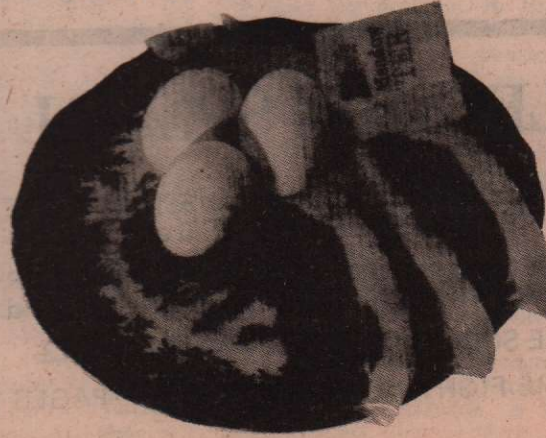
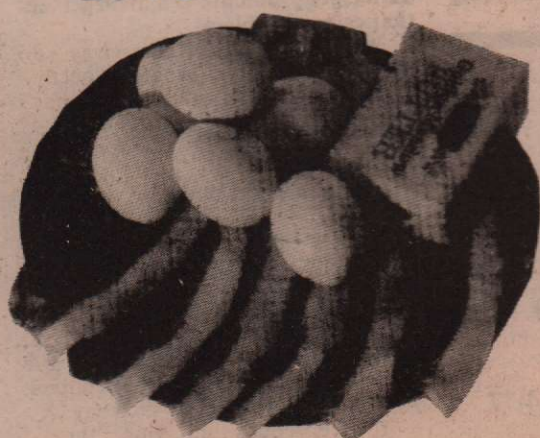
It would bring production for need, no more killing of young dairy cows because milk is not profitable. No more growing corn on land more suited to other crops because there's more money in it.

Only by kicking out the bosses can we get the land back from producing profit for the few, to producing food for the masses.

1970

1974

1978?



While your wages buy less and less food, farmers push up prices to boost profits

# Why are so many people losing their jobs?

# the shape of things to come?

## YOU WERE SAYING, MR WALKER?

A PROMINENT ruling class spokesman is Peter Walker, former Tory Secretary of State for Industry, and one of the richest investment tycoons in Britain.

Last November, he made a speech to Young Conservatives in Worcester:

'The years 1973 and 1974' he said 'will be noted both for the beginning of sustained economic growth, and for the beginning of the renewal of capitalism.'

Three weeks later, his colleague Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House of Commons that Britain was about to enter its 'gravest economic crisis since the war'.

Walker believed that his class would put Britain on the high road to prosperity.

### Expand

What happened? According to Investors' Chronicle a few weeks ago, (and they should know):

*At that point the Government was allowing the amount of money in use in the country to expand rapidly in the hope that industry would use it to invest in new plant to produce more goods and earn more foreign exchange by exporting.*

*It did not work out that way because industry was not confident that it could sell enough goods profitably enough to cover the money for the new plant. So the extra money being pumped into the economy found other uses.*



Peter Walker: What was all that about capitalism booming?

*At first some of it found its way into buying shares, where it helped to force prices up. More important, vast amounts of money were being lent by the banking system to buy property. Since property is in limited supply, the main effect was to force prices sky-high.*

Most of the property speculators and the fringe banks which leached off them have since gone bust. But in the interim they stored away enormous wealth.

None of the wealth created a single job, nor a single house (indeed, property speculation got rid of a lot of housing to make room for profitable offices).

The investment which was needed to sustain Walker's boom never took place. This year, in fact, investment has gone down. The boom vanished, before it appeared.

Why? Because fringe banking and property speculation offered a quicker and bigger return on capital than industrial investment.

quarter of the ruling class, urging 'moderation' and 'restraint'.

For that class is worried. It does not know which way to turn. Its gut reaction in crisis is to engage the workers in struggle, smash them and hold wages down ruthlessly for half a decade.

That's what it did, successfully, in 1926. But it cannot succeed in that course now.

The wounds inflicted on it by the dockers at Pentonville in 1972 and the two great miners' strikes in 1972 and 1974 are too fresh.

It must seek to 'negotiate' its way out of the crisis which its system has created by peddling the myths that higher wages and trade union power are the chief cause. And by depending on Labour and trade union leaders to make their members foot the bill

### Torture

*Will the crisis go away? Will capitalism just fall apart? Will the bosses, the employers and all their parasites just abdicate their power?*

They will not. They will fight like madmen to protect their ill-gotten gains. Every trick in their corrupt trade will be used to persuade the workers to torture themselves in their masters' interests.

Whatever party is returned to Parliamentary office next Thursday, it will be impotent to deal with the multi-national giants.

An elected Labour Government has no power to cope with the machinations of Roche Products, General Motors, ITT or, if you're patriotic, ICI or GEC.

There is a power, however, which is stronger than the multi-nationals. It is the power of the organised working class which produces the wealth with which they gamble.

If that power can be bound together in a political instrument against capitalism, just as the giant firms are bound together in a political instrument for capitalism, the system can be defeated.

If NOT, capitalism will win another, still bloodier round.

### FACT

'Nationalised industries lose money because they're inefficient,' say the Tories.

In 1973 the Coal Board made a pre-tax loss of £83.3 million. BUT this was after paying interest charges of £44 million. That interest is the legacy of paying the coal owners millions of pounds 'compensation' when the mines were nationalised.

AND more than half the coal goes to the Electricity Council, whose main customer is British industries. If the price of that coal had been increased by 10 per cent, and the price increase passed on to industry, it would have eliminated the NCB loss entirely. It would have cost British industry £45 million a year—approximately one day's profit.



'Companies need profits to re-invest,' they say. How much do they reinvest?

In 1972 the 840 largest companies in the UK spent £1526 million on new assets. THEY RECEIVED £1090 in tax relief from the government for the falling value of their assets. THEY RECEIVED £321 million of investment grants.

THEY KEPT £124 million of deferred tax. THEY KEPT £3400 million of profits. THEY BORROWED £2988 million from the banks.

THEY PAID £956 million in dividends and interest. THEY PAID £740 million in taxation.

SOURCE: Financial Statistics, November 1973.

ALL three parties agree Britain is in the biggest economic crisis since the war.

They talk about it as though they were weathermen. They say:

'Look, here is a crisis coming. It is like an earthquake or a hurricane. There is nothing we can do about it except take cover, and make sacrifices.'

All the parties want to cut our living standards. Labour says they will do it with the social contract.

The Tories say they will do it by coalition government and agreement between the bosses and the unions.

The Liberals say they will do it by law. The differences between them are small, because all agree that the crisis—and wage cuts—are inevitable.

*The crisis is not inevitable. Any worker looking around his factory can see there is capacity to produce more.*

The science and technology available to mankind is far, far greater now than anyone would have imagined ten years ago.

If these resources were planned by workers to meet their needs, there would be no crisis, no necessity for sacrifice anywhere in the world.

If waste production were cut out, if all the science and technology in

the world were deployed to meet the needs of the masses, the advances possible would be unimaginable.

With a tiny fraction of the current investments in armaments or space exploration, for instance, food production could be extended to satisfy the hunger of the world's 1000 million starving people, and more.

But the resources are not planned for need. They are used for profit. Vast surpluses, taken from the wealth produced by the workers, are hoarded and invested by a small class who own and control almost all of the world's wealth.

### Quickest

Investment is directed into those areas where there is the quickest profit for that class.

This class argues that profit is necessary if jobs and houses and all the things which workers need are to be provided.

*In an attempt to turn people's attention from the real reasons for their crisis, they tried to tell us that it was all the fault of Arab sheikhs.*

The beastly Arabs, they say, have put up the price of oil, and this is the cause of the crisis (just as North Sea oil is meant to solve the crisis some day for Britain).

## Another ghost looms...

A NEW GHOST has come to haunt capitalists from Tokyo to London. The ghost is called STAGFLATION.

In every past economic boom, the employers have 'dealt with' rising prices by stopping investment, closing factories and paying off workers.

This has, each time, cut down prices. Competition between individual firms has forced them to follow each other.

Capitalism had a certain, ugly symmetry. When one firm invested, they all invested. Prices rose. Jobs became available.

When wages and prices got too high, when there were too many goods on the market, one firm sacked workers. They all sacked workers. Prices fell.

That formula doesn't work any more. It's been killed by the sheer size of the giant firms which control all our lives.

In 1935, the 100 top firms in this country controlled

less than a quarter of Britain's output. Now they control more than half.

These firms do not cut their prices just because there is economic stagnation. They put them up.

Their stranglehold on the world economic system ensures that the profit system does not work symmetrically.

Now, for the first time in history, we are faced with economic stagnation—no growth, and heavy unemployment—and at the same time rising prices in the shops and industries.

It is not slump like the 1930s. The arms economy still ensures against violent crashes.

But it is catastrophe for the workers. It is a catastrophe which has its roots as firmly as ever planted in a system of society which organises production, distribution and exchange for profit—for the continuing leisure and privilege and power of a ruling class.

Why doesn't parliament do something about it?

# The men who will whoever wins the

## THE POLICE

THERE are 100,000 policemen in England and Wales.

—Police Federation press office

THE Department of Trade and Industry fraud division which is supposed to police swindles estimated at no less than £4000 million a year has a total strength of 12 men.

—DTI press office

THERE are 750 Factory Inspectors to police the conditions of Britain's 15 million factory workers who work in 200,000 different factories. The inside of these factories, whose exteriors are so splendidly protected day and night by the boys in blue, get a visit on average once every four years.

—PAT KINNERSLY, in his book *The Hazards of Work*



SPECIAL METHOD

SPECIAL methods to break up crowds of strikers have been adopted for general use.

—ROBERT CARR, former director of Securicor and Home Secretary, *Daily Telegraph*, November 1973

MR GERRARD joined the Metropolitan police in 1946 after war service during which as a Captain in the Middlesex regiment he was awarded the military cross . . . He served in various divisions and in 1965, as a superintendent, formed and commanded the Yard's Special Patrol Group . . .

In 1971 he was the first British officer to attend the Civil Disturbances Courses at the American Military Police School in Georgia . . .

He concluded: 'It is a daily problem and not a new one. I take heart from that' — pointing to a print hanging on his office wall. It showed a line of uniformed constables facing a raging mob and was called *The Riot in Hyde Park 1866*.

—DAILY TELEGRAPH, 21 August 1972



WE DON'T make the social conditions in Handsworth, we only have to police them.

—Senior Birmingham police officer to black social worker, Gus John, quoted in his study of the area.

THERE is really nothing 'special' about this group. They are merely ordinary policemen doing an ordinary policeman's job, mostly walking about the streets for the protection of the citizen and property and the prevention and detection of crime.

That is why Special Patrol Group officers receive exactly the same training as any other ordinary policeman in London.

—Official New Scotland Yard Press release on the SPG, May 1973.

THE operation of the law is certainly in favour of the rich against the poor. Position and money is power.

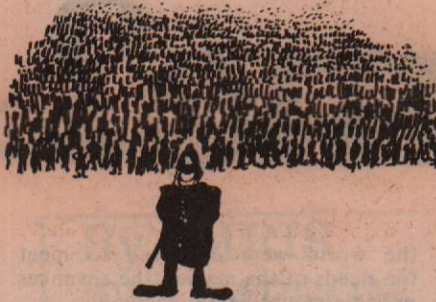
—REGINALD GALE, chairman of the Police Federation at a Liberal Party Summer School, 1971.

A POLICEMAN in Swindon has been sacked—for not arresting enough people.

Dennis Joyce, 33, was dismissed after 21 months as a probationer policeman.

Says Dennis: 'We were expected to average one summary offence every day.' Dennis refused to meet his quota and was sacked.

—Socialist Worker, 20 April 1974



THE CITY of London is probably the most heavily policed square mile in the world. If the whole of England was policed to the same standard, it would need 42 million police officers.

—JAMES PAGE, Commissioner, City of London Police, 13 March 1973

THE POLICE included not only members of the Hull force but many sent from other areas, including 50 specially trained members of the West Yorkshire police.

Many men in this force have taken special crowd control courses at RAF Finningley near Doncaster since last winter's clashes with striking miners, which disclosed a need for new police riot techniques.

Those being trained split into two groups, the police and the pickets. Emphasis was placed on the use of wedges of policemen moving in close formation.

—YORKSHIRE POST, 10 March 1973

THE HOME Secretary is expected to call for a report into allegations that some senior Kent police officers are using their influence to stop legal proceedings being brought against their friends.

—Daily Telegraph, 9 June 1974

ALL inquiries into police corruption allegations are carried out by . . . the police.

## THE COURTS

THE LAW imprisons the man or woman Who steals the goose from off the common But lets the greater villain loose Who steals the common from the goose

—ANCIENT SAYING

SEVENTY-SIX per cent of judges had been to a major public school and the same proportion had been to Oxford or Cambridge . . . From the evidence it appears that many of today's judges come from a fairly narrow segment namely the upper middle class . . . with few exceptions, judges have had no opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of the problems of society or of the different pressures, loyalties and social values that operate in a strata of society other than their own.

—THE JUDICIARY, report of a Justice Sub committee

WE stared into the whites of their eyes and guessed what we could get away with.

—LORD WILBERFORCE speaking in private about his 'impartial' inquiry into the 1972 miners' strike which suddenly discovered that the miners had beaten the Tory government and were therefore a 'Special Case'.

THE Director of Public Prosecutions is the Government Department which initiates all major public prosecutions, including, for example, the conspiracy trials against the Shrewsbury pickets.

But the DDP, according to all its own Press Officer, has never in its 50-year history prosecuted one employer for murder, manslaughter or occasioning grievous bodily harm when their victim has been a worker done to death in an industrial 'accident' occasioned by the employers' deliberate criminal negligence.

THERE IS general agreement that the thalidomide case has demonstrated great inadequacies in the law in a number of respects.

As a layman I find it difficult to see how the reforms so far suggested would affect to their advantage the parents and children in this case many of whom had to receive legal aid in their action against an immensely rich and heavily insured corporation like Distillers. They are not equal before the law.

—Dr Ephraim Lesser, *New Scientist* 30 May 1974

THE following judges held shares in Distillers throughout the period last year when The Distillers Company Ltd was using the law and the courts to suppress the Sunday Times investigations into the Thalidomide disaster:

Viscount Dilhorne (2028) Lord Morris (118) Lord Wilberforce (2900) Lord Justice Sachs (1520) Lord Justice Stamp (1953) Mr Justice Payne (442) Dame Elizabeth Kane (1100) Mr Justice Plewman (1108) Mr Justice Pennycuik (1713) Mr Justice Thesiger (470) Mr Justice Bridge (1100) Mr Justice Neild (1296) Mr Justice Chapman (1386) Mr Justice Bristow (3020) Judge Bell (75) Judge Duveen (3002) Judge Willis (912) Judge Aarvold (Recorder of London) 800 Judge Wingate Saul (1100) Judge Abdela (1200) Judge Honig (1008) Judge Agnew of Belfast (320) and Judge Sheldon (1500).

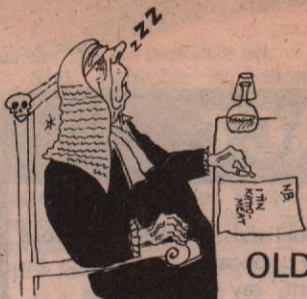
The wife of one of the judges who actually banned the Sunday Times exposé, Mr Justice Brabin, had 150 shares at the time.



BIRTH



YOUTH



OLD AGE

I HOPE myself shortly to be visiting the South of France thanks to the generous hospitality of your chairman in whose house I shall be temporarily resident. I understand that he has virtually an old Roman city in his back garden.

—SIR GORDON WILLMER Privy Councillor (advisor to the Queen) speaking to the Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors' annual dinner in 1970 not long after he retired as an Appeal Court judge. The chairman to whom he was referring was Sir Robin McAlpine, the construction baron. Other details of the McAlpine guest list are unknown. Sir Gordon is a trustee of the Thalidomide Childrens Trust.



CASE NO. 72 TAX EVASION BY "LUMP" WORKERS & FOX ANDREWS

MR JUSTICE Fox Andrews, a former Recorder of Bristol, escaped prosecution for fraudulent tax evasion because 'it would undermine public confidence in the law'.

—THE GUARDIAN 17 December 1973.



THE Factory Inspectorate is not only incapable of discovering most breaches [of the law] but overlooks, tolerates or acquiesces in most breaches it does discover.

—ANTHONY D WOOLF, leading labour lawyer in the Industrial Law Society's evidence to the Robens Commission





Who then has the real power in this country?

# still be in power election

## THE ARMY

THE COST of the British armed forces was £3,365 million pounds, in the year 1973-1974.

The cost of the National Health Service in the same period was £2,917 million. There are 370,000 military personnel. They are served by a further 323,000 civil servants. Defence expenditure accounts for 5.75 per cent of the Gross National Product.

Public Expenditure Estimates (Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

THE WHOLE period of the miners' strike made us realise that the present size of the police force is too small. It is based on the fundamental philosophy that we are a law abiding country, but things have now got to the stage where there are not enough resources to deal with the increasing numbers who are not prepared to respect the law.

But while you may think that the chaps were just itching to go in and sort out the miners, that is the last thing we wanted to do. We knew it would have provoked a general strike.

Brigadier General Brian Watkins quoted in The Times.



TWENTY-FIVE per cent of all Admirals, Generals and Air Chief Marshalls went to school at Charterhouse, Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Marlborough or Winchester. 33 per cent went to other public schools; a further 15 per cent went to direct grant schools.

Anthony Sampson, *New Anatomy of Britain*.

EVERYBODY in my regiment, who was an officer, came from the same sort of background—they all came from 'country' families. In joining the army they got the kind of life they thought was their's by right really... You go off to your regiment where you accept that you are part of a superior breed. You eat off silver, you have your own servant.

James Saunders, an ex-officer and Sandhurst Graduate.

IN 1969 the British Army moved into Northern Ireland in August 1969 to 'restore peace'.

Deaths in the area since then have reached 1100. Forces consist of; the Royal Marine Commandos, an armoured reconnaissance regiment, three armoured reconnaissance squadrons, three field engineer squadrons, 17 units in an infantry role, 11 battalions of the Ulster Defence Regiment, four Army aviation squadrons.

Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

YOU KNOW when we were in Ballymurphy we had the people really fed up with us, terrified really I understand what the refugees must feel like in Vietnam... After every shooting incident we would order 1500 house searches—1500.

Parachute lieutenant serving in Northern Ireland interviewed in the *Guardian* 13 July 1973.

SKI-ING of mountain climbing has got nothing on a cordon and search when you get old Snodgrass out of bed at four in the morning and go through his house like a dose of salts.

Another officer quoted in same article.

IN January 1974 the British Army moved into Heathrow Airport, London. The excuse was 'to protect the airport from Arab guerrillas'. No guerrillas were found. Later in the year, with a return of a Labour government the exercise was re-

peated. Less was said about Arab guerrillas. IT IS believed that the people involved have been pleasantly surprised by the lack of public protest or shock.

The *Guardian* 9 July, 1974.

THOSE OF us with colonial experience know that it was politically acceptable to hold joint exercises before disorder broke out. We had exercises... we even had 'professional rioters'... unless you can carry out exercises of that nature, no amount of talking about it is of any use.

Brigadier Bidwell, Editor, *Royal United Services Institute Journal*.

HEATHROW was such a 'joint exercise' the 'colonial experience' imported back to Britain. MANY of the techniques developed in the Singapore riots of 1956 were clearly recognisable in the British Army's handling of the initial disturbances in Northern Ireland.

Major General Richard Clutterbuck.



FADING AWAY

OLD soldiers never die, they only fade away.

Anon

Like... MAJOR-GENERAL Sir Charles Dunphie faded away to be Chairman of Vickers. A member of the Cavalry Club as is...

FIELD MARSHALL the Lord Harding, ex-Governor of Cyprus. Faded away to be director of National Provincial Bank, the Standard Bank and Plesseys Electronics—as is...

LORD ELSWORTHY, Marshall of the Royal Air Force, ex-Chief of Defence Staff (educated at Marlborough School and Trinity College Cambridge) and also a director of British Oxygen, British Petroleum, Rolls Royce (1971) the National Bank of New Zealand and Chairman of Scientific Control System (Holdings) Ltd.

## BIG BUSINESS RULES O.K.

THANK GOD the government's influence is so little. I have a strong suspicion that governments are nothing like as important as they think they are.

—SIR WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, head of the Civil Service on BBC 2, 27 March 1974, announcing his departure for the chairmanship of the Midland Bank.

NOT FOR the first time, I said that we had now reached the situation where a newly-elected Government with a mandate from the people was being told, not so much by the Governors of the Bank of England but by international speculators, that the policies on which we had fought the election could not be implemented; that the Government was to be forced into the adoption of Tory policies to which it was fundamentally opposed. The Governor confirmed that that was, in fact, the case.

I asked him if this meant that it was impossible for any Government, whatever its party label, whatever its manifesto or the policies on which it fought an election, to continue, unless it immediately reverted to full-scale Tory policies.

He had to admit that this was what his argument meant, because of the sheer compulsion of the economic dictation of those who exercised decisive economic power.

—HAROLD WILSON, *The Labour Government 1964-70*

PARLIAMENT governs in no more than a formal sense... Those who believe that the Houses of Parliament, especially the House of Commons, is an assembly of independent minds controlling the nation naturally think that an MP is a very considerable personage.

They see him carrying great weight in the making of important decisions...

A short spell in the House of Commons is enough to persuade most MPs that the general run of backbench MP has but a trifling say in momentous affairs.

—WOODROW WYATT, (former Labour MP and junior minister) in his book *Turn Again Westminster*

IT WOULD be wrong to say that budgets are of no interest though I cannot recall any of them that made any significant change in our approach to what we were thinking of doing.

—LORD FLECK of ICI to the Radcliffe Committee on the working of the monetary system, 1959.

IN 1971, ITT was suspected of having started the run on sterling which ended in the floating of the pound.

What annoys national governments is that the giant companies, by anticipating devaluation, help to cause it. The British like to blame the gnomes of Zurich for each new run on the pound, but they need look no further than the gnomes of ITT.

—ANTHONY SAMPSON, *The Sovereign State*

THE sovereignty of a multi-national corporation has emerged through this book in many facets—in its independence of governments, in its self-contained organisation and trade, in its private diplomacy and communications, and its avoidance of tax and in the secrecy of the company records.

—ANTHONY SAMPSON, *The Sovereign State*



A FAIR SHARE

I CAN'T keep you posted on these delicate diplomatic issues from week to week. I cannot keep the House of Commons posted from week to week. The responsibilities of government do not allow that.

—HAROLD WILSON, quoted in *The Times* report of a Parliamentary Labour Party meeting on Vietnam, 7 July 1966

TAKEN together, the top 20 British companies account for annual sales of over £18,440 million, over 20 per cent of the sales of all UK companies. They control assets of £10,600 million and in the UK employ 1,450,000 of the 20.5 million workers employed in private industry and commerce.

This colossal concentration of economic power is controlled by some 297 men of great wealth and power—the boards of directors elected only by the shareholders of companies and responsible only to them.

—LABOUR RESEARCH, August 1974

THE capitalist system... has led inevitably to wide disparities in living standards and to the concentration of a large amount of wealth in a fairly limited number of hands...

We must recognise that this has only persisted because the majority have not been prepared to use their potential economic and political power against the prosperous minority.

—REGINALD MAUDLING, *The Times*, 12 September 1972



SINCE 1945 the British Army has fought to defend British money in Vietnam, Greece, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Egypt, Aden, Qatar, Dhofar, Borneo, Yemen, Northern Ireland.

We were supposed to be guarding against the local workers in factories in Aden. Local workers? They were six soldiers in the BP refinery. We were told that the people would be glad to see us, but we were sent in to put them down. The only local who was pleased to see us was the Sheikh. He lived in his palace while the people rotted.

Neil Davies, ex-private, now a member of the International Socialists.

# Is there any answer? If capitalism is the problem

## FACT

IN January local authorities reported 30,000 people homeless. In Wandsworth, South London, alone the number rose from 200 in January to 1,200 in June.

There are 100,000 houses and flats to rent lying empty in London. The rents are too high for all but the rich. There are 40,000 new houses in Britain waiting for a buyer because mortgages are too high. The cost of a mortgage has risen by a third in 18 months.

THERE are half a million people in Britain waiting for a council house, one million families living in overcrowded conditions, more than a million people living in homes unfit for human habitation. One in six of old age pensioners live in houses without a bath. One in five don't have an inside toilet.

Meanwhile in April-June 1973, 26,300 houses were built every month—the lowest figure since 1947. In April-June this year the figure was 21,600.

And 98,000 building workers are out of work. This figure is expected to double by mid-winter.



Life under capitalism: only when workers create and control their own system will the eternal housing problem be solved. Picture: Ron McCormick

# WOMENS VOICE

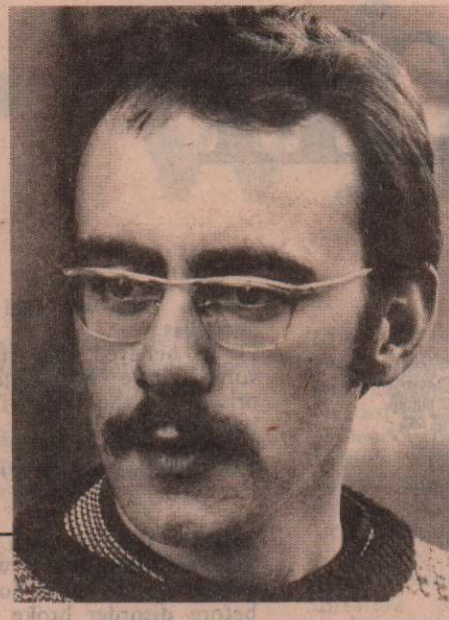
LATEST ISSUE NOW OUT  
Articles on: Equal pay, battered wives, women in Derry, racism, the slimming industry.  
5p (plus 3½p postage)/50p for next 6 issues (postage included).  
WOMEN'S VOICE, 61 Tylney Croft, Harlow, Essex.  
IS Branches 'phone orders to Harlow 37205



## FACT

IN 1972-73 councils in England and Wales spent £875,387,000 on housing—that's £17 for every man, woman and child. Repairs, supervision and other costs were £307 million. Paying back loans cost £76,827,000. The lion's share went to interest payments on money borrowed for building houses—£481,974,000. That's £9.50 for every man woman and child in the country.

# Workers CAN run the show



BY TERRY HORAN

ANYONE who spends long in the building industry rapidly realises that it is not arranged to suit him or his fellow workers.

A couple of years ago I was working for Thains of Edinburgh, a medium-sized house-building firm. We were having trouble with the bonus (not enough) so I decided to find out just how much the firm was screwing us for. I went to the Companies Records Office in Edinburgh.

Aside from the fact that they were making plenty, the Chairman's Report made interesting reading. He 'noted the healthy state of the profits' said it was 'attributable to the government's enlightened policy over housing'.

This was the time of the Tory Housing Finance Act, which drastically cut corporation housing and increased rents—and all so that Thains and the like could make higher profits. How? Said the Report: 'a kind of house is being developed aimed at former corporation tenants'—those pushed out by the rising rents.

These houses I worked on were nothing better than dog boxes with high price tags. Unlike the luxurious houses Thains were building on Blackford Hill for some of the more prominent non-producers in the city.

Most workers in Edinburgh now live on lousy estates on the outskirts of the city, with few amenities. Not because they want to live there but because their former homes in the city centre have gone to make way for such essential projects as the St James Centre—a collection of insurance

buildings, offices, luxury shops, hotel and a car park. Most building workers in Edinburgh worked on it at some time or other while many of their fellow workers lived in 'room and kitchen' flats in Gorgie, Leith and Abbeyhill.

This was a boom time for the private house-builder—people need a place to live and the animals that run the building industry

knew they could cash in on this. But there comes a point, now reached, when people can no longer afford to pay. So the builders cut down production, throwing men out of work and further reducing the supply of housing. Some attempt is made to blame a shortage of bricks—strange how these shortages always occur just before price increases and the sudden discovery of vast amounts of the goods for sale at the new high prices.

Incredible waste of men and resources can be found throughout the country. I worked on a job in Brighton. It employed hundreds of men and vast amounts of land and resources—steel, concrete and so on. It was a marina whose use would mainly be restricted to such good-for-nothings as Ted Heath.

Yet Brighton has a chronic housing shortage. There is some housing being built on the Marina, but at the going price of more than £45,000 a flat. I don't think many workers in Brighton will be stampeding to join the queue.

I could write pages on the conditions of work in this industry and the waste of human life, not only from accidents but the sheer pressure of living in a camp away from home, sleeping two to a room barely 10ft by 10ft and having to pay for the privilege.

Papers like the Express, Mirror and Sun would have it that these conditions are unalterable and far better than you would get 'under communism'. I hope that through the Socialist Worker I can reach other workers who feel that the system is wrong but don't know with what to replace it.

## Waste

I once had a full scale argument with a steward about whether or not we would run the industry in a democratic fashion. He didn't think we could do it—yet in the 1972 builders' strike Rank and File Committees under the control of mass meetings, such as in Edinburgh, virtually ran the strike. After stopping all sites in Edinburgh, the committee went on to send pickets to the borders, organising transport and so on. The committees reported back to mass meetings on the Carlton Hill.

It is true that full-time officials were still able to sell the lads down the river but the basics were there.

How could a socially just organisation of the building industry be achieved under workers' control? First, all wasteful projects—such as the Brighton Marina—would be scrapped. This would leave men and materials for pro-

jects such as decent housing, schools and hospitals.

Institutions such as banks and insurance companies would not be needed in a society organised around need rather than greed, leaving space in city centres where people could be housed rather than in the back of beyond. Though the estates would be given all the amenities required as replacing such vast amounts of housing is obviously a long-term project.

Who would run the industry? Delegates from large sites and union branches with committees in each city. The committee members would get average workers' wages and would be instantly recallable by the sites or branches that elected them. These committees would allocate resources working in unison with committees from other industries which would send delegates to a central committee for the city.

Obviously these committees would work with teams of architects, engineers and quantity surveyors, without whom it would be impossible to run the industry.

A training scheme would be set

up so that everyone could be given the opportunity to learn a skill of wages. Many breaking, monotone done by labourer. Shovelling not much fun what can do it much eas

## Strug

No doubt differentials would be paid—or have a week. Whatever because that is what for: us making the controlling our own

This will new workers learn to their own strength and slick MP doing it

Unless workers industry, and International Soc believed them the able of leading building workers suffer boom/slump selves continually of the bosses' greed

# Break ou

THE other day my daughter asked me why I'm always tired and it occurred to me that this is the way I've always appeared to my kids. I'm certain this is the same for most working-class women.

I wonder how much of our tiredness is necessary. The sheer drudgery of housework and the isolation we face makes our role seem senseless.

Someone once said: 'Housework is a million women in a million homes peeling a million potatoes'.

Even capitalism agrees that women are not happy. Look at this dreadful photograph.



but you can change her mood with SERENID-D

## B

How dare they environment can't. They shut us up a world and then w from 'neurotic sym by them they c tension, irritability is nothing to be do us full of sedatives.

Or if your tod to handle (perhaps you in one room) recommend a sm they say it effec anxiety in childre dopes our kids.

## Separ

Isolation and meaningless repet do causes these ch we look after our ch for today's wor wasteful. Women in the process.

Imagine the reas and-motion study a to assess the activ of women duplic set of chores every Of course, they in time-and-moti

# what would you put in its place then?



Slough 1919: a workers' soviet here in Britain. They, too, wanted to bury the 'white elephant' of capitalism.

## How it could be: Russia 1917

Without superintendants, foremen, and in many cases engineers and book-keepers, the workers found themselves faced with the alternative of keeping the works going or of starving. A committee was elected, one delegate from each 'shop' or department; this committee attempted to run the factory...

At first, of course, Russian workers made ludicrous mistakes, as all the world has been told again and again. They demanded impossible wages—they attempted to run complicated scientific manufacturing processes without proper experience, in some cases, even, they asked the boss to return at his own terms. But such cases are the great minority. In the majority of plants, the workers were resourceful enough to be able to conduct the industry without bosses.

The owners attempted to falsify the books, to conceal orders; the Factory Shop Committee was forced to find out ways to control the books.

When the factory was going to close down for lack of fuel, raw material, or orders, the Factory Shop Committee had to send men half across Russia to the mines, or down into the Caucasus for oil, to Crimea for cotton; and agents had to be sent out by the workers to sell the product.

Thus the Factory Shop Committee was the creation of Russian anarchy, forced by necessity to learn how to manage industry, so that when the time came, the Russian workers could take over actual control with little friction.

—John Reed, October 1918.

## HOW IT COULD BE: PARIS 1871

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage... responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class.

The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time... the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration.

From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be

done at workmen's wages. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves.

The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of church and state. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it... Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and revocable.

—Karl Marx, The Civil War in France

# t of prison we call home

ALISON LANGAN



housewives. Nobody cares how we operate. We are not paid for our work and are of no concern to capitalism.

The work women do is vital. But because we are not paid this is never recognised. Each housewife is cook, laundress, nurse, teacher, cleaner and so on. We look after the people who produce the wealth of this country.

Basically what capitalism is doing is getting two workers for the price of one. My husband's wages keep me, him and the kids. It's more efficient for capitalism to keep us isolated in family units. If we were not kept isolated we would begin to demand status and conditions that would seriously affect profits.

Why does so much of our work need to be done on an individual basis anyway? If we lived in a different society we wouldn't need our separate washing machines, vacuum cleaners, electric mixers and all the other paraphernalia attached to each separate household. Can you see Henry Ford filling a factory with machinery that's not used continually? But as long as capitalism exists

it needs individual consumers like us to keep buying its products. Think what would happen if ten households shared a washing machine: nine unsold washing machines and no profits.

I want a decent way of life for all women and their families. Surely we could have nursery facilities for all. Not just as a service so we can go out to work but leaving us still responsible for the kids and housework.

Perhaps we could have a system where men and women are allowed free periods from work geared to their own family circumstances, with special considerations for single-parent families. I want to see an end to the humiliating discrimination against lone

mothers and an end to any child being termed 'illegitimate'.

Laundries should be on every housing block and in every place of work.

We need community eating places where we would have the choice of eating, so easing some of the exhaustion of providing meals 365 days a year.

I'd like play and activity centres for our children, allowing us free time. Not just as 'dumping grounds' for the kids. The centres must be related to the needs and aspirations of each child.

## Passive

How many mothers felt guilty this year because they couldn't afford a holiday for the kids? And how many city children never saw the sea or walked in the country this summer? We could have holiday centres—not run just for profit—available to all!

These are only a few of the socialist alternatives as I see them. Housewives have been forced into passive roles for too long. We must no longer allow ourselves to be imprisoned within the home and family. We have been robbed of our potential—we now have a chance to play an active role in building socialism.

## FACT

More than 300 million tablets of Valium, Britain's most popular tranquilliser, were swallowed last year—that's ten for every adult in the country.

A kilo of Valium costs £100 to make. The firm which makes nine-tenths of all British tranquillisers, Roche, sold Valium to the National Health Service at £1962 a kilo. Most of the difference went to Roche shareholders. Each Roche share is valued at £23,000.



Last year the drug industries in Britain spent £11.5 million on advertising and £10.6 million on research.

## Blow for Blow

A dangerous film. Socialist Worker benefit performances

**EDINBURGH**  
Saturday 5 October, 7.30pm, The Assembly Rooms, George Street. Tickets 40p on the door.

**NEWCASTLE**  
Monday 7 October, 8pm, Newcastle Polytechnic, Sandyford Rd. Tickets 40p from Sandy Irving, 209 Sandyford Rd, Newcastle 2.

**MANCHESTER**  
Wednesday 9 October, 8pm, Main Debating Hall, Student Union, Manchester University, Oxford Road. Tickets 40p.

**LEEDS**  
Thursday 10 October, 8pm, New Trades Club, Savile Mount, Chapel-town. Tickets 40p on the door.

**SHEFFIELD**  
Friday 11 October, 7.30pm, General Lecture Theatre, Sheffield Polytechnic, Pond St. Tickets 40p on the door.

**BRADFORD**  
Monday 14 October, 7.30pm, Bradford University, Great Horton Road, Bradford.

**SWANSEA**  
Tuesday 15 October, 7.30pm, Oxford Street School, Swansea. Speaker: June Morris (NUPE Nurses Organiser). Tickets 40p on the door.

**BRISTOL**  
Wednesday 16 October, 7.30pm, Room Cl.1, Bristol Polytechnic, Ashley Down. Tickets 40p on the door.

**DERBY**  
Thursday 17 October, 7.30pm, St Helens House, King St, Derby. Tickets 40p on the door.

# But can socialism answer all the problems?

## FACT

LONDON'S Victoria tube line can handle 50,000 people an hour on its two tracks. A motorway capable of handling this traffic would have to have 12 lanes, would take up to 30 times as much land and would be four times as expensive.

□□

IF a British Roadways Board existed, and it had to account for all the millions of pounds of public money lavished on road-building, as the British Railways Board has to do for the railways, the accounts for 1967 would look something like this:

Total spending (on new roads, drainage, lighting, traffic control, accidents and congestion) **£3200 million.**

Total income from fuel tax purchase tax and licences—**£1200 million.**

Total interest free subsidy to British Roadways Board—**£2000 million** (five times the total cost of British Rail).

# Fleas who live

By FRANK DRAIN

BEING born and growing up in Belfast's Falls Road was (and is) no joke. We lived in the shadows of huge flax mills in a dingy one-up, one-down excuse for a house; which in summer was infested with flies.

There was a nauseating stench, mainly because our landlord, who owned a flesher shop behind us, kept (against the law) a pickle barrel in his yard which was never emptied for as long as I could remember.

In the winter the house was freezing cold and damp because, said the owner, 'It's too old to repair'. It wasn't too old to pay rent for...

As children, my family were very close. We had to be—seven sisters and one brother and parents sleeping in one bedroom. I can't ever remember my parents making love, unless it was on Sundays when we were all shoved out into the streets to play.

I don't think anyone in that area had youth. One was either too young or too old.

*But one thing we did have was a common hatred of Mother England*

and her supporters in Stormont.

After all, they were the ones who shot wee Eddie's uncle or wee Sheila's grandad. They caused your grandad to be wounded at the Somme. Didn't they march through Munster, Leinster and Connaught, burning, looting, killing?

What about the famine, immigration and, sure wasn't the very grass black? Well, so my granny maintained. This was all part of your home education, your heritage and by Jesus you were bitter and proud of it.

School, now that was different. If it wasn't Irish Kings, it was English Kings who had protected you and your ancestors from screaming hordes of faceless heathens and communists.

Not a word about your often-empty stomach, your scruffy clothes, the argument between your parents the night before because your dad had come home at midnight soaking

wet because the concrete came late.

Not a mention of why generations of Lower Falls Road people had spent ten years in one of the few primary schools in that area, in many cases being 'taught' for seven years by the same teacher.

*On leaving school it was the usual thing. 'What school did you go to? Why that's Roman Catholic isn't it? Well I can't give you the job, but here is some advice, get the hell out of this area you Fenian bastard!'*

## Owners

Then you got the job which was advertised as 'Few boys wanted for light work' and you started in a sack and bag place carrying twice your weight, 50 hours a week for £2.50.

Mind you, the owners were good

standing Catholics...

The only time I really heard about trade unions was when I joined the

Official Republican Movement in 1969 (it wasn't the Officials then).

We talked about Wolfe Tone, the Father of Republicanism, and men like James Connolly. But no-one taught us to read and understand Connolly, Marx and Lenin.

It was hard to believe that British soldiers were the sons of working people, as no-one told us about the struggles of the British working class or how vitally important their struggle was to Irish workers.

We never asked the question: why were these bully-boys in uniform pulverising our area? Why were they raiding our homes and beating up our families? We just took comfort in the fact that they were British and left it at that.

Some months later, I met a comrade from IS in Scotland who was visiting Belfast. He talked about the workers' struggle in Britain, about their fight with the same bosses who were robbing our workers over here.

*For two weeks, I talked to this bloke and learnt more than I'd*

## Where the system has gone off the rails...

BRITISH RAIL is busy with a vast programme of smashing up subsidiary railway lines. Then try to make out that they are 'uneconomical'. The Wisbech line out of March near Peterborough used to run all the way to Hunstanton and British Rail were determined to close it down. They claimed it was losing money.

But then they got into a big argument with a 14-year-old boy, a train spotter who lived next to the line. He counted up all the wagons and passengers and proved that it could not be losing money.

They closed the line down all the same. To make sure it could never be opened again, the linesman went on to the track as the last train pulled out of Hunstanton and started ripping it up.

The summer passenger traffic now goes by road in private buses. The goods traffic, farm produce and fruit, goes by private road haulage. The people and the traffic gets there slower. The people are more uncomfortable. The goods more likely to be damaged. The whole operation is more expensive. But it makes a profit.

## Closed

Once they have closed down the feeder lines, the big marshalling yards don't get so much traffic. So they become 'uneconomical' and British Rail starts closing them down. Whitmore, where I work, was the biggest marshalling yard in the world in 1945. Most of it is closed now.

The traffic hasn't disappeared. Today it goes by road and the profit

*The shambles of what was once the biggest marshalling yard in Europe at Whiteside, March, near Peterborough. The reason? Roads are more profitable... Pictures: Chris Davies (Report)*



goes into the pockets of the road-hauliers, the oil companies and the motor manufacturers.

As the pits were run down in favour of oil they decided they didn't need so many mineral wagons. So they sold wagons off at ridiculous prices. Then... catastrophe, they ran short of wheels. So they went round all the scrap merchants looking for wheels and bought them back at three times the price they had sold whole wagons.

You might think this is madness or stupidity, but it's not. It is nothing more than a complete capitalist blind. The truth is the railways are run to put public money into the pockets of private firms.

British Rail has been hacked to bits to force more traffic on to the roads and more profits into private industry. What's left of it is run not to benefit the people but in the interests of big business.

Nationalisation under capitalism is not nationalisation as it would be under socialism. When the post-war Labour government took over the railways they were completely run-down. The private owners had taken out everything they could.

But all nationalisation amounted to was paying them more money for the rundown locomotives, lines and

by PHIL JOHNSON

signals. And the railways are run like any other capitalist company. If money is invested they want profit out of it. In a depression they cut staff and lines just like any private company.

Nationalisation won't work and cannot work under a profit-making system. But we could have a decent transport system if we had a society that wasn't run for profit.

## Possible

There's no reason why the railways should not carry all the goods today forced to go by road. It is possible to have a railway system which is as flexible as road transport even over short journeys. It is even technically possible today.

British Rail ran an experiment with a new system of self-propelled wagons, guided by a central computer, which works perfectly at a fraction of the cost of road transport. That system could shift goods without the waste and noise and danger



which lorries produce. But they may not introduce this system now. Because too much freight has been siphoned off on to the roads.

A properly planned transport system could provide transport for goods and people as and when they are needed instead of when it is profitable. If we had a good regular train service integrated with a decent bus service and publicly run taxis, then people would be able to get around quickly, almost without the private car and lorry.

It could be run free as a service and it would be safer, cleaner, more efficient and cheaper than private transport. All the work, skills, materials which go into making more

## How it could be: Germany 1918

ON NOVEMBER 5 the Revolution had gripped Lubeck and Brunsbuttekloug, on the 6th Hamburg, Bremen and Wilhelmshaven, on the 7th Hanover, Oldenburg and Cologne; on the 8th it was in control of all major west German cities and in Leipzig and Magdeburg it had reached across the River Elbe. As if by tacit agreement the pattern everywhere was the same: the garrisons elected soldiers' councils, the workers elected workers' councils, the military authorities capitulated, surrendered or fled, the civil authorities, scared and cowed, recognised the new sovereignty of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

The picture was the same everywhere: great processions in the streets, great popular demonstrations in the market places, everywhere scenes of fraternisation among men in blue jackets, men in field grey, and haggard civilians.

There was little resistance, violence and bloodshed.

The Revolution was good-natured. Many political prisoners were set free but no one was arrested. At the worst a particularly hated officer or sergeant might have got beaten up. The revolutionaries contented themselves with depriving officers of their insignia of rank—this was as much part of the revolutionary ritual as was running up the red flag.

—Sebastian Haffner, *Failure of a Revolution.*

and more cars and roads could be put into something useful.

In a society where working people control industry we could build a transport system which would serve people and not profits. That would provide transport of villagers whose buses and trains are being chopped today because they're not 'profitable'.

When a new idea comes up today, all the employers think of is: 'Will it be profitable?' The workers think: 'Will it threaten my job? In a planned transport system which was run for the workers by the workers all the new ideas could be put into action, to make a transport system that was free and efficient.'

# What about Ireland and other countries? on our backs

learnt from the Republican movement in two years.

I heard for the first time about British workers' movements which had fought for the Irish against British Imperialism, about the way that British bosses had profited from the sectarian arguments between Orange and Green workers. It was like a blow from a peeler's baton.

When I left Ireland some months later, I went to Edinburgh and worked on the building sites as a labourer. Very soon, I joined IS.

Very soon, I found that the problems facing socialists in Britain who come from Ireland are enormous.

It was difficult enough talking to Irish Republicans about British socialism, but even more difficult talking to British workers about Ireland.

The argument about 'our boys in Ireland' always made me want to bring my workmates to Belfast and

'Civilised Britain': the view from a Catholic ghetto in Northern Ireland

## The same bosses in Ireland ...also rob workers over here

show them the 'work' of 'their' boys.

Of course they come from working class families, but when they join the British Army they belong to one family, the British Ruling Class, those chinless wonders who live off us as fleas live off a dog—when the life-giver is of no use they jump onto another.

'What about the bombs, then, eh', my mates say. Do you agree with the killing of innocent workers? No, I do not agree, I understand why it's done, but I do not agree.

Of course, planting bombs does

not help the Irish workers' struggle, of course it will not make the British workers demand the withdrawal of the troops.

If we want to get the troops out of Ireland and the system which put it there out altogether, then we've got to argue for it and organise for it every day among the British working class.

That's why a revolutionary party matters so much to me—because it can link the misery, exploitation and discrimination which I've experienced in Ireland with the day-to-day struggles of the British working class.

It can show how the same power which we building workers can use to get a wage rise can also be used to cut down British imperialism in Ireland.

Linking these things needs political organisation on the building sites and everywhere else in the working class.

A comrade of mine in Edinburgh at a meeting said: 'The party is the memory of the class.'

I absolutely agree. And unless we start to build a serious revolutionary party in Britain, then we might as well pack it all in.

### FACT

Five times as many people in Northern Ireland as in Britain claim Family Income Supplement allowances, payable to people whose incomes fall below the poverty line—that's 255,000 people.

□□

A fifth of houses in Northern Ireland are classed as unfit, compared with one in every 14 in Britain. Three times as many houses in Northern Ireland as in Britain are not connected to public sewers.

□□

OF all manufacturing firms employing more than 500 workers in Northern Ireland, British companies control 45 per cent; US-based companies 20 per cent, the Common Market 10 per cent—and Irish-based companies 22 per cent.

## HOW IT COULD BE: SPAIN 1936

The essential point of the militia system was social equality between officers and men. Everyone from general to private drew the same pay, ate the same food, wore the same clothes, and mingled on terms of complete equality. If you wanted to slap the general commanding the division on the back and ask him for a cigarette, you could do so, and no one thought it curious.

In theory at any rate each militia was a democracy and not a hierarchy. It was understood that orders had to be obeyed, but it was also understood that when you gave an order you gave it as comrade to comrade and not as superior to inferior. There were officers and NCOs, but there was no military rank in the ordinary sense; no titles, no badges, no heel-clicking and saluting.

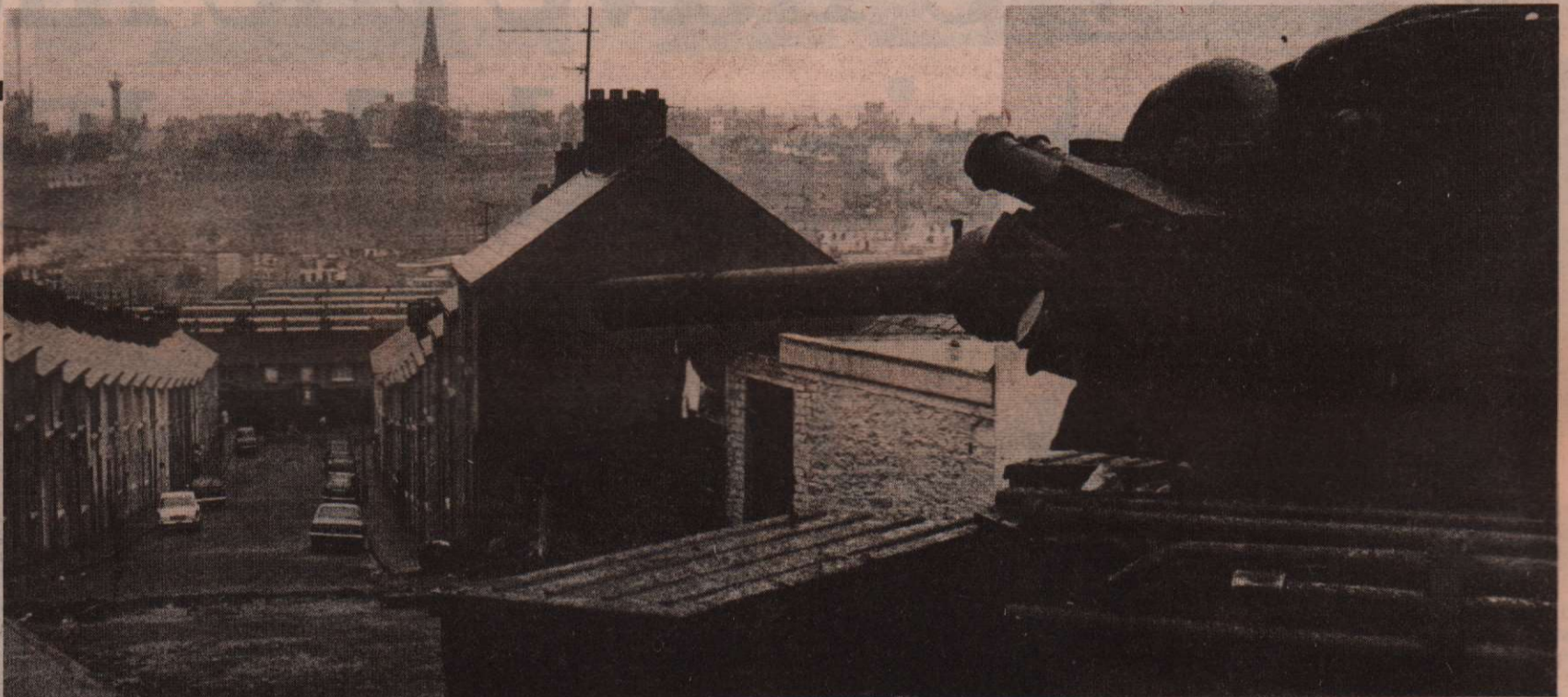
They had attempted to produce within the militias a sort of temporary working model of the classless society. Of course there was no perfect equality, but there was a nearer approach to it than I would have thought conceivable in time of war.

In a workers' army discipline is theoretically voluntary. It is based on class-loyalty, whereas the discipline of a bourgeois conscript army is based ultimately on fear. In the militias the bullying and abuse that go on in an ordinary army would never have been tolerated for a moment.

When a man refused to obey an order you did not immediately get him punished; you first appealed to him in the name of comradeship. Cynical people with no experience of handling men will say instantly that this would never 'work', but as a matter of fact it does 'work' in the long run.

I was acting-lieutenant in command of about thirty men, English and Spanish. We had all been under fire for months, and I never had the slightest difficulty in getting an order obeyed or in getting men to volunteer for a dangerous job. 'Revolutionary' discipline depends on political consciousness—on an understanding of why orders must be obeyed.

—George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*



## It's the same the whole world over

EVERY fourth day of my childhood I used to walk seven miles carrying a bag of palm kernel or gallons of palm oil on my head.

This was market day, when John Holts was open. They weighed and measured and paid for my products, which would be exported to Unilever to make Palmolive soap.

The weighing and measuring was a mockery. We never knew what it meant and they paid what they thought was right.

Good times my load came to three shillings, which is a whole family's hard work for four days and nights.

I remember very well the beautiful houses of the bosses and how I used to stand and admire their bouncy children playing. They never walked miles in the heat of the sun, or laboured day and night for peanuts.

### Expected

This was before Independence came to Nigeria. Things have not changed much since, except the colour of some of the exploiters.

Holts is owned by Lonrho, whose turnover for the first nine months of this year was up from £170.5 million to £222.8 million.

Profits are £27 million against £14.9 million in the same period last year. Lonrho's growing sugar business is expected to boost last quarter's results.

Lonrho has sugar projects in Dahomey and the Ivory Coast, a 45

By MARTHA OSAMOR

per cent holding in Ashanti Goldfields, John Holt interests, an interest in Kaduna Textiles and in oil seed mills in Nigeria. That's just in West Africa.

The conditions of the families of the workers and peasants who supply these companies have become even worse with world inflation.

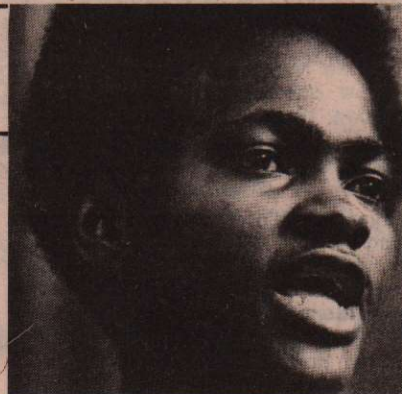
Most of the land that was used for growing family food products is being taken over by what the Government calls the Green Revolution in the major crops.

Large sums of money are given to a few, who are already well-off, to develop farm projects so the starving millions can be fed.

But what happens is that crates of yams and okra are flown to places like London and New York a few hours after harvest. There is more money for it there.

Meanwhile starvation continues at home—and the Green Revolution creates a few millionaires.

Capitalism spreads from the North



to the South Pole. It is more international than we think. It brings evils such as unemployment, insecurity, poverty, thought control, the growth of ultra-right reaction, racialism and the danger of a war that could wipe us all out.

Only socialism can destroy these evils. It must be international or it is no good—for the landlords of slums in Lagos, Accra, New York, Washington, Delhi and London are all out for the same aims—RENT AND PROFIT.

The system that exploits textile workers in Kaduna does the same the

world over in different languages and money.

Nurses, dockers, teachers, peasants, who make African sipper, Indian bags, Pakistan blouses, are all doubly exploited.

The same Mr Cube who gains from the sugar profits owns the sugar plantations in South Africa where cane workers are paid 5p an hour and cannot afford medical treatment for their dying children.

Can Tate and Lyle workers anywhere in the world stand up and tell us how rosy it is working for the firm?

### Operate

My message to any foreign worker who has refused to fight because he or she is going home one day is simple.

Think again and find out the companies that operate in the country you call home. You will find they are all connected.

The only difference is that in some countries the colour of the capitalist is different.

There are those who don't see anything wrong in capitalism but would be happy if only their exploiter could be their colour or their caste.

They—and those who dislike capitalism in any form, colour or shape—MUST join the struggle.

Only with united action can it be done. The struggle is far deeper than racial. It is a struggle for democracy.

# OK, so we need socialism—how do we get there?

A SOCIALIST SOCIETY will not come by voting socialist candidates—let alone Labour or Communist Party candidates—into parliament. However well-meaning these candidates, the power of the capitalist corporations can overrule parliament and break the government's back.

Socialism will only come when the workers' industrial strength is used to break the control of the corporations and to remove the capitalist bosses, putting workers in control.

That will not happen spontaneously.

The workers will not suddenly rise and take over society because they think it's a good idea. For within the working class there are wide differences. Some workers, still unhappily only a few, are revolutionary socialists. Others vote Tory, or support racials. In between are masses of workers with different sets of opinions.

The socialists among the working class need to be brought together to organise to intervene at every level

of the class struggle.

That is the aim of a revolutionary socialist party. The party acts as a point for these socialists, as a place where they can exchange their experiences and improve on them.

It links socialist workers across industrial boundaries and across national boundaries. It links workers with their history.

Above all, it provides the troops on the factory floor to organise and argue for socialist ideas and

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1974

THE International Socialists held their annual conference of delegates from more than 250 branches in London last weekend.

Tony Cliff, from the IS National Committee, got conference off to a rousing start. He said that the crisis in capitalism had brought the ruling class to a total crisis of confidence.

Enoch Powell's remedy—mass unemployment—wouldn't work, and the ruling class knew it. The private armies wouldn't work. 'Major-General Clutterbuck is criticising them in The Observer—and he's the arch-apostle of counter-insurgency operations', said Cliff.

The National Industrial Relations Court didn't work. Even incomes policies were in jeopardy when the wealth of the ruling class was paraded so crudely for all to see.

'Everything they try won't work', said Cliff. Industrial confidence was at the lowest ebb he'd ever known.

'Leyland shares are at 8p', he said. 'The Financial Times says that they're overvalued. British industrialists are begging the Arab sheikhs to take their industries over. The sheikhs reply: "Nothing doing".'

### Strength

'The most confident of the three parties is Labour. Their main argument is that inflation in other countries is worse than it is here. When your house is burning, don't worry. Your competitor's house is burning faster.'

The main cause of the crisis of confidence among the rulers, said Cliff, was the workers' confidence and strength. But, just as capitalism was in crisis, so the workers' movement despite their confidence, was in crisis too. Just as capitalism was divided as to its remedies, so the workers' movement has been divided. All the familiar divisions between different sets of workers, have re-emerged.

# We have the muscle, we need the brain!



RONNIE MORRELL and JEFF ALI: spoke in black workers' debate



TOMMY DOURAS: 'Smash the Front'

One set of workers reacted one way, another in another. In 1972, the miners and dockers had won great victories. In the same year, the Engineering Union had surrendered to the employers. This year the miners had won again, and the engineers had retreated still further.

'We are now entering a transition from a period of fragmented class struggle into one of united struggle. At the same time, whole sections of workers are pushing ahead. Six

months ago, there was no wage drift. Now there is massive wage drift. Engineers, carworkers, women workers and black workers are all pushing ahead at the same time.'

### Impact

This situation had 'fantastic opportunities' to a growing revolutionary organisation such as the International Socialists. Relatively few members could make tremendous

strides in the working-class movement. We couldn't initiate a general strike, but we could have a major impact on all the fragmented disputes that were taking place. Our job was to relate each specific strike and dispute with the general issue.

'We must intervene in every dispute and relate it to the role of the trade union bureaucrats', Cliff said. Each wage and bonus dispute had meant raising the question of the social contract and the betrayals of

the trade union officials. Each redundancy has to be countered with demands for nationalisation without compensation and under workers' control. IS related the particular struggle to the general.

'We have the muscle, but we need the brain,' he said. The workers' strength was not in doubt. There was a crisis of leadership, caused by the possibility that all the individual struggles in which workers were engaged were not linked to the overall offensive against capitalism. That linking was the primary job of the International Socialists.

### Options

'The revolutionary party is made of leaders', said Cliff. 'There is no rank and file in the revolutionary party. We must all give a lead, intervene wherever the struggle is taking place around us. We don't have a formula. We have a general line, and we have to keep our eyes and options open for the specifics.'

IAN BIRCHALL, introducing the section on international work, said the conference had the largest body of fraternal delegates from abroad ever to attend an IS meeting. There were delegates from the Socialist Workers' Movement in Ireland, the International Socialists from the United States and socialist organisations in Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Germany, Greece, France, Portugal, and two Chilean organisations. Fraternal greetings had been received from the Socialist Workers' Action Group in Australia.

In the discussion, Harry Wicks said he thought the perspectives document failed to give a clear enough guide to the crisis in social democracy. 'It's a mistake,' he said, 'to eliminate any analysis of the Labour Party.'

### Committed

A resolution from Newham urging continued work at all levels against the National Front committed the organisation to the building of 'working-class based anti-Fascist committees.'

An amendment from Bootle branch, moved by Tommy Douras, provided as the only basis for these committed the slogans: 'No platform for Fascists. Smash the National Front.'

## Black workers - the test is now

NIGEL HARRIS introduced the discussion on black workers. He insisted that from now on we had to turn the very backbone of our organisation to combat racism and support black workers in struggle.

'The strikes and struggles of black workers in Britain,' he said, 'are a test of our capacity to learn about their daily oppression.'

With a small cadre of blacks in IS and an appreciable wave of militancy, there was an opportunity to build an independent socialist leadership in the black community.

But it wasn't just up to black comrades in IS to organise. Every IS branch should have a specific programme of anti-racism, and every branch should have...

organisation of working people, black and white.

Jeff Ali said that in Burnley they were in the early stages of increasing confidence among the Asian workers.

'But,' he said, 'it is no use trying to run politics down people's throats. You have to make them feel confident in their demands to be treated like bloody human beings.'

He spoke of the Burnley bus strike and how at that time he had no rank and file paper to work with. If the paper had been enough at the beginning, campaigning and showing the strength of the workers' movement...

told conference: 'We have to make people understand that we will never have a socialist society while people are oppressed.'

Mick Walsh from Burton on Trent, said they hoped to recruit some black workers when they formed a factory branch. He and his mates were putting a regular bulletin into the factory, and in the next issue there would be a column in Urdu.

Walter Cuffner, North London organiser, pointed to three lessons for work among black workers which had come out of his experience. First, the next behaviour of trade union officials, even in following areas...

In the area, a number of Pakistani workers had been told down the street. It was at the next following...

union solidarity in the town. We could. We should have gone ahead faster, and done so.

Finally, 'we mustn't treat black workers as though they are white ones.' Too often, black workers were recruited and told to get down to the union branch and get on with organising.

'We've got to involve them with politics with which they can involve their own communities.' This meant constant discussion, day-schools and the like on imperialism and the political situation in India and the West Indies.

Summing up, Nigel Harris said: 'We cannot fail to be struck between the difference between the quality of the debate on this subject today and what it was at the last conference. I know you will see the material here as a real step forward in organisation and the quality of the struggle.'

# How do we overcome divisions among workers?

socialist advance. It provides the arguments and the antidotes against racialism and nationalism where they matter: on the shop floor.

Without the party, individual socialist militants in industry tend to be beaten down by the apparently hopeless task in front of them.

With the party, such militants can see at once that there are others fighting the same battles all over the country—indeed all over the world. They can learn much from and teach other party members about their

struggles in the workplace, can combine to produce newspaper, journals, pamphlets, to counter the lies of the capitalist press, can discipline others and rely on some discipline for themselves against the temptations of the 'official' trade union movement.

The party is an organiser, a leader. It organises to build a mass following among workers, so that it can orchestrate the struggle for workers' power.

Without a mass revolutionary workers' party, there will be no socialism. It is the fuse which links the idea

of socialism with its achievement.

Unless we build a revolutionary party, capitalism will win every round in the class struggle. That's what the International Socialists are doing. From a tiny group in the 1950s and 1960s, IS now has a membership of more than 3,500, the vast majority workers.

Last weekend, from Sunday to Tuesday, the International Socialists held their annual conference of delegates representing 250 area branches and 35 factory branches.

## Our work in the union fraction

MICK RICE, AUEW Fraction Secretary, said the job of the fraction was to teach and educate its members.

'Our level of penetration in the union is very low, but it is not a case of putting union work above work on the shop floor. Through the fraction we can give the younger comrades the experience necessary to develop them.'

JIM TOLTON (Leicester) argued that it was easy to get resolutions through the trade union branch, as he had done in the anti-fascist campaign in Leicester, but that on the day the union members didn't turn out.

For the rank and file conference we should get delegations from the shop floor rather than the union branch, which is just too easy. And our job in the Broad Left should be to orientate it back to the shop floor and not into the union branch.

MARGARET FALSHAW, ASTMS Fraction Executive said it was important to win the fight in defence of Ian Gibson, the victimised NEC member.

'But unfortunately we don't have a base in the case of all of our members, because a lot of them won't work in the union because it is a white collar union.'

'IS branches don't push their white collar members enough. This is a good opportunity to raise the question of trade union democracy.'

BARRY WHITE, NALGO Fraction secretary, said that with the enormous publicity the NALGO Action Group has had 'you would think we were fantastically strong.'

### Effective

'Unfortunately we are not. We still respond to events rather than lead them. White collar workers have more strength than they realise.'

Many now work in white collar factories. We need to look at each member of the fraction and see how he or she can build IS and the rank and file group in the workplace.

MARY PEARSON (Birmingham Teachers) said the divisions over the last few months had been false ones. Building in the work place was not opposed to work in the trade union. The two went together.

'We should use the trade union machine to help build our base. We can have a more effective leadership if we have some strength in the union. We shouldn't drop union work because we haven't made any significant steps at school level.'

RAB JEFFERY (EPTU) summing up the discussion, said: 'I am in favour of a sliding scale of priorities. There is a false polarisation in this argument. Fraction work is generalising the work of the factory floor.'

'It is not working in the trade union machine. Often, for manual workers, the trade union doesn't seem too relevant. But we must generalise; from the shop floor to the whole factory, from factory to factory, and within the union.'

We have to fight for our politics, to build IS. That is what revolutionary discipline is.



# Twelve points for victory

INTRODUCING the industrial perspectives debate, Steve Jefferys, IS Industrial Organiser, said that the trade union bureaucracy had led the working class 'into the most savage cuts in living standards in the last 30 years.'

He added: 'With the Labour government in power, we have a situation where not only does the trade union bureaucracy refuse to fight, but they intend to keep living standards down over the next five years.'

Steve argued that the fight back was fragmented but was becoming generalised over the issues and the way they were being fought.

He cited the strike in Woolworth's in Glasgow, a place where action like this was hardly to be expected.

'Look at the women's strike at Vauxhall—a traditionally backward area of the British car industry. The women there took the lead for the cleaners' demands,' he said.

### Backcloth

'Unemployment on Denis Healey's estimate will be one million by the end of the year. The Economist magazine suggests two million by 1976. This means 3000 sackings a day from now on,' he emphasised.

Against this backcloth of increasing economic crisis and sell-out by the union leadership, Steve stressed the changes taking place among the mass of workers.

'Large sections of the working class can act independently of the Labour Party—like the miners before and during the last election, or the Ford workers now.'

'And it isn't just the Labour Party. Workers are demonstrating increasing independence of the trade union bureaucracy. They are demanding democracy within their trade unions.'

'This combination of independent action—and democracy within the union is the politics of the Rank and File movement, which can

mobilise on these issues.'

He attacked the role of the Communist Party in the recent struggles. 'Take the September Trades Union Congress. The Communist Party had a member back on the General Council of the TUC—Ken Gill, representing a union mildly critical of the Social Contract.'

'And what happened? Nothing. Gill went along with the social contract. They play it cool within the unions.'

Steve went on: 'Earlier in the year it was the younger, newer sections of the movement which were moving into action. Now the older sections of the trade union movement are moving.'

The 12/point programme of key demands was, he argued, one out of which the revolutionary party could be built.

'There's no mention of unemployment in the Social Contract', he said, 'but this is the major threat. We say five days' work—or five days' pay, we want nationalisation under full workers' control with no compensation.'

'We want the 35-hour week with 40 hours' pay. We must fight blacklists, and fight the use of the police and army in industrial disputes.'

'All this is a tool in the building of the revolutionary party. We've

got to fight for the programme's implementation, it's got to be fought for, argued about, shaped, made into a fighting weapon.'

'I can promise you the industrial department will be producing a flood of leaflets and pamphlets to be used by the local branches.'

'Comrades have to take back to their branches the idea of a working class party for the working class movement.'

### Echoed

Glyn Carver of Manchester agreed with the report but, moving a Manchester district resolution, argued that local branches had to re-dedicate themselves to the building of factory branches.

Delegates to the next Rank and File conference had to represent something solid in their workplaces—a view echoed by Larry Connolly of Lucas.

He said, 'I would be happy to have half the number of delegates at the next conference we had at the last—if they were people representing power and influence within the trade unions.'

Dave Hallsworth of Manchester put a different emphasis. 'I was in the Communist Party and I've been on district committees in the



Billy Williams: We can build on this

National Union of Railwaymen in positions of power, but the contact with the working class was negligible—it was revolution by resolution.

Another ex-member of the Communist Party, electricians' union member Billy Williams of Cardiff said: 'After three years in the CP I felt like I was manacled with a ball and chain.'

'I had been working with various IS members but had been told that Trotskyism was bad. I got to a stage where I just packed it in, I was so demoralised.'

'Then I picked up a copy of the Socialist Worker Electricians' Special and I thought, 'Well this is something that can be used'. I was back in the trade and the job we were on we were making about £20 a week. After six weeks of struggle we were up to £87!'

'I believe the 12/point programme is something you can build on. It's the nuts and bolts of the struggle. With the Rank and File movement we can build—we are building, and we can smash the system.'

'Take Brother Frank Chapple in our union, he used to be afraid of the Communist Party but he's afraid of the International Socialists now. He knows we are building on the shop-floor.'

## GO AHEAD FOR WHITE COLLARS

INTRODUCING the National Committee's recommendation that workplace branches for white collar workers including teachers ought to be established where appropriate, Duncan Hallas said this was not an ideal solution but the wave of white collar unionism was rolling and we could not behave like political King Canutes.

The most important work any IS member could do was among fellow workers. Agreeing, Tommy Riley (Bolton) said that there was no room for paternalism towards white collar

workers.

But Andreas Nagliatti (Liverpool) was worried that white collar branches galore might become a gimmick to solve political difficulties. It might be required in London but in other areas it might spell the death of established IS geographical branches.

Gordon Peters (Islington) was applauded when he described the achievements of town hall IS members in London in last May's two-month London Weighting dispute.

In that strike, he said, the so-called submissive, defensive, ideological

apparatchniks of the state had organised London-wide flying pickets and built up powerful and advanced trade union organisation.

Why should we be made to feel guilty? To refuse recognition to white-collar branches would be to commit political suicide.

Conference gave the go-ahead by approving Cricklewood's resolution which also insisted that branches should only be started with 'the fullest consultation with the District Committee and the members concerned'.

# How the International Socialists are fighting OUR AIM: A FIGHTING MOVEMENT



SOONU ENGINEER: What about the backward white workers?

JOHN DEASON introduced the discussion on the rank and file movement. The initiatives of IS members to help build a national movement that could give leadership throughout the working class movement were vital.

The working class movement, he said, was being driven in the direction of wider organisation than for many years.

'The Ford strikers had tried immediately to involve others in their battle. And the Shell workers at Stanlow had given confidence to many workers in the early days of the Labour government.

'The importance of their strike was the speed with which they spread the dispute, creating and involving combine organisation.'

He stressed there was an important strike wave going on at the moment, in anticipation of a wage freeze.

It was our job to help strikers to organise to win, point up the connection with other disputes and strengthen the moves towards national rank and file organisation. And it was our job to build IS at the same time, pushing IS politics and factory branch organisation.

The next rank and file conference in November would meet in a situation where a wage freeze and a spate

## Rank and file organisation 'now crucial'

of factory closures were right on the cards.

He insisted that the rank and file movement would mean nothing if it did not have a life of its own in the labour movement.

Its strengths would come from the fact workers felt that to go to a conference meant something more than attending a meeting. It had to mean affiliation to a fighting movement.

Terry Mandrell (Birmingham) insisted that the basis on which a rank and file movement was set up and on which its conferences were called was of the utmost importance. It had to be completely independent as was the Minority Movement in the 1920s.

Soonu Engineer talked of how the seeds of the rank and file movement were sown in Leicester. Black workers from many different

factories, faced with the total bankruptcy and racism of the TGWU machine, had come together over recent months.

The notion that black workers were 'backward' industrially and politically had been proved to be nonsense.

The black workers in Leicester were leading the working class. 'In point of fact they constantly asked themselves: "What can we do about these backward white workers?"'

Every member and sympathiser of IS must assist in the present struggles.

## Crimes

Andreas Nagliati said it was vital to have a serious strategy for fighting closures and unemployment and not to confine yourself to talking of workers' control.

Peter Bain spoke of the catalogue of crimes committed at Chrysler Linwood, in one year by Jack Jones. 'This alone should qualify him for a knighthood,' he said.

'The possibilities for building the rank and file movement were greater now than at any time since the 1920s. It won't happen mechanically. It has to be built. If it was, it would be a breakthrough for the British working class.'



JOHN DEASON: We must help strikers to win

Pictures by Chris Davies (report)

## WOMEN 'IN THE FRONT LINE'

ANNA Paczuska, for the National Committee, said there had been a dramatic upsurge by women in industry.

The issues ranged from discipline, hours, conditions to equal pay and redundancy, but women were fighting with a new-found self-confidence and were often making the industrial running.

IS needed to make big changes to take women out of the shadows... women's work was no longer a luxury but had to be right in the centre.

Carol Dourass (Liverpool), arguing against separate publications for women, said women were segregated from men at work and home. It shouldn't be repeated inside IS.

But Mary Larner (Edmonton) described an enthusiastic reception for Women's Voice by women who found Socialist Worker off-putting.

She said small all-women groups could sometimes be very helpful in overcoming working women's initial shyness.

Kath Ennis argued that IS's factory branches had to look carefully for issues of discrimination inside the factory. In Birmingham, IS members had successfully taken up the case of a woman engineer persistently barred from skilled grades and got the stewards who were blocking her disciplined.

Barbara Kerr (Harlow) said that the immediate task for IS women's work was to get women militants involved in the rank and file movement and build support for the Rank and File delegate conference on Equal Pay.

It was agreed to produce Women's Voice on a monthly basis and aim at appointing a fulltime worker to it.

## Fraternal

OSCAR, a fraternal delegate from the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee, spoke on the recent overthrow of the military dictatorship in 'the weakest link in the imperialist chain in Europe'.

He described a march on the Ministry of Labour in Lisbon under the banners 'Down with capitalism', 'Strike Yes, Lockout No', 'No freedom to the bourgeoisie, Total freedom to the workers.'

He said there was an urgent need to take up the Portuguese situation in the trade unions, especially in those multi-nationals which had holdings in Portugal.

# Let battle commence!



CAROL DOURASS: Factory branches must lead

JOCK WIGHT introduced the session on factory branches with the words: 'The 1973 Conference put us out on the road, a long hard road, but the right road.'

He added: 'We have formed 56 branches, of which 38 remain, and they are the cornerstone of our organisation. The highest casualty rate was with the industrial branches, and here we need to be more careful in future. They don't have the cement that secures a factory branch.'

'The problems in the factory branches are many and common to them all.' And as an example he took his own branch. 'Our branch was born last year and we straight away set up our own education programme and decided to go for the leadership in the factory.'

'We didn't wait for the centre to tell us what to do. We made mistakes but now have an influence which is much greater than our numbers. We lost some paper

members and had to be careful that we weren't snowed under with work, there are so many committees to work on.'

WILLIE LEE from Chrysler Linwood, pointed out the problems for young workers. 'To be a member of IS you have to be totally committed. A new young worker will have a hard time because of his politics so the other members of the branch will have to be prepared to protect him and to help him.'

LARRY CONNOLLY, from Lucas in Birmingham, said: 'Building a combine committee, to fight for our policies in each plant, is what we need. We have to be in a position to lead the fantastic confidence that the class now has to fight back. We need to have a conference from the factory branches as soon as possible.' (A conference will be held early next month).

GERRY JONES (Chrysler) and CAROL DOURASS (SOGAT) both argued that factory branches needed to be integrated into the district organisation.

They are in a strong position to build the organisation and must lead it locally and nationally.

RAY LONG warned against being opportunists in the factory 'who see us as a way of getting on to shop stewards' committees. But our experience hardens us. The factory bulletin has also been very good. So good that the management now produce their own.'

## Priority

STEVE FOREY said: 'It is in the factory branch that we have to put our politics to the test. It's no good selling 50 Socialist Workers if you don't talk about your politics. So how we sell Socialist Worker is crucial.'

'We started by seeing our priority as getting people involved in the union. We set up an action group to get people united around us and around SW.'

They do want to talk politics, and we need to get them along to meetings, not to offer them salvation and the right answers, but to be involved in action.

'If they won't join IS straight away, get them under the banner of Socialist Worker. It's a bloody respectable banner, even if it's not perfect. It is the best going. Action is the way to get members.'

Jock Wight's message to the conference at the end of the debate was a simple one: 'Class war is what it's all about. Let battle commence. We will win a few victories and lose a few. But what we can't do is lose the war.'



STEVE FOREY: Action is way to get members



LARRY CONNOLLY: Fantastic confidence



JOCK WIGHT: We can't lose the war

## 'Use our paper to organise'

A NEWHAM resolution calling for an expanded Socialist Worker editorial board including industrial workers was accepted by the conference. Editor PAUL FOOT stressed the need for readers to write for the paper and use it as an organiser.

'We don't have an elixir to turn readers into writers,' he pointed out. 'The best way to do it is to write—the more you write, the better you write. You've got to help us build a mass socialist paper for a mass socialist party.'

BOB LIGHT of Newham said Socialist Worker was the best paper on the left for several generations. 'But the competition isn't all that hot. We've got to compare it with the task we've got at hand, to destroy the capitalist system throughout the world. Socialist Worker has gone completely stale. It is a bystander in the class war.'

MICK BRIGHTMAN, of Cricklewood, said: 'If Socialist Worker wasn't as good as it should be, then it was our fault. We, the members, have got to write, sell and build it.'

'If you can't even sell the paper you're not going to be much good on the barricades.'

From Manchester ANDY WISTREICH said that the paper sometimes gave the impression of being written by journalists who were out of touch. He thought that local material, like factory bulletins, should be sent in for possible use in the paper.

National Committee member Anna Paczuska stressed the paper's coverage of women's issues had to get away from being maternal—or 'doing something' for women. 'There has been an improvement recently,' she claimed.

## Strategy

A resolution calling for a return of the paper's price to 5p was defeated after IS National Treasurer Jim Nichol had given a run down on the financial situation of the paper.

STEVE ABBOTT from Nottingham argued that SW had to be 'a serious revolutionary paper, not a Red Beano. Disputes had to be accurately reported and a clear strategy given, more workers have to write for the paper.'



for socialism ...

# Thanks to the International Socialists



Supporters applaud the Glasgow firemen's strike leaders after their victory.

## FROM VICTORIOUS FIREMEN

We, the undersigned members of the Glasgow area committee of the Fire Brigades Union, send fraternal greetings to the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference and wish you the best of luck. We would like to express our appreciation of the honest coverage of the Glasgow firemen's case received only from Socialist Worker during our dispute.

One lesson we learned from this strike was that in spite of the 'sympathy' from councillors and MPs, in spite of the militant talk from some trade union leaders, in the final analysis only militant strike action by the rank and file can do the job. The immediate job is to win for workers the substantial improvements of their wages and conditions necessary to maintain a decent standard of living in the face of the vicious anti-working class legislation of this Tory government.

To this end we fully support the efforts of the International Socialists towards building a rank and file movement capable of smashing not only Phase Three but also putting paid to future Tory wage freezes by getting rid of this Tory government.

Alan Morgan (vice chairman), Brian McGuire, Alan Campbell, Ronnie Robinson, November 1973.

## FROM STRIKERS AT CHRYSLER

I'm going to contribute to the International Socialists tonight because during our dispute, when we were under attack from all sides, the IS were the people who came to help us.

We've heard from so-called trade unionists that the IS were behind our strike. I say, if that's the case,

I am writing on behalf of all the Ryton (Chrysler) pickets to convey their many thanks for the Chrysler articles in Socialist Worker last week. The Chrysler International Socialist members at both Ryton and Stoke were impressed by the speed of the articles and their content. The IS printshop, overworked as they are, did a terrific job getting the articles to print ready for sales to the Chrysler workers in the heat of our dispute. Our sincere thanks.

Chrysler IS, Coventry, June 1973.

## FROM A VICTIMISED STEWARD

It's just a year since the strike at Con-Mech started. It ended six months later in defeat. We lost because of the lack of a rank and file movement in the area. We're putting this right.

During the nurses' campaign, Woking saw its first-ever demonstra-

tion since the general strike, with local nurses and trade unionists marching together.

The strike at Con-Mech has passed into history. But we who were part of it have not forgotten the help given to trade unionists both locally and nationally. We would thank them

## From Durham ambulancemen

United we stand—that should be our motto in Durham Ambulance Service from now on . . . This is the first time that Durham has stood together and it is the first time we have had a decisive victory over Durham County Council. Ours was the first total shut-down in the history of the ambulance service.

We would like to thank the International Socialists for their help in our strike.

Ronnie Young, chairman, County Durham Ambulance Strike Committee.

tricians' strike against the Tory government's pay freeze in summer 1973, speaking at Coventry IS meeting.



LINDSAY GREIG

and the International Socialists for their support—for publicity in the Socialist Worker too, and not least, hot chips on a cold winter's night.

Lindsay Greig, former sacked AUEW shop steward at Con-Mech, Woking.



## FROM A BUILDING WORKER TRIED AT SHREWSBURY

We've found that the IS have led all over the country in organising to free the three. They're a fantastic group—they need your help and you need them.

John Llywarch, one of the six building workers convicted of conspiracy at Shrewsbury—for picketing during the 1972 building strike, speaking at Digbeth Civic Hall, 20 January 1974.



## WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

### INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS ACTION

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

### REVOLUTION NOT REFORMISM

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

### THE SMASHING OF THE CAPITALIST STATE

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

### WORK IN THE MASS ORGANISATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

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

### INTERNATIONALISM

We are internationalists. We practise and campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries, oppose racism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples. We are opposed to all immigration controls.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country. Revolution is defeated by isolation. Russia, China and Eastern Europe are not socialist but state capitalist. We support the workers' struggle in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

## WE ARE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

For unconditional support to all genuine national liberation movements.

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

## International Socialists



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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

# When officials load the dice

## YOU'RE NO LONGER A STEWARD SAID THE BOSS

by Jim Barlow, Dundee IS

**IT IS now five months since I was sacked and duly reinstated at Ninewells Hospital.**

When I was sacked, Socialist Worker carried an article about my victimisation which told of the collusion of the local Transport Workers Union officials with the hospital bosses. Looking back, it is important for myself and fellow trade unionists to analyse the events so we can prevent it happening again. The lessons are important for all workers in understanding the way the trade union bureaucrats work.

I was sacked for assisting and writing for 'Dundee Hospital Worker'—our local rank and file paper. The bosses of the Tayside Health Board weren't too happy with the way our

paper was helping workers to organise so they decided it was time for me to leave. They fabricated a charge that I had broken procedure.

The hospital secretary, Mr Gardner, called me into his office and said: 'We have been informed by the district secretary of your union that your credentials as a shop steward have been withdrawn. Because of your failure to comply with the procedures agreed with the union, we are terminating your employment'. This statement I received in writing two days later, with a lot more added on.

It was obvious to me from that moment on that the dice were loaded against me because of the allegiance of the union officials with the bosses. I knew there and then that I'd get no

help from the officials and the only chance to keep my job was if I got support from the rest of the workers at Ninewells.

My suspicions were correct. My approach to John Knox, TGWU district organiser, the following day proved fruitless. All he did was set up an appeal against the bosses' decision.

### Evidence

The proof of the officials' collusion is simple, although I have had no chance to answer any of the ridiculous accusations and slanders thrown in my face. My evidence is that it was the hospital management who told me my steward credentials had been withdrawn and not the union officials.

It came to light later that the

previous Friday district secretary John Johnstone had investigated a complaint about me at management's request. The complaint had filtered through to management from informants in the kitchen department, people who were also members of my union.

At no time from when the complaint was lodged to when I was sacked did the district secretary nor the management seek to question me on my side of the argument.

The officials later attempted to cover their obvious blunders—after 150 workers had gone on strike in my support and won me my job back. They called a mass meeting the Monday I restarted work in another deliberate effort to discredit me in the eyes of my fellow trade unionists. They said things like: 'It is not his fault, he is a young lad and is being manipulated by the International Socialists.' The workers didn't wear any of this sort of rubbish and shouted them down.

## THE UNIONS



The contenders: Bob Wright (left), who has the support of the union's Broad Left, and John Boyd, whose victory would be the first stage of a right-wing takeover.



Picture: Christopher Davies (Report)

### Appealed

Yet again the officials refused to let me speak, saying I would get my chance at the district committee. This also proved a farce as permission to defend myself was turned down.

I have appealed to Ray MacDonald, regional secretary, but have had no answer. If necessary I will fight this case out with the union's executive.

Some of my workmates are beginning to understand the role the officials play between the people they represent and the bosses. John Knox recently said at a shop floor meeting in the stores department, when talking about a proposed bonus scheme: 'Get the money in your pockets lads, then worry about the details later.' These details have since given us a lot of headaches—but he is not unduly perturbed as his take-home pay is still double ours.

Until such times as all full-time trade union officials are paid the same rates as the workers they represent, are subject to instant recall and democratically controlled, then they will continue to try to repeat these events. But I give fair warning to Brothers Knox and Johnstone—try to sell out the next hospital ancillary workers' pay claim in Ninewells Hospital and there will be hell to pay!!

# Crucial ballot in Engineers Union

**IN THE coming election for general secretary of the AUEW engineering section the two main candidates will be John Boyd, executive council member for Scotland, supported by the right-wing machine, and Bob Wright, executive council member for Division Number Four supported by the Broad Left.**

This will be the most crucial election since Hugh Scanlon first defeated Boyd for the union presidency. The right wing are determined to keep control of the union's journal which provided a platform for their policies before the death of general secretary Jim Conway.

Its editorials regularly slandered shop floor militants. At the height of the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill, space was provided in the journal for an article by Tory Minister Robert Carr to defend the Bill.

The Journal supported the 'Back Britain' campaign. It carried a regular article by Keith Mason the Sun's industrial correspondent and advocate of immigration control and wage restraint.

To get such odious policies continued, the right wing are supporting John Boyd, a protegee of the late Lord

### By the International Socialists AUEW Fraction executive

Carron and veteran enemy of all shop floor militants.

In his election address Boyd warns members of outside interference in the election and claims that 'they' will 'support a candidate of their choosing'.

The only interference in this election will come from those Fleet Street hacks who have engaged in a scurrilous campaign against the union as a result of its opposition to the Industrial Relations Act. There can be no doubt that the candidate they choose to support in this election will have massive backing from the millionaire press.

### Attitude

Control of the journal is only one factor in this election for the general secretary occupies a key post in the union. The entire membership of the engineering section will be voting and the outcome will be seen as an indication of the attitude of the members towards union policies.

A victory for Boyd would be seen as a victory for so-called

'common sense', 'moderation' and a rejection of the policies decided by the national committee. It would be the first stage of a right-wing takeover of the AUEW and a return to the days of Carron. Only this time it would be far worse, given the crisis that the working class face. Under these circumstances should the right wing regain control the implications for the entire trade union movement would be extremely serious.

For this reason engineers who are members of the International Socialists will provide active but not uncritical support for Bob Wright. The real key to change and advancement in the trade union movement lies with the members, not with elected full-time officials. It is therefore essential that the rank and file exert the utmost pressure on those officials elected to serve their interest.

A victory for Wright would be a decisive rejection of the bankrupt policies of the right wing and provide the opportunity for the rank and file to intensify the struggle to defend jobs and improve wages.

There will also be important elections for three positions of national organiser at the same time as the ballot for general secretary. IS engineers urge support for the following candidates: Cyril Morton, John Foster and Len Brindle.

ADVERTISEMENT

## FIGHT WAGE RESTRAINT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

### Support the Second National Rank and File Conference

**Saturday 30 November, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham**  
Make sure your shop stewards committee, union branch or district committee is supporting this important conference.

Delegates' credentials 50p

The Rank and File Conference Organising Committee has compiled verifiable lists of imprisoned Chilean trade unionists in all the main industrial and service sectors for adoption by British trade union bodies. Copies of these and a covering letter can be obtained from the secretary.

**If you want credentials, get your trade union branch or shop stewards' committee to fill in this form and sent it to the Secretary, Rank and File Conference Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.**

Send us credentials for \_\_\_\_\_ delegates to the Rank and File Conference on November 30.

NAME OF TRADE UNION BODY \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

# Halsbury: It's not enough!

By Una Turner (COHSE)

THE Halsbury report has done nothing to improve the appalling wage levels of the lower grades of nursing staff. It has drastically increased the differentials between the senior nursing staff on the one hand and state enrolled, student and auxiliary nurses on the other.

Charge nurses are getting increases ranging between 36.2 per cent to 58.4 per cent, about an extra £12 to £20 a week. At the other end of the scale, student nurses over 21 will be getting as little as £1 a week more, and nursing auxiliaries over 21 are getting increases ranging from 14 to 17.9 per cent (about £2.50 to £4 a week more).

## Heavy

Lower-paid grades (enrolled nurses, student nurses and nursing assistants) do most of the heavy, dirty work on the ward, will stay in the range from £19 to £30 a week for a 40-hour week involving complicated shifts. In comparison, Halsbury recommends a pay scale for charge nurses

ranging from £40 to £65 a week.

These pay scales are obviously unacceptable to the lower paid nurse. At the Liff Hospital COHSE meeting on Friday the branch went on record that the recommendations of the Halsbury committee were totally inadequate. The branch motion instructs the NEC of COHSE to lay concrete demands before the health

authorities for realistic standards of pay.

These demands should include, says the branch, a £30 basic minimum for all grades of nursing staff, with related increases for all grades up to staff nurses.

The branch also instructed the COHSE executive to pursue a national policy of industrial action if the claim is not met in full by 1 December.

## NURSES 'DISGUSTED'

by John Splading COHSE (Salford Royal Infirmary)

MANCHESTER:—Most junior nurses are disgusted and furious at the pitiful rises offered. One here will get as little as £1.13 a week.

Acceptance of Halsbury has set the trade union movement among health workers back a long way. A NUPE delegate conference in Manchester passed a resolution accepting the findings with reservations. A meeting of nurses from the Salford group of hospitals passed a resolution totally condemning Halsbury and are now planning demonstrations to make the public aware of the situation.

At a Manchester Trades Council meeting in the crisis in the health service on Sunday, NUPE fulltimers tried to prevent any discussion of Halsbury. This was attacked by rank and file nurses present who made their point with a walk-out.

SWANSEA:—NUPE members at the Morrision hospital have voted against acceptance of the report. They went on record for a substantial increase over and above the report. If this conflicted with the social contract, then the social contract had to give way.

by Adrian Sugar, Middlesbrough

THE REPORT shows that radiographers have won a significant victory for themselves and other paramedical staffs. At Darlington Memorial hospital physiotherapists phoned the radiographer reps to thank them for winning a substantial increase backdated to 28 May of £282 and senior grades upwards will receive £480.

But the lump sum award in September is pitiful (£40.80) and a crisis in the NHS, she thinks Lord Halsbury has solved all the problems.

## Stronger

The disputes this summer have shown what can be achieved. But with all three major political parties dedicated to solving their capitalist crisis at the expense of workers' wages, it will take better organisation and stronger leadership in the trade union movement just to stand still.

I hope that will come from the Second Rank and File Conference on 30 November and urge all trade unionists to get their organisations delegated.

# HOSPITAL WORKERS OCCUPY

by Bill Geddes

(NUPE branch chairman)

WEST LONDON:—400 hospital workers staged an occupation last week after NUPE shop stewards at Hammersmith Hospital learnt that talks on the London Weighting claim were deadlocked. Management was refusing to meet the union's figure for increases, a figure authorised by the government White Paper.

On getting the news we held an emergency union meeting and decided to take industrial action to ginger things up a bit. The stewards decided to recommend a three-hour occupation of the main reception area.

We drafted a leaflet advertising a 'Mass Marathon Meeting', giving a clear explanation of the situation and the tactics to be employed. Stewards made sure everyone had read it and were prepared for action.

The response was magnificent! At 11am last Friday 400 workers clocked out and marched into the front hall, sweeping aside management attempts to block the doorways.

The management went into panic at the sight of this tremendous demonstration of workers' confidence. Half the strikers were black and many Portuguese and Spanish.

A senior administrator approached the stewards and demanded to address the meeting. After a vote, the occupying workers agreed to give him a listen. But after only 20 seconds of his appeal for a return to work a massive shout of 'No!' went up. Exit badly-shaken boss.

The stewards talked themselves dry for the next two hours raising every issue they could think of, from wages and conditions to creches and bus-services, all the time encouraging contributions from the floor.

News then came to the meeting of the pending dismissal of a lab technician for refusing to handle private patient work. Spontaneously the meeting decided to strike indefinitely until management agreed to meet stewards to discuss the case.

After half an hour of negotiating without success, a note was handed in from the mass meeting. It said we should ask for a yes or no answer immediately. Management would make no comment so the entire NUPE branch left the hospital.

NUPE stewards told management that the first whisper they heard of any investigation or victimisation of the technician concerned would mean an immediate walk-out of the ancillary staff.

Two years ago union activity at Hammersmith Hospital was nil. Last week we saw strike action in support of an Australian white-collar worker they had never seen or met.

This was a tremendous advance in working-class solidarity, particularly as the technician's own union continued working during the NUPE strike.

## Technicians lobby

by Dave Strutt

UNIVERSITY technicians in the white-collar ASTMS are outraged by the union refusal to give official support for strike action in protest against a ludicrous wage offer of 8 per cent from October. The ASTMS claim is for 30 per cent backdated to April.

About 200 technicians from all over the country lobbied the negotiations.

The university technicians' National Advisory Committee, an elected body of lay members, met later and rejected the offer. It called on the union executive to support a national protest stoppage.

ASTMS national officers and executive members constantly claim the union is democratically controlled. IS member Ian Gibson was kicked off the executive for saying it isn't. By overthrowing the committee's decision the ASTMS bureaucracy has shown Ian Gibson's criticism is more than justified.

# BRIEF BURIAL FOR MINES BALLOT

AT WHAT was laughingly described as an NUM 'special conference' last Thursday, the sheer weight of rank and file opinion forced the executive to delay the ballot on the Productivity Deal proposed by the Coal Board.

That it was ever thought necessary to ballot the membership on a deal completely against the policy of the union is particularly noteworthy.

It seems Brothers Gormley, Daly and others are so intent on proving the Social Contract is workable they aren't bothered how low they stoop.

The proposals amounted to no more than a return to the old face-by-face piecework system for face workers and some kind of phantom bonus deal for others.

Leaving aside the argument against any productivity deals, it remains a fact that NUM policy is to try to negotiate a productivity deal on a national basis.

The proposals put forward by the Coal Board came nowhere near even that policy. Yet the union executive found it necessary to call a Special Delegate Conference and a ballot.

The conference was peculiar to say the least—with no resolution or vote allowed.

## BLATANT

But despite the frantic attempts of the bureaucracy to keep the rank and file in the dark on the proposals, details began to filter through. By the time of the 'conference' the rank and file were seething with rage at this blatant disregard of both union policy and union democracy.

For once, some members of the executive were quick to realise the strength of feeling among the rank and file and they brought up the issue of the actual impotency of the conference.

Yorkshire's delegation walked out in protest. The vital decision was the calling off of the ballot for the time being.

We must be wary that the executive are likely to return from their 'negotiations' with some doctored version of the same deal or perhaps a pit-by-pit deal similar to that outlined by Gormley.

This message must be got across to rank and file members. Acceptance of any productivity deal destroys the unity and solidarity forged in recent years and cut living standards and standards of health and safety in the pits.



Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' president, and his delegates after the walkout. 'Joe Gormley's ruling was completely undemocratic and unconstitutional', he told Socialist Worker. 'We detest having to resort to this. But what else can we do? Personally I'm opposed to all productivity deals. But I am prepared to discuss along with others a national scheme.' He added that this did not apply to a pit-based scheme.

PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

# RANK: WE WON FIRST TIME

By an AUEW member at Rank's

BRENTFORD:—The first-ever all-out strike for a wage claim at Rank Pullin Controls, part of the multimillion pound Rank Organisation, has ended in victory. AUEW officials gave full support, and management have agreed acceptable new rates for all grades.

Union organisation 18 months ago was almost nil. We had to start by fighting for things like a notice-board and time for shop-stewards' meetings, as well as getting rid of a vicious productivity agreement.

Now membership is almost 100 per cent. Rank's workers are no longer interested in getting selective rises which ignore the interests of others, such as women workers, or letting management sap unity by multiplying grades and divisive differentials.

The union want to get differentials down to £1: the increases just won keep them to well under £2.

Eighteen months of militancy and solidarity have raised pay by £8-£10 for

all, against management efforts to buy off small sections from the fight. Every basis for claims has been used; for the latest success, it was one often ignored by trade unionists and worth noting.

Any firm on Government contract is supposed to pay rates no lower than those for similar work in the same district. Rank's of course weren't meeting this. When they refused a 20 per cent increase, pleading Phase Three the workers forced them by a work-to-rule to lodge an appeal

## SOGATS BLOCK SICKBED SACKING

HARTLEPOOL:—Workers at Admel, part of Addressograph-Multigraph, who have now been on strike for five weeks, have moved pickets down to Woking to try and tie up their firm's premises in the South. They are striking to win reinstatement of their Father of the Chapel (shop steward), sacked by management after being off seriously ill for seven weeks with certificates.

to the Industrial Arbitration Board to allow them to break Phase Three and pay an increase.

But once again shop-floor solidarity produced victory for all grades.

It was a great picket, fizzing with enthusiasm even in the rain. Workers who less than two years ago were taking every management trick lying down, from low basic rates to vicious productivity speed-up, were joking that they could make a better job of running the place themselves.

The strike is officially backed by the print union SOGAT. The firm is clearly out to break union organisation. Support is vital. The firm takes supplies from ICI, Wiggins Teape and William Nash and the strikers hope these will be blacked.

Messages of support and donations to Ronnie Morrissey, SOGAT branch secretary, 10 Scarborough Street, Hartlepool, Cleveland County.

## Classified

**DEMONSTRATION: Labour's Promises for Women.** Vote and fight. Grant SEI Women's demands. Equal Pay Now. Free Nurseries for All. Smash the Social Contract. 2pm, Department of Employment, St James Square, London, SW1. Saturday 5 October. Sponsored by IMG, Brent Working Women's Charter Campaign, Women and Socialism Current.

**BIRMINGHAM REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP**  
Public Meeting on Chile  
Speaker: Judith Harrison. 7.30pm, Friday 11 October, University of Birmingham Union Building, Committee Room 1.

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT**  
Prepare for October 27 National Mobilisation of Ireland  
Demand: British Troops Out Now! Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole. Smash British Imperialism in Ireland. Rally at Clerkenwell Green, North London, 2pm, Sunday 27 October. March to Fleet Street, Whitehall, Smith Square. Sponsored by five Labour MPs. Bulk orders of leaflets and posters from Ad Hoc Committee, 84 Claverton Street, London, SW1.

**HARINGEY Trades Council Committee against Racism and Fascism:** March and demonstrate against the racist tactics of the National Front. Assemble 2pm, Bruce Castle Park, Tottenham, N17, proceed along the High Road and Broad Lane, end at Tottenham Town Hall. Speakers: Bill Neary chairman of the trades council, Jack Moss (FTAT) and other trade unionists.

**BLACK COUNTRY Anti-Fascist Committee Street Meeting:** Smash the National Front. We appeal to all trade unionists and socialists to attend and stop the growth of the Front in Dudley and the Black Country, Saturday 5 October, 2pm, The Market Place, Dudley High Street. Speakers from the trade union movement, International Socialists, Communist Party, International Marxist Group and Labour Party.

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

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## £2,129

SAM Silkin, Labour's Attorney General, has given notice that on 16 October he will come to the High Court in person to try and put the editor and publisher of Socialist Worker in jail.

Silkin argues that we committed contempt of court when we named the parasites who were two of the witnesses in the Janie Jones case last April.

The determination of this government minister and well-known property speculator to crack down on Socialist Worker underlines the vital need to keep the money flowing into our defence fund.

Last month, we made our £2000 target. A last-minute rush of donations brought in £595.18 to push the month's total to £2,129.

For our Legal Defence Fund we have received £100 from the Glasgow Area Committee of the Fire Brigades Union and £4 from Rubery Owen IS branch.

SW supporters in John Brown Engineering sent in £20. SW supporters from Edinburgh NALGO

### GLASGOW FIREMEN SEND US £100 AS FUND TOPS THE TARGET

Gas Branch £4, and SW readers in Monmouth Dwert £5.25. The IS Conference Dance raised £45 and the London SW Benefit showing of Blow for Blow raised £102.

We had a lot of collections from IS branches including: Stockport £12 NW London District £25, Bristol £9.10, London Hospital Workers £35, Fulham £5, Kirkby £5, Hounslow and Twickenham £18.21, Bolton and Leigh £8.50, Plymouth £3, Chrysler Ryton £2, Dudley £5, Falkirk £2, St Helens £3, Tyneside Aggregate £5, Harlow £65, C A Parsons £8.60, Middleton anti-National Front £13.

Now we need to get the October fund off to a good start to make sure we meet our target again. Send your collections and donations now to:

Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London 8DN.

# ENTER SPINOLA MARK II

THE class war in Portugal is hotting up. President Spinola's supporters on the extreme right, subsidised by the corporations which control Portugal's economy attempted last week-end to hold a mass demonstration against the Left.

The demonstration was banned by the Armed Forces Movement—a radical group within the Portuguese army which is anxious above all to avoid a return to Fascism—and Spinola resigned.

In his resignation speech, Spinola complained that he could not play a part in a revolutionary government.

The international capitalist press shrieks that Portugal is 'in the grips of a red terror'.

In fact, Spinola has been replaced by another general with an equally barbaric background in campaigns in Mozambique and other Portuguese

colonies.

Gomes, the new President, although a fierce right-winger, is more popular with the Armed Forces Movement than Spinola. In the event of violent class warfare, he has more chance of splitting the Movement.

The Portuguese government is still a capitalist government. It will still woo the multi-nationals and put down strikes.

The new government will look even more anxiously than before to the Portuguese Communist Party, the only party with a mass base, to keep workers quiet in spite of 30 per cent inflation.

The CP which has a minister in the government, has responded eagerly denouncing all the main strikes over the last five weeks.

But the workers have not been impressed. In spite of a vicious anti-strike law supported by the CP, the strikes have doubled and redoubled in their intensity.

### SPONTANEOUS

Last week-end's Right-wing demonstration might well have come off had it not been for the spontaneous action of the railwaymen. Railwaymen's committees throughout the country were told to keep a look-out for demonstrators travelling to Lisbon from the countryside (the Right-wing is without any mass support in Lisbon).

Instructions were issued to stop any such demonstrators and turn them back. These instructions paralysed the demonstration from the outset.

Workers' action is building up. Portuguese workers have lived under fascism for 40 years, and will not lightly return to it.

Everything depends on the workers' action being bound together in a single organisation, which, unlike the Communists, will seek to mobilise the workers' strength, not dissipate it.

### Busmen act

BUSDRIVERS from West Fife and Central Scotland met and formed a rank and file committee composed of delegates from Fife and the Midlands plus Eastern Central and Western SMT.

They are demanding £35 for 35 hours plus improved conditions. In pursuit of this claim they are now operating an overtime ban which is 100 per cent effective at the garages involved.

The union has so far failed to support the action taken by the busmen and has even sent out letters to branch secretaries not to attend meetings of the committees.



Young teachers and dockers picketing the Railway Tavern in London's Mile End. The publican refuses to serve black people and called the police last week when teachers and blacks demanded to be served.

### WOMEN STRIKERS OCCUPY

HEYWOOD, Lancs.—The 400 women strikers at SEI occupied the plant on Sunday night after a small group of them bluffed their way past the security guards.

More joined them on Monday morning and the remainder are operating a 24 hour picket outside. The occupation is designed to strengthen the seven week old strike for bonus equal to those earned by male workers doing the same job.

The strikers are fed up to the teeth with the continued lack of support of most of the male AUEW members.

The occupiers hung their banner out of the factory. It says: AUEW members fighting for equal pay. On Monday evening a private security firm moved in to take control of the factory entrances. This didn't worry the occupying women. They said 'We're staying put until we win'.

## Union leaders surrender

PRESS SHOP stewards at Ford's Dagenham decided on Tuesday to recommend a return to work while negotiations on their claim take place.

Throughout the past week trade union officials have mounted great pressure on press shop workers at Dagenham and Halewood to get this decision.

Moss Evans TGWU national official said he was 'delighted' at the Halewood decision. But the press shop lads are going back with no extra money in their pockets. Inflation will still eat away at their wage packets, and the threshold agreement ends in October.

In the last three years the issue of the increased shift differential has gone through procedure twice—with

no satisfactory result. There is no guarantee that the same thing will not happen again this time.

With no change in the company's attitude from last week the men have been forced by the officials to back down when victory was there for the taking. Moss Evans of the TGWU threw in the sponge. He regarded the social contract and the general election as more important than the defence of the living standards of his members.

No doubt Ford's will be deeply appreciative of the services of Moss Evans and the social contract. They do wonders for Ford's massive profits. If they can make similar arrangements next time Ford workers move into action, then no doubt the pro-

fits will swell still more.

At Halewood, Liverpool, punitive measures were tried on by Fords on Monday. After rumours of layoff 500 men turned into the Halewood Transmission Plant this morning. In spite of the electricity being turned off workers still produced over 300 Escort units. Some stewards were calling for occupation of the plant while others were talking of a work-in while others were prepared to accept Fords layoff threats.

### Mumbled

Meanwhile at a mass meeting in Liverpool the 800 press shop workers on strike found that they were given no lead from shop stewards. Throughout the strike the pressure has come from below. While most stewards have mumbled about the social contract, workers have been more worried about their falling living standards.

But after three weeks on strike without money and without a lead from the union the press shop voted to go back pending negotiations. They have seen their fellow workers attacked and contracts going into the plant without any solidarity action or pickets organised by the shop stewards.

### £50m FIRM: 'WE CAN'T PAY'

by Arthur Seymour

CORNWALL.—Women workers at the Lastovet Division of John Heathcoat's factory at Carn Brea again led the way last week with a near unanimous vote for a 24-hour strike last Friday.

The Raschel division gave full support. The only split was in the Yarns and Fibres division, where 20 scabs worked on.

This action followed management's refusal to meet our pay claim of £7.25 across the board, extra shift allowance, and consolidation of the threshold agreement after

the last payment in November.

Payment for the half-hour mealbreaks, a bone of contention for several years, is also being sought.

The company had promised to pay for mealbreaks as soon as Phase Three was over. Now they have backed off, pleading poverty. John Heathcoat's are part of the giant Coats-Paton group, whose profits last year more than £50 million.

The strike is now being backed up with an overtime ban and no co-operation. All sections are taking meal breaks at the same time, instead of staggering the breaks and keeping the machines running.

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