

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## TROOPS OUT OF GLASGOW!

ON TUESDAY, a platoon of Highland Fusiliers hustled past a picket line of striking electricians to light up an incinerator at Dawsholme, in Glasgow's Maryhill district.

It was the first shot in Operation Blackleg, the strike-breaking by soldiers sent in to clear 60,000 tons of rubbish and save the Social Contract.

The troops' first move proved that the dustcart drivers' is not the only strike being broken. The strike of Corporation electricians, who light up the incinerators, is also in peril.

*Will the leaders of the Electricians union stand by while their official strike is broken by troops?*

### Unanimous

At a mass meeting on Tuesday morning, the electricians' stewards joined the dustcart drivers' stewards in a unanimous call for sympathy action throughout the city and the West of Scotland. The stewards also demanded that the Glasgow Trades Council, which meets in emergency session on Wednesday calls a mass meeting of all shop stewards in the West of Scotland to play sympathy action.

*The following is the text of a leaflet which has been distributed by the Glasgow International Socialists throughout the city.*

The Council and the government claim the rubbish is a health hazard and so they are forced to bring in the army. This is hypocritical

Every winter, thousands of old age pensioners die of the cold. That's a health hazard. But do they use the army to distribute blankets to keep the old folk warm?

Of course, huge piles of rubbish are bad for health but the Corporation can quickly solve the problem.

They only have to pay the Corporation drivers the same wages as HGV drivers get in private industry. That's all the strikers are asking.

### Suffering

The Corporation are determined to defend the Labour Government's Social Contract. They are more concerned with maintaining low wages for workers suffering weekly increases in the cost of living than they are about public health.

*That is why they refuse to settle with the dustmen. That is why they are calling in the troops.*

This strike has been made a test case for the whole trade union movement. If they can get away with breaking this strike with troops, who will be next? The troops will be withdrawn and the drivers' claim will be met if there is effective solidarity action. We must organise now for such action.

It is no use waiting for senior

trade union officials to give a lead. They, too, are party to the social contract.

Rank and file trade unionists must take strike action when the troops are moved in.

A West of Scotland Shop Stewards' meeting should be called to organise sympathy strikes and mass picketing of the city chambers. All workers called upon to service or supply the strike breaking troops should refuse.

• Now turn to Page 8

### PAGE TWO:

Eleven months of revolution!

### PAGE THREE:

The day they smashed Spinola's coup

### PAGE FOUR:

How long can the balancing act last?

### PAGE FIVE:

What the workers are saying

## Liverpool: Scabs out!

MEANWHILE, in Liverpool, where dustmen are in the eighth week of their strike, the Council has decided to bring in private contractors to begin clearing rubbish at three main sites.

One Councillor, Liberal Mrs Jones, called for troops to be brought in. But the council prefers to rely on private contractors. The scabs, brought in from Manchester, are being paid the same rate that the Liverpool dustmen are on strike for.

But the Liverpool dustmen are fighting back by preparing pickets against the contractors. On Friday, a delegation from Liverpool went to Glasgow to help co-ordinate tactics.

## £4339: KEEP IT COMING...

AS THE TROOPS moved into Glasgow this week, Socialist Worker reporter Laurie Flynn was on the spot

He was able to provide the sort of reporting that makes this issue of Socialist Worker the only paper of any size in the Glasgow area to give the strikers' case.

Meanwhile, Glasgow IS were gearing themselves up to this enormously important confrontation. They have ordered 3000 copies of Socialist Worker and will be arguing and organising for sympathy strike action.

The struggle in Liverpool is also vital. Again the response of Socialist Worker will prove important

But we can only do this work with money. Money to pay our extra newsprint bills, money to enable our reporters to get the facts.

We urge all our members and supporters to double their efforts to raise the cash for us to do the job.

The response to our £10,000 emergency fighting fund is good, but it desperately needs hurrying along. So far we have raised

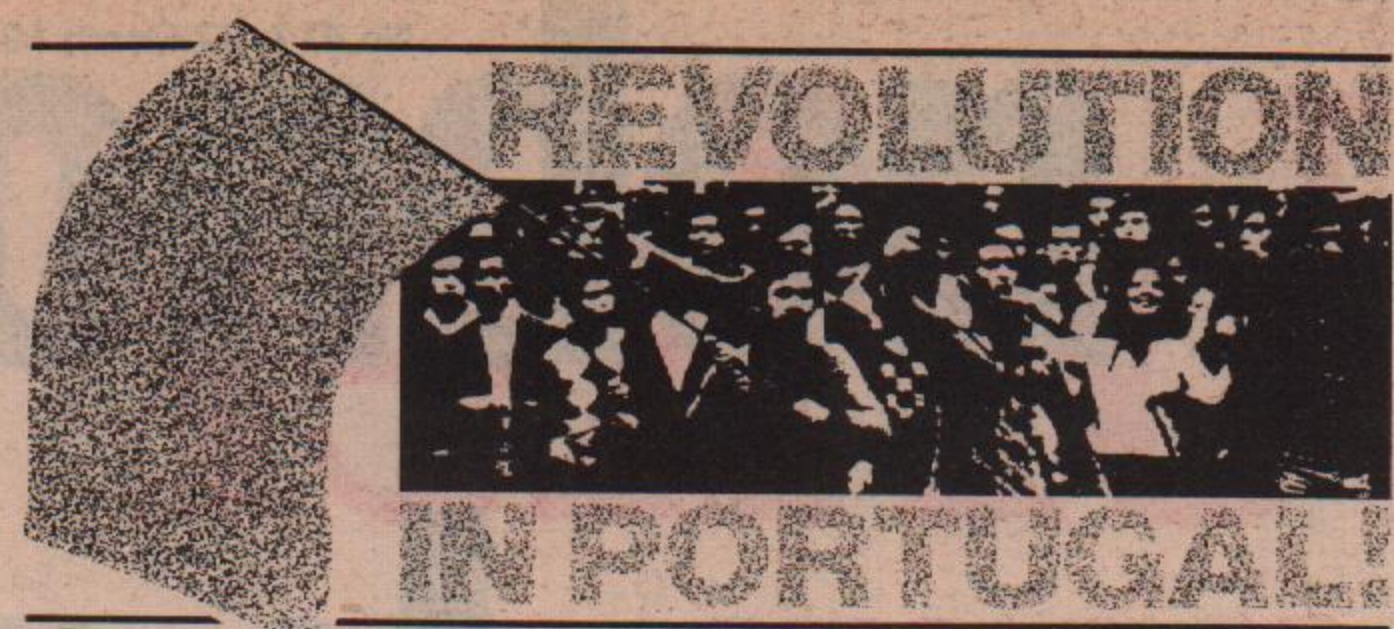
£4339.17

Rush donations to: Mel Norris, IS National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

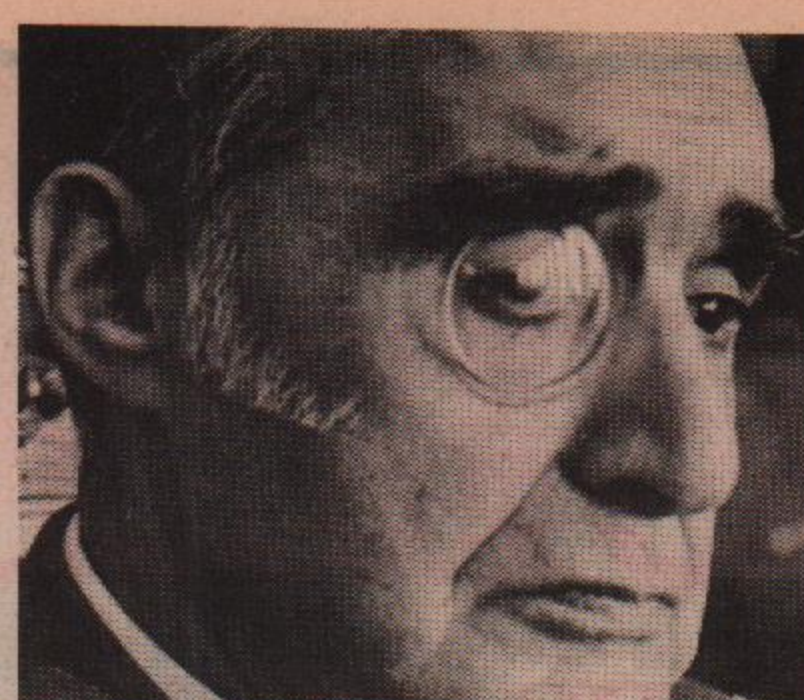


**FOUR-PAGE SPECIAL STARTS ON PAGE TWO**

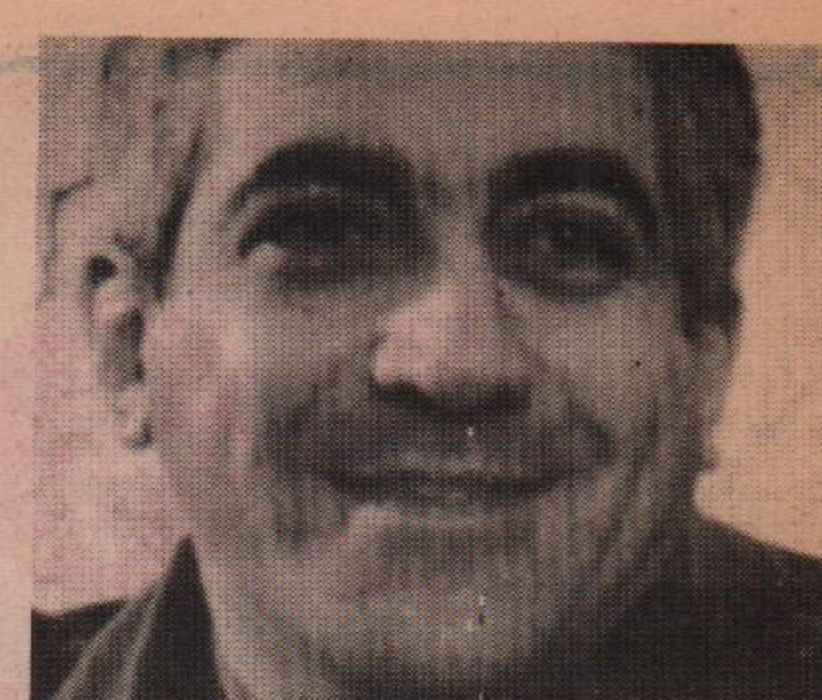




OUT... Caetano



OUT... Spínola



IN CONTROL?... Carvalho

# Eleven months of

ON 25 APRIL last year, Portugal's fascist regime was overthrown by sections of the armed forces. The world's press, including newspapers of the left, spoke in glowing terms of the new order.

The Morning Star, for instance, proclaimed: 'A united people will never be defeated.' But such views ignored the conflicting interests behind the coup.

The new regime's figurehead was General Spínola. Today we are told he is a 'moderate'. But for many years he was a keen supporter of fascist methods.

*He opposed Caetano only when it became clear that Caetano's policies no longer suited the monopolies that dominate the Portuguese economy.*

Once Caetano was out of the way, Spínola and his big business friends concentrated on keeping the workers' movement under control.

That is why in June, then on 28 September and again last week, they tried to change the regime with the help of former supporters

of Caetano.

But Caetano's overthrow was organised not by Spínola but by a smallish group of middle-ranking army officers. Known as the Armed Forces Movement, they were only 400 out of a total of 10,000 career officers. But the other officers were prepared to back their initiative in overthrowing Caetano and fighting for an end to the African wars.

The 400 were able to establish a high powered force under their own control, COPCON, headed by Saraivo de Carvalho.

Most of the career officers come from sections of the middle class. Their fathers are small businessmen, better-off peasants, school teachers and so on. The officers can, therefore, be quite hostile to the big monopolies, while supporting the capitalism of the myriad of small firms in Portugal.

They did not benefit from the African wars and so opposed Caetano and then Spínola when it looked as if he might prolong the wars. But they also have cause to fear the effects of the growing workers'

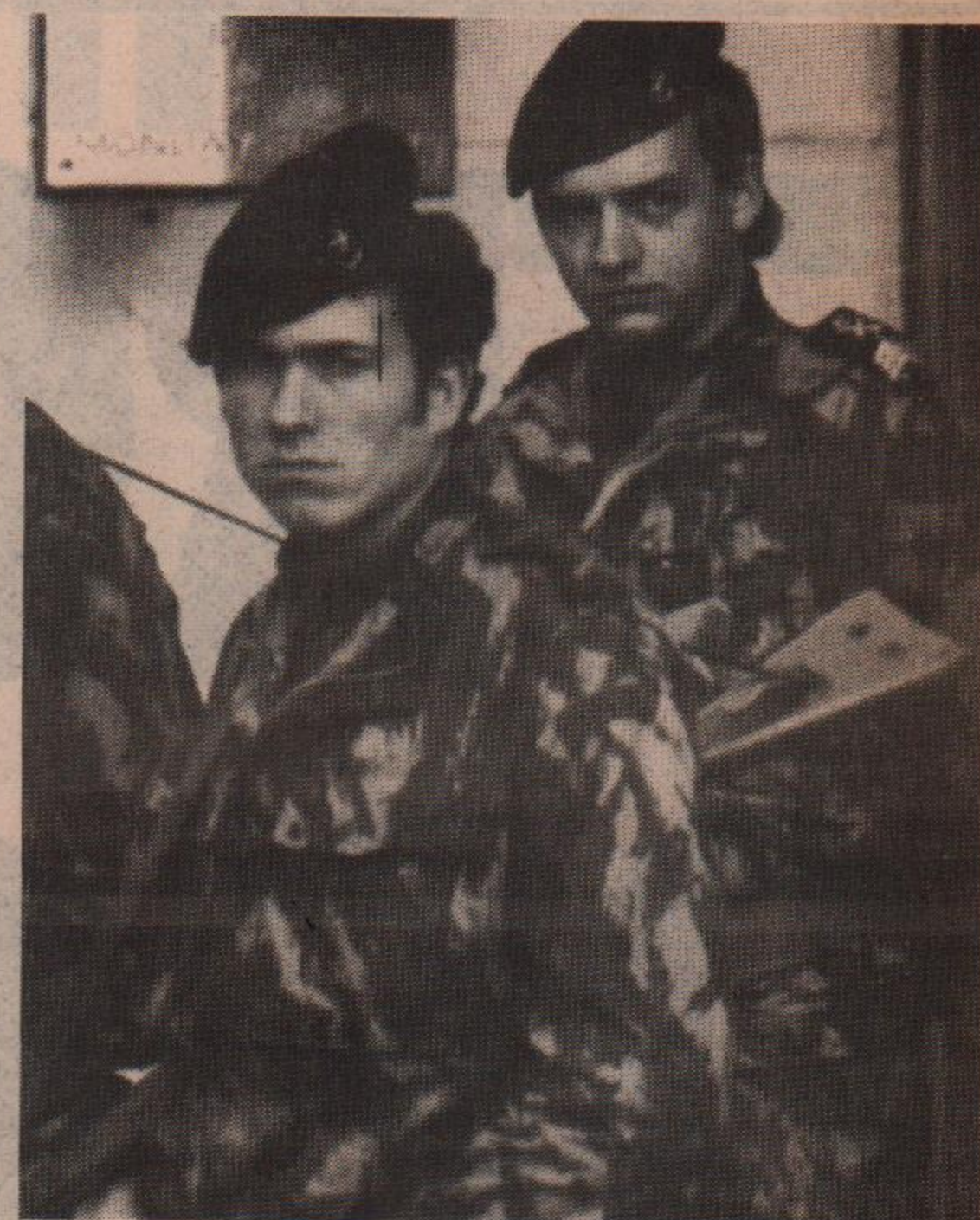
movement on the property-owning middle classes (after all, the worst wages are usually paid by small firms, not big ones) and they cling to the ideas of military discipline and rank that provide them with their own privileges.

That is why the officers were prepared to use troops to break the strike of postal workers last summer, to attack a strike at TAP, the Portuguese Airways, to take disciplinary measures against 150 cadets who discussed revolutionary politics and to threaten a secondary school closed by a pupils' strike.

That is why the first economic plan they voted for only a month ago did not propose any nationalisation at all.

And that is why, in elections to various posts in the Armed Forces Movement only a few days before Spínola's second attempted coup, left wing officers were voted out.

In recent months, the more radical views of the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement have become increasingly removed from those of the average officer.



Soldiers guarding the American Embassy two weeks ago: moving towards revolutionary ideas.

# REVOLUTION!

THERE HAVE BEEN two great waves of working-class struggle since last April. The first, in the months immediately after the coup, involved a fight in virtually every section of industry for higher wages, shorter hours and saneamento—a purging of the many managers associated with the old fascist order. The wave died off after the defeat of the postal workers in the early summer.

But many workers, particularly in the big factories in the Lisbon area, learnt from those struggles. They began to accept that the April coup was 'for the bourgeoisie' and that the working class still had to fight its own battle against 'capitalist exploitation'.

Inflation and unemployment have given rise to a massive new outburst of struggles in the last couple of months, involving up to 300 factories.

When managers have claimed they cannot afford wage increases without redundancies or closures, workers have occupied the factories (although under the strike law, this is illegal) and have locked out the managers.

## Purging

Workers have taken over the running of many small factories, while calling on the government to intervene. In the big factories, occupations have been used to demand a purging of managers and nationalisation on the workers' terms.

In the last week, occupations and the imposition of controls on firms by workers have been used to prevent managers sabotaging the economy.

The unions tend to be based upon the workers' trade, so that there can be dozens in any one factory. Because of this, workers usually identify more with the workers' committees or workers' council in the factory than with the union.

Representatives of the most militant groups of workers in the Lisbon area—the postal workers, the Linare shipyard, Pensey's, TAP, and so on—have recently formed a joint committee, the Inter-Empresa (joint factory committee).

This committee organised a 40,000 strong demonstration against unemployment and NATO a few weeks ago in defiance of the trade union bureaucrats. The committee now has the support of 40 factories.

## The role of the Communist Party

UNDER CAETANO, the Communist Party was by far the biggest party among the workers. Once he was overthrown, workers flocked into it. But they soon got a shock.

In exchange for a position in the government and control of the Intersyndical (the TUC), the CP did its utmost to denounce strikes. It said the bakers' and transport strikes were 'fascist' inspired. It supported the use of troops against the postal workers. It backed the strike law which outlawed political strikes, sympathy strikes and occupations.

It denounced the demonstration against unemployment and NATO as a 'provocation'. It asked the government to make illegal one of the revolutionary groups, the MRPP.

It did all this in the belief that it would both strengthen its ties with the army officers and increase its chances of getting a big vote in the elections.

However, many sections of workers began to turn away from the CP and look to the revolutionary left for leadership. The CP lost out to the revolutionaries in two key union elections.

The strikes and occupations continued despite the CP. In universities, Maoists replaced the CP as the major influence. At the same time, the Socialist Party, and not the CP, gained the support of the 'progressive' sections of the middle classes.

## Denounced

The leadership of the CP still denounced many strikes as 'reactionary'. It has used the same words to criticise those who break up meetings held by former Caetano supporters. In the last few days, it has been prepared to talk with the Socialist Party leadership, with which it was busily quarrelling previously.

But the ability of the leadership to get its own militants to argue that case at the rank and file level seems to be diminishing.

In many recent strikes, and on the barricades last week, many CP members worked hand in hand with sections of the revolutionary left.



A Communist Party rally: now significant numbers of workers are turning away from the CP

## WHAT THE OTHER PARTIES STAND FOR

UNTIL last year's coup, the Socialist Party hardly existed. But it has grown quickly since.

Initially, its leaders, such as Soares, were prepared to let sections of it seem more militant than the Communist Party and spoke of it as a 'Marxist' party.

But, since the autumn, they have moved very much to the right, attracting support from groups who think the workers 'too extreme' and

establishing close relations with the right wing Social Democrat and Labour parties of western Europe.

They were identified with a pro-capitalist economic policy and a law which would have allowed right wing split-offs from the unions.

The Popular Democratic Party is the main middle class party in the government. Its leaders opposed fascism, but wanted a society more like other western capitalist countries.

They only issued a statement against last week's attempted coup 48 hours after it had been defeated.

The former supporters of Caetano are numerous, and quite influential, particularly in the small villages of northern Portugal.

The Portuguese Legion, the paramilitary fascist organisation, for instance, had 80,000 members, well placed in the management of industry, among the middle class in the northern villages, and in the civil service.

Saneamento has taken from them the press, the radio and TV and now the banks. But it has often only served to replace one ex-fascist by another in industry, the civil service, the police and many sections of the armed forces.

That is why the extreme right parties, the CDS (misleadingly called the 'centre' or the 'social democratic' party in the British press) and the Christian Democrats hoped to do quite well in the elections.

The main papers and the radio and television have been run by committees of journalists since last April. This means that openly capitalist arguments are rarely put out.

**CAN  
THEY  
FACE  
UP TO  
THE  
TASK?**

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT could be immensely important. But years of isolation from the working class still have their effects on it. There are about a dozen groups, which are often very confused. Many, for instance, call the CP 'social fascist' not seeing that the CP cannot break completely from its working class base.

Instead of posing one clear, revolutionary working class alternative to the present state of affairs, the groups are competing in hostility with one another, as well as with the governmental parties, in the elections.

Yet, despite this confusion, revolutionary ideas have a wider hold among workers than probably anywhere else in the world. Revolutionary militants are usually forced to work together inside the factories, while denouncing each other outside, and have, as we have seen, considerable influence in key sections of industry.

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL—day school for IS members. Saturday 5 April, 11am-5pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Organised by the IS Portugal Group. Further details next week.

# THE DAY THEY



An armed vigilante on guard: workers set up barricades and road blocks to stop and search cars in which supporters of the attempted coup might have been fleeing the country.

# SMASHED SPINOLA'S

TWO T-6 FIAT jet fighters flew over Lisbon in a wide circle, showering thousands of small white leaflets into the crowded streets of the capital, and then sped southwards. Minutes later, soldiers in the barracks of the First Light Artillery Regiment on the outskirts of Lisbon were under heavy air attack, backed up by paratroops who surrounded the barracks.

That was Tuesday 11 March, at 11.30am. The extreme right, ousted from all positions close to the government since last September, were attempting a come-back. They expected their attack to be received with acclamation by the majority of officers in the armed forces, many of whom had been muttering for weeks about the need to control the left.

But the coup backfired. Throughout the country it led to a huge upsurge of hostility against the right wing and the big business interests behind them.

At 1.30pm, workers in Radio Renascença, which had been silent since they occupied it 20 days before, began broadcasting the news.

In Lisbon, workers closed down the banks and set up pickets to stop anyone entering. Hundreds of shops and offices stayed shut after lunch and the phones went out of order as workers rushed to join the demonstrations and man barricades

## ARMED

In Barreiro, a centre of industry south of Lisbon, factory and fire engine sirens shrieked continuously and workers formed pickets and barricades which stopped and searched all vehicles.

In Sacavem, near the bombarded barracks, workers formed a dense barricade across the main road, backed up with four bulldozers and tons of cement.

A representative from the workers committee at a local construction firm went to the barracks and asked that the workers be armed, so that they could join in the fight.

At Cartaxo, the barricade was built from lorries from the occupied brewery works of SCC, but was quickly joined by hundreds of workers from other factories, armed with clubs, spades or anything else that was at hand.

Revolutionary organisations joined in the struggle. They put up barricades in Algueirão-Mem Martins, after attacking a post of the National Guards (a force that identifies with the extreme right) and forcing them to join the barricades.

## BLOCKED

In Baixa de Banheira, they seized the weapons of the National Guards and, in Moita, those of the police. They took control of the bridge and the ferries which connect Lisbon to the industrial areas to its south and searched cars suspected of bringing weapons into the city.

In the Lisnave shipyards, the workers stopped work, joined the barricades and sent pickets to protect the children in the local school.

The frontier roads to Spain were blocked off and, all over the country, groups of people were guarding the roads. In Coimbra, the third biggest



The scene of the attempted coup: workers fraternise with soldiers outside the barracks of the First Light Artillery Regiment after the abortive attack.

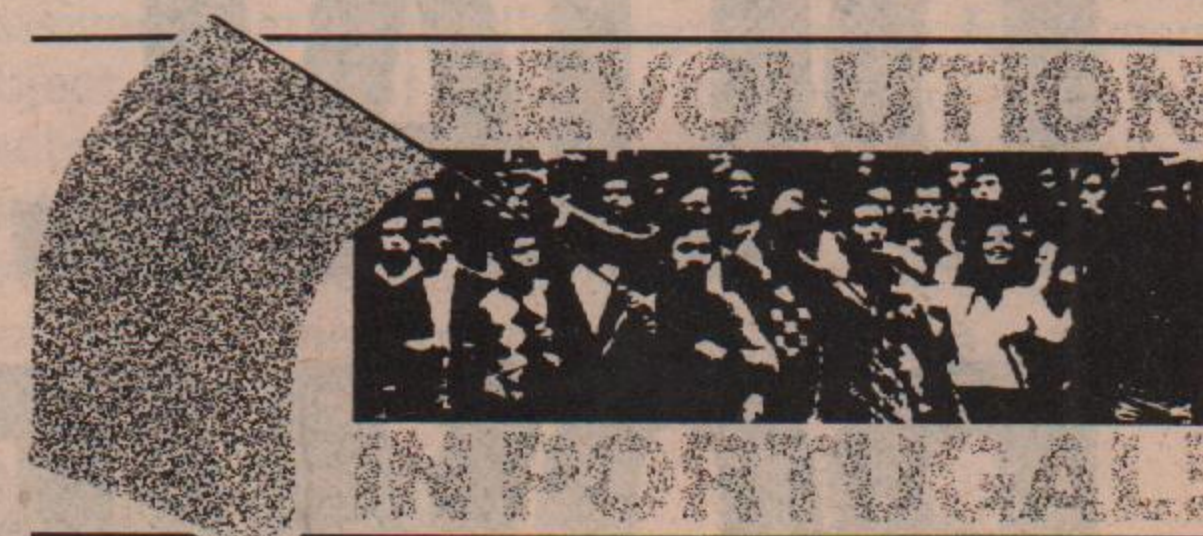
city, cars were driven onto the airport runway after a plane had been seen flying low over the city.

Huge demonstrations were jamming the streets of Lisbon, Oporto and the other towns. All papers were sold out, many printed second editions or special broadsheets as did the workers' commission of the big Lisbon daily *O Seculo*—and thousands of leaflets were handed out by the trade unions and workers' commissions denouncing the attempted coup.

The right-wing coup collapsed, as the paratroops embraced the light artillery men they were supposed to be attacking.

Right wing generals who sought refuge in the headquarters of the National Guard were arrested. Other conspirators picked up included the directors of one of the biggest banks and of the biggest monopolies, CUF and Champalimaud.

# COUP



By 5pm, the Armed Forces Movement was in control of all radio stations and calling on the people to leave the barricades so the military could take them over, but to remain vigilant and united.

But that was by no means the end of the popular movement.

## SHOTGUNS

That evening left-wing demonstrators ransacked the headquarters of the National Guard, Spinola's house and the headquarters of the extreme right wing CDS and Christian Democrat parties.

Workers' pickets remained on the post offices, the telephone exchanges, in government buildings, cutting off the means of communication to the right wing. The roads in the centre and south of the country continued to be blocked by barricades, with workers

belonging to the CP and the revolutionary left wearing red armbands and armed with shot guns, waving down and searching all vehicles.

The bank clerks refused to open up the banks in case the rich tried to move their money out of the country. Their action forced the authorities to nationalise the banks and insurance companies.

Now the bankworkers see the question as one of workers' control—of ensuring that the nationalised banks work for the mass of the population.

The role of the workers in smashing the coup has produced a wave of hysteria in the press in this country. It sees Portugal slipping out of the hands of the 'moderates'—those who back the capitalist system—and into the hands of those who actually create the wealth.

Unfortunately, however, that

process is not yet complete. The banks have been nationalised, but Portugal remains in NATO.

The Communist Party played an important role in defeating the coup but is now involved in friendly discussions with the Socialist Party, which was very slow in reacting and which is more and more adopting a pro-capitalist stance.

At the same time, the Communist leaders have not stopped their denunciation of the revolutionary left, of those who 'irresponsibly occupy the residences' of the rich, and of those workers who threaten strike action in an effort to keep up with rising prices.

Portugal's workers have shown the enormous power that they can wield. But they still have to use that power to recast society in its entirety.

# How long can the balancing act last?

THE COMPLEX situation thrown up in Portugal in the last two weeks has been seen before in history. Marxists have usually called it 'dual power'.

A government exists which officially rules the country. But in the factories, in the localities and often in the barracks, effective power lies with the workers and rank and file soldiers.

## Powerless

Most army officers could not have supported Spínola last week even if they had wanted to (and many secretly did want to). They feared their own rank and file would turn their guns on them.

In the factories, the workers' committees

are often in control, with the managers more or less powerless. In the localities, no-one seems able physically to prevent the workers doing what they want.

*That does not mean the government is completely helpless.*

It can still achieve much of what it wants by persuasion rather than physical compulsion. The upper classes and the majority of the officers see in it and the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement the only immediate alternative to an ever-rising wave of militancy.

Most workers, on the other hand, are confused about the government's role. They do not distinguish between the mass of officers, who are moving to the right, and the tiny minority of revolutionary officers and rank and file soldiers.

The AFM can seem so strong because neither side in the class struggle sees, at present, any alternative to it.

Four hundred officers cannot rule nine million people by themselves. But they can balance between the classes and seem very powerful for a short period.

*The present balancing act cannot last long.*

## Break

The strikes and occupations are bound to clash with the government's aim of protecting the privileges of the army officers, the conditions of their friends in small-scale business and the competitiveness of Portuguese capitalism.

If the workers break through and smash

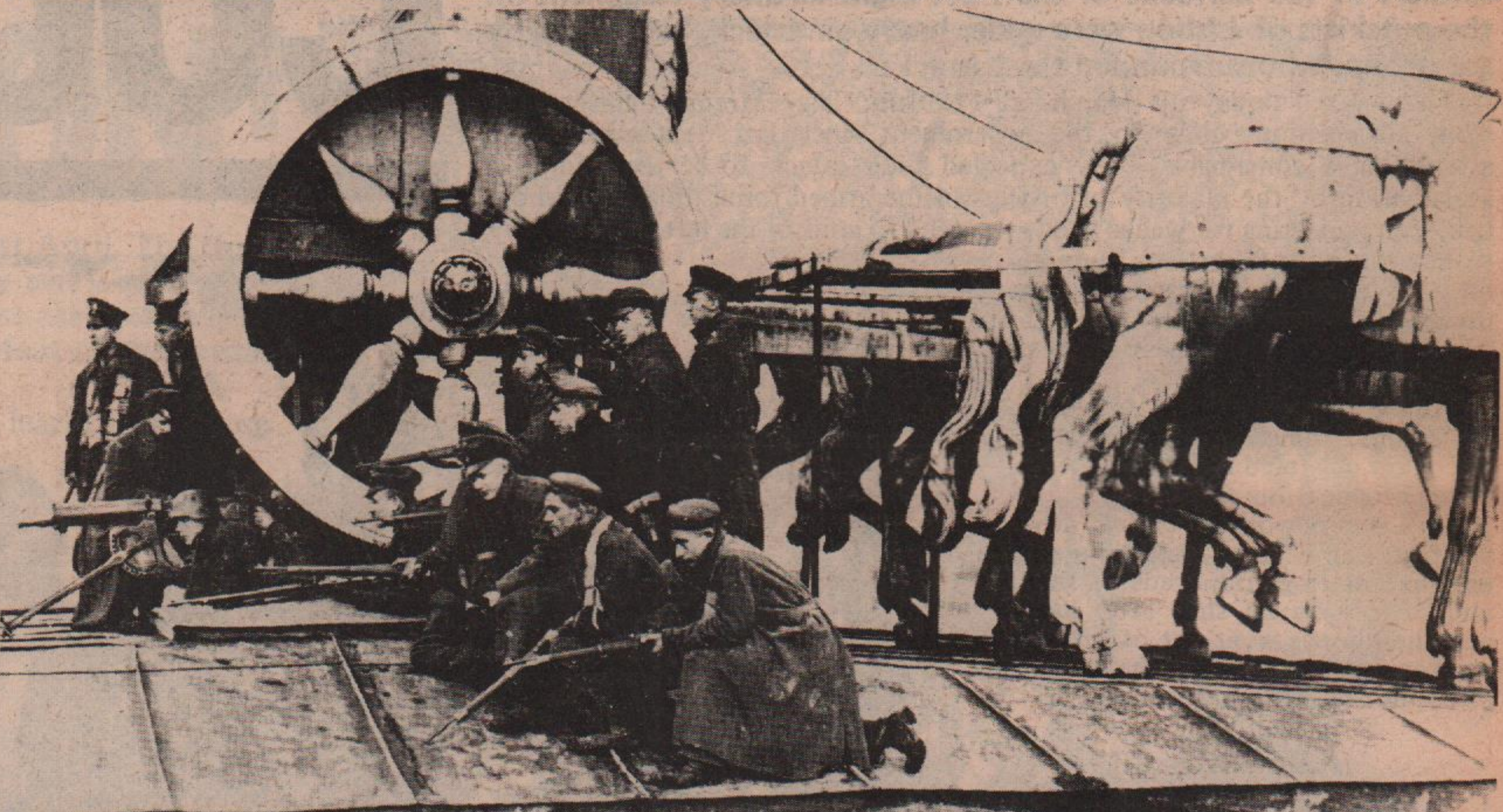
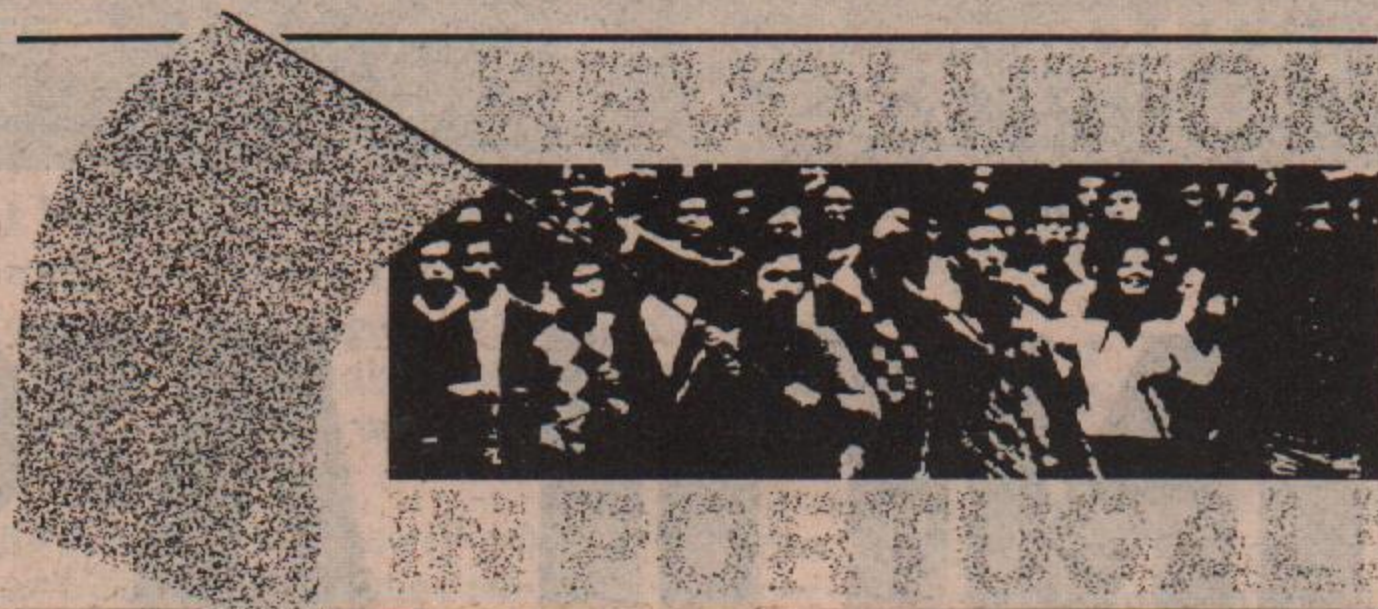
the power of the majority of army officers, they can then solve the economic problems

But if workers do not take power, the alternative can be a large scale defeat. If occupations fail to win work or full pay (something a capitalist government cannot afford to concede), if inflation cuts living standards, if ex-fascists keep control in the factories and the civil service, then the workers will eventually flag.

The demoralisation would rapidly spread to their sons in the army.

In every barracks, the argument over whether the officers or the rank and file rule, will be settled in favour of the officers. Militant soldiers would be victimised and the hold of the right wing re-established.

At that point, the army will move against the workers,



The two faces of dual power: TOP, social democrat and German Chancellor Ebert with his supporters, the soldiers and fascists who were to smash the working class. ABOVE, the face of the revolutionary working class, on top of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

# DUAL POWER

## GERMANY, 1920: The Kapp putsch

GERMANY'S DEFEAT in the First World War was followed by revolution. But the new Labour government did a deal with the army officers, businessmen and senior civil servants.

The workers' councils were disbanded, the workers' militia disarmed—and the army officers of the old regime set about plotting how they could overthrow the newly-elected government, which had saved them.

On 12 March 1920, General Lüttwitz gave the order for the crack Erhardt brigade to march on Berlin and seize power, naming himself and Wolfgang Kapp, a leading fascist conspirator in the city, as military dictators. The government fled, but trade union leaders issued a call for a general strike.

That strike was the most massive seen in Germany, before or since. It paralysed the country. The new dictators were left high, dry and impotent.

In Saxony, Thuringia and in the Ruhr, the strike turned into armed insurrection. A newly-improvised Red Army thundered across the region, sweeping everything in its path. The crack regiments of the German army were no match for it.

The putsch collapsed. At once, the army officers, police and senior civil servants again did a deal with the social democratic government.

In exchange for the resignation of Kapp and Lüttwitz, they won guarantees that their power would not be tampered with.

No-one was punished for the violent and mutinous putsch. The call went out for 'consolidating the gains of the revolution', 'new elections', and, above all, for 'national unity against Bolshevism'.

A special force of the German army bloodily suppressed the Red Army in the Ruhr.

The new elections were held on 6 June 1920. The Social Democrats' vote was slashed from 12½ million to five and a half million.

Right-wing 'democratic' governments stumbled through the 1920s, only to give way, in 1933, to the most brutal government in history.

## SPAIN, 1936: The Franco rebellion

ON 17 JULY 1936, General Franco issued a manifesto calling on the army and the nation to overthrow Spain's left-wing Popular Front government and set up a military dictatorship.

This was a clear class revolt. Its object was to defend the interests of landlords and capitalists against the increasing organisation and power of the workers.

On 19 July, the workers rose in revolution. In town after town, specially in Catalonia, the army garrisons were overrun by workers fighting often with their bare hands.

A great revolutionary movement swept huge areas of Spain. Police, civil service and customs officials were replaced by workers' councils. The army was replaced by workers' militias.

*The Franco revolt was rocked back on its heels.*

But the liberal government remained in office, and campaigned ceaselessly against factory occupations and 'left-wing extremism'.

The liberal government wanted to win the war against fascism, but above all it wanted to stop the workers seizing the wealth.

So the government, supported to the hilt by the Communist Party, started to disarm the workers' revolution.

The right-wing police force was reinstated. Authority in the army was taken out of the hands of the militia, and the old military hierarchies were re-established.

Factories were handed back to 'anti-fascist' capitalists. Where the

workers resisted as in Barcelona, they were beaten down by government troops.

Where they protested, they were hunted down by the Communist Party's secret police, tortured, and, in many cases, killed.

No excess or atrocity was spared in the interests of 'national unity against fascism' or of 'consolidating the gains of the 1936 elections'.

As a direct result, the revolutionary successes of July 1936 were never repeated.

The armies of the Spanish Republic soldiered on against Franco for three years. They had lost their main weapon—their revolutionary fervour—and were no match for the crack troops of fascism, assisted by tanks and aeroplanes from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Spain was plunged in fascist darkness from which it is still to emerge.

## RUSSIA, 1917: The Kornilov coup

IN THE LATE summer of 1917, Kornilov, commander-in-chief of the Russian army, led a desperate revolt against the liberal government of Kerensky.

That government would have fallen but for the organisation of the Bolshevik Party, who threw all their weight against the uprising.

The coup collapsed with hardly a shot fired—not because of the Kerensky government, which had opposed the arming of the workers, but because of the resolve of Bolshevik workers.

From that moment, the Bolshevik leaders, notably Lenin and Trotsky, urged their supporters not to compromise with Kerensky's plaintive demands for 'national unity' and for 'consolidation of gains'.

They called for revolutionary activity against the government and the capitalists and landlords it represented.

In a week, the Bolsheviks had a majority on the workers' councils of Petrograd and Moscow. In a month they recruited more than 100,000 new members.

In six weeks, they led the Russian workers into a revolution which overthrew the capitalists and landlords and replaced them with a government of workers' and peasants' councils.

## THE VITAL LESSONS WE MUST ALL LEARN

GERMANY . . . Spain . . . Russia. Three stories of capitalists and landlords inspiring military coups against liberal regimes which they felt threatened their wealth and power.

Each coup was put down by massive action from the workers. Each was followed by screams of hysteria from the liberal press for a 'period of calm', for 'consolidating the gains made against the coup' for 'a period of national unity'.

In the cases of Kapp and Franco, the workers responded—only to find their committees disbanded and their armies pulverised by the liberal government they had sought to defend.

And, as in the case of the abortive military coup in Chile in June 1973, the suppression of

the coup on its own did not protect the workers.

Because it was not immediately followed up with sustained action against the capitalists and landlords who promoted the coup, the capitalists and landlords regrouped their forces, and within a relatively short time, unleashed the most terrible dictatorship on the workers.

## 'CALM'

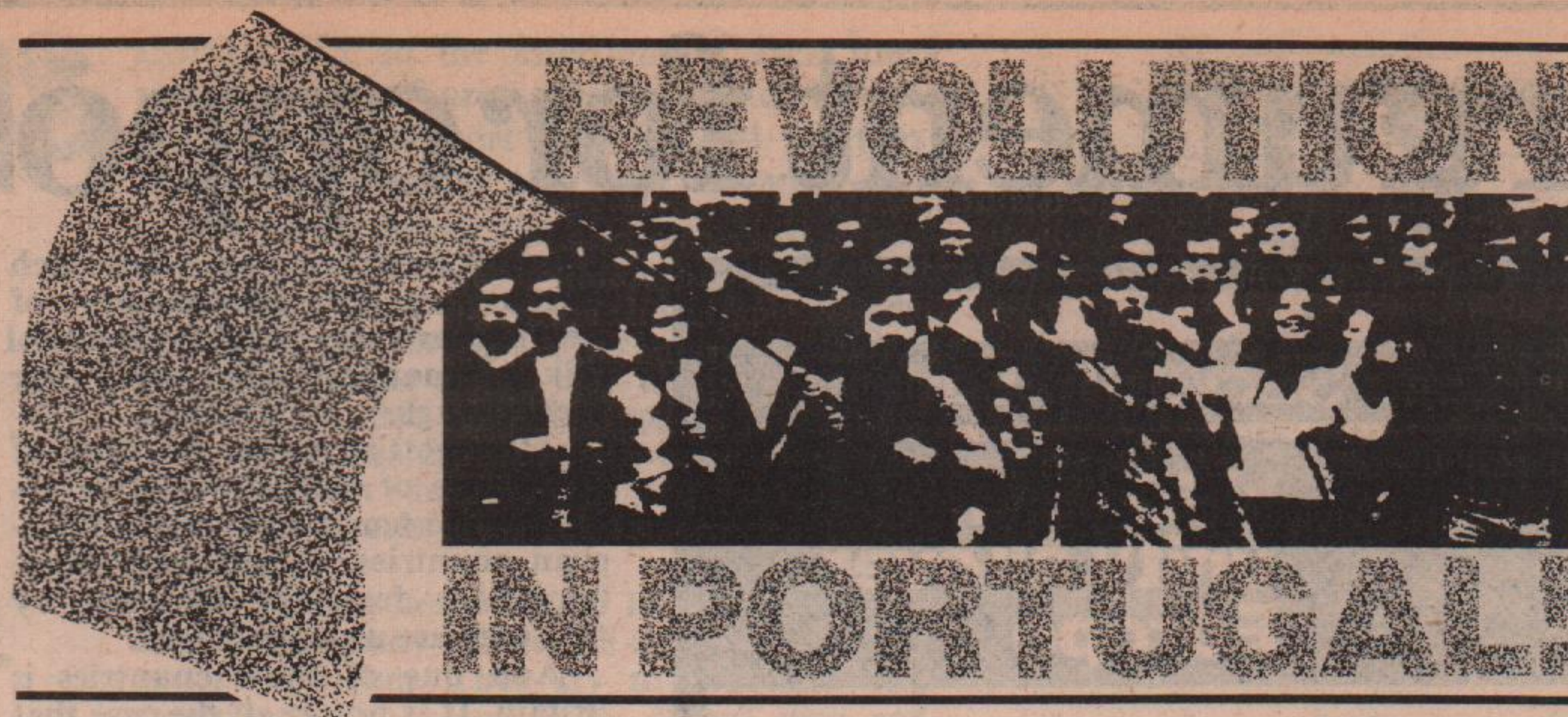
In Russia in 1917, because of the long organisation of a revolutionary socialist party in the working masses, the appeals for 'calm' and 'national unity' were ignored. The workers pressed on with their battle against capitalism—and

destroyed it.

In a period of 'dual power' where neither the old State of the landlords and capitalists nor the workers are in power, but in which each eyes each other uneasily waiting for the next move, any relaxation by one class is a gain for the other.

When the Red Army in the Ruhr halted its onward march on the order of social democratic Ministers, when anarchist workers surrendered their elected police force to the appointed police bureaucracy of the liberal government in Spain, when Salvador Allende in Chile refused to arm his workers but, instead, took the generals into his government, they were not 'postponing fascism'—they were hastening it.

**This is  
what the  
workers  
are  
saying**



# Socialist Worker

22 MARCH 1975

NUMBER 417

**WHAT WE  
THINK**



Bank workers demonstrating in Lisbon on 14 March. They refused to go back to work until the banks were taken over by the government. Against its original intention, the government was forced to nationalise the banks, and the workers went back to work in 'the peoples' banks' the following day. Now they are fighting for workers' control.

EVER since the coup, hundreds of thousands of Portuguese workers have held mass meetings to demand further action to press home the revolution. Here are some examples of the resolutions they have passed.

The committee of the Public Workers Union 'exhorts all workers to maintain vigilance in their workplaces, detecting and informing on all divisionist activities.'

The Draughtsman's Union said that reaction was able to act 'to a great extent because of the lack of revolutionary action from the provisional government.'

A mass meeting of workers at the Portuguese airline TAP:

'We support the Armed Forces Movement so long as they are on the side of the workers'

The leadership of the Electrical Workers Union of the South:

'There is one lesson to be learnt: it was the hesitation of the organs of power that gave the fascists an opportunity to reorganise'

From the postal workers' union:

'The move by the reactionaries was only possible because the process of purging was not completed, so that many PIDES, [members of the former secret police], legionaries and other reactionaries remained not only in our industry but also in many others. And all this with the benevolence of various government bodies, despite the many workers strikes and demonstrations aimed at expelling from the workplaces individuals linked with fascism.'

The most significant resolutions have come from within the army. For the first time mass meetings of rank and file soldiers have been held. The regiment under attack last week, RAL 1, issued a communique from 'all the soldiers, sergeants and officers':

'Why the attack on RAL 1?

'Because the soldiers of RAL 1 know that our enemies are the capitalists and fascists that have oppressed us and that we have a role to play whether the generals like it or not: to defend the workers and to fight all reactionaries.'

'For those who started to cause bloodshed between us it only remains to demand their immediate shooting. Comrades, an armed people will never be defeated. Death to fascism. Death to capitalism'

## Workers on the move

**LAST week's attempted coup took place against a background of growing economic crisis, with 300,000 unemployed and inflation of 45 per cent.**

The response of workers to the crisis has been a huge upsurge of struggle, which has involved a vast number of occupations.

At Plessey's Lisbon plant, management prepared plans to close down the Matrix department, transferring the work to Malta and making 400 workers unemployed. The workers retaliated by locking out the British management representatives, preventing them from entering the plant, using company vehicles or drawing salaries.

The British construction firm Costain, which had been building luxury villas in the Algarve, began to close down its operations, sacking 113 workers and threatening to lay off another 70. A worker has told how 'we at once occupied the Costain's sites and cut off all water to villas in the area owned by rich holidaymakers and to other jobs that were in progress. We have a 24-hour picket guarding the local waterworks and picketing the Costain's office to stop the company giving the sack to those workers who are prepared to accept it.'

### No illusions

Workers at the SCS brewery have occupied its installations, demanding that the government nationalise it because of management abuses.

Workers at the Nutripol supermarket chain are running the firm, as are workers in the Nefil furniture factory. A spokesman for the Nefil workers pointed out: 'We do not have any illusion in workers' management under capitalism. We are using it as a

weapon in an emergency situation... We are thinking about demanding that the government nationalise the firm—under workers' control. We do not want a phoney nationalisation that only helps the bosses.'

The Eurofil factory has been occupied since February by workers demanding nationalisation under workers' control, 'to put an end to manoeuvres of capitalists and reactionaries'. The workers are guarding the factory with pickets. The textile factory of Malhas 9 de Julho has been occupied after a 10-month struggle for payment of the minimum wage and because the management wanted to declare the factory bankrupt.

These are only a few examples of a movement that has affected 200-300 factories. The effect of the attempted coup last week was to force still more groups of workers to occupy.

Businessmen, big and small, have reacted to the wave of militancy with an 'investment strike', aimed at creating redundancies and demoralising workers. But the Portuguese working class has begun to point to the answer—to take control of the instruments of production, so that they can begin rebuilding the economy, on the basis of workers' control, from the bottom up. In this way, they have already given a lead which workers faced with redundancy in other countries should follow.

But such control cannot merely be exercised in a few, isolated factories. It needs to spread to the whole economy and to be co-ordinated by a centralised workers' council. Workers in 40 factories in the Lisbon area have begun to link together in a joint committee, the Inter-empresa. The decisive question in the weeks ahead could be whether this develops as a real focus for all the struggles of the workers.

**THE revolution in Portugal is the most exciting development in Europe since the war. What are the lessons for socialists in Britain?**

The attempted coup last week utterly exposed the myth that the outcome of decisive class struggles are decided by parliamentary elections. Spínola, the right-wing generals and the heads of Portugal's biggest firms were not prepared to wait for the elections due in three weeks time.

They recognised that real control of a country does not depend on the number of crosses written on pieces of paper, but on who gives the orders in the barracks, the factories, the newspaper offices and the radio stations.

Portugal's workers and rank and file soldiers showed the same understanding. After months of struggle, they held power in many factories, banks, newspapers—and on the streets. That direct, physical power is never available to those who look to electoral policies for political advance.

Portuguese workers are beginning to discover that there are two quite opposed forms of democracy—that which would have people passively marking ballot papers every four years while being subject the rest of the time to the orders of the bosses in the factory and the media at home. The other is the active, participatory democracy of those who are fighting to control their own lives where it matters most, struggling to make production satisfy their needs rather than the interests of profit and competition.

### Oldest ally

But the struggle is far from over. There are powerful interests that would do almost anything to crush the young shoots of workers' democracy that are growing. Portuguese big business is closely linked to international big business—in particular to British big business.

Some of the biggest factories in Portugal are run by firms such as Plessey, ICI, British Leyland, Timex, STC, BICC, BP, Trust Houses Forte. The talk of Portugal being 'Britain's oldest ally' covers up the fact that for a long time it was virtually a colony of British capitalism.

That is no doubt why the British press was so sympathetic to Spínola and his band of 'moderate' former fascists.

Such people have failed for the present in their direct attack. They will resort to other methods, hoping to break the resistance of Portuguese workers by withdrawing investments, moving work abroad and creating unemployment. Workers in branches of these firms in this country must show solidarity with their Portuguese brothers by watching out for such manoeuvres and attempting to build resistance to them.

But further direct attacks will be tried. And it is possible that the Portuguese right will hope for help from its NATO friends.

### Solidarity

Certainly, NATO has a powerful array of weapons around Portugal that could be used to intimidate that country's workers. There is the US Second Fleet, with four aircraft carriers and 71 ships in the Atlantic. There is the Sixth Fleet, with two aircraft carriers and 17 ships in the Mediterranean. There is the US 16th Airforce in Spain. There are RAF fighters bombers stationed in Gibraltar. Here in Britain, within easy reach of Portugal, there is the British Army, the RAF and USAF.

It is the duty of every socialist in this country to campaign for solidarity with the Portuguese revolution and against any attempt to use this weaponry to drown the Portuguese revolution in blood.

In the weeks ahead, the International Socialists will be organising public meetings all over the country to explain the issues at stake. We will be organising a day school for our own members to ensure that we can put the arguments across. We will be pressing in trade union bodies for solidarity—both resolutions and action—with the Portuguese workers in their struggle.

# What an argument for opposition!

'YORKSHIRE businessman James Towler refuted claims made by the CBI that virtually all British industry wished Britain to remain in the EEC,' reported the Morning Star recently. 'Within the CBI itself there were deep divisions on the subject, divisions that seldom come to the surface because the CBI, like the Conservative Party of old, tried to make sure that opinions that didn't toe the Tothill Street line were not heard, he said.'

This, reported as an argument against the Common Market without a word of criticism by the Star, is a pretty fair example of the depths to which the Communist Party has sunk in its anti-Market campaign.

Tribune, on the other hand, claims: 'We never simply rejected the Common Market on nationalist grounds. We always argued for the socialist approach.' Certainly, Tribune has not resorted to such arguments as alleged, and quite imaginary, splits in the CBI as reasons for voting NO.

But its case against the Common Market—most fully stated in a

## International Socialists say:

**NO to bosses' common market**

**YES to workers' unity all over Europe**

special issue dated 7 March and still available—does amount to a kind of left-wing nationalism because it is both reformist and utopian.

After correctly stating that 'the EEC is designed to maintain the working of the capitalist system...' it goes on to argue: 'The difficulties facing an attempt to switch all the EEC countries in a socialist direction are much greater than those facing an attempt to switch Britain in that direction.'

This is because 'the present European Parliament is generally

regarded as a farce, having no powers...' and because 'the possibility of changing this Right-Centre orientation [of the various EEC governments] would depend, moreover, on simultaneous general elections taking place in several of the main countries'.

### Hopes

Well, certainly, if you live in the cloud-cuckoo land where socialism is achieved because of the election victories of such parties as the German Social-Democratic Party,

which is now in power, then such matters as the simultaneity of elections are very weighty. Practical folk will not lose much sleep over them though.

After getting on for 60 years of experience of elected social democratic governments in various European countries, at different times, hopes (or fears) of socialism by that road are utopian indeed.

And one of those countries is Britain. It is not at all the case that we have right-wing social democratic parties in Europe and a left-wing one in Britain. We have had eight Labour governments, the first more than 50 years ago, and, as Tribune itself tells us, Britain is still a capitalist country.

Of course it is true that if a workers' state was established in any of the Common Market countries, it would have to take some of the steps Tribune recommends—control of imports and capital movements etc. And such measures are indeed contrary to the Treaty of Rome. Such a state would certainly be thrown out of the Common Market.

But a workers' state—which will certainly not come through elections simultaneous or otherwise—would of necessity aim at assisting the workers of other countries to come to power too.

The 'seige economy' economic measures that Tribune favours are necessarily short-term. In the longer term the problem of moving towards socialism absolutely demand, as Lenin said, 'the joint efforts of the working classes of several advanced countries'.

The real socialist case for opposition to Britain in the Common Market does not depend in any case on the alleged 'superiority' of our Labour movement over those of other lands, nor on the alleged greater ease of 'switching Britain in a socialist direction'.

It is, quite simply, that the fight against the Common Market is part of the fight against British big-business and the right-wing of the Labour movement, of the fight for a real socialist movement—a revolutionary socialist movement.

DUNCAN HALLAS

# 5 FIFTH COLUMN



## THE NIGHT DICK DYNES DINED OUT...

DICK DYNES, the leader of the Labour group on Glasgow Corporation, who called on the Government to send in troops to break the dustcart drivers' strike, has been involved in another rather smelly little business.

It seems he and Councillor Gordon Kane, another Glasgow dignitary, were dining at the Vesuvio, one of the city's most expensive restaurants, when he got involved in a row with the management. The two Councillors complained apparently, that they were not being treated in the manner to which leading citizens were entitled.

The restaurant management made a complaint to the police, which resulted in a police report outlining possible corruption charges.

The report went to the Crown Court, where a decision was taken not to press charges.

The affair caused some anxiety in the Glasgow Labour Party, and an inquiry was instigated by Peter Allison, full-time Scottish secretary of the Labour Party, who reported his findings to a meeting of the executive of the Glasgow Corporation Labour Group.

The chairman of the meeting was... Dick Dynes.

### Worsened

The meeting decided to do nothing—but now the executive of the Scottish Labour Party have decided that the matter is 'not closed', and have demanded that the Glasgow Party produce their own report.

One aspect of the affair is said to have incensed those members of the Glasgow Labour Party who have anything left to incense.

The bill for the Vesuvio meal is believed to have been considerably greater than the take-home pay of a Glasgow Corporation dustcart driver.

## OH, LUCKY BOYES! A NICE

A LUCKY man is Robert Boyes, North Yorkshire's chief constable. He's been driving a boring old Rover for years. But now the North Yorkshire Police Committee are buying him a £4100 Jaguar XJ 6.

Some county councillors were unhappy about Mr Boyes' good fortune, but Councillor Wilf Ward and Mr Boyes did their best to set their fears at rest.

Wilf pointed out that the car would have to be used for royal visits and the area was graced no less than 14 times by royalty last year. Mr Boyes said that the Rover was no longer in production (which will come as a shock to the workers who've been making them recently).

Boyes, clearly unhappy that his new toy was going to be taken away from him, told

## NEW JAGUAR...

the grumblers that it was to be fitted with a ten-channel radio.

This would enable him to talk to every police force in the country—and, perhaps, tell them about which royal visitors were sitting in the back.

Don't get the wrong idea, though. Boyes works for his money. He told the committee how he, personally, had dealt with a speeding motorist on the A1.

Rumours that he was referring to Princess Anne have been discounted...



## HORSES FOR COURSES?

GETTING swept off her feet by the boys in blue is young Trisha Wyatt of Bexley. It's good to know that the police have such warm relations with aspiring young politicians such as Ms Wyatt. She is secretary of the local National Front and girl friend of Phil Hanman, the NF's ex-parliamentary candidate for Woolwich East. The horse is believed to be impartial about the issue.

## Meanwhile, the Two rot in jail

A FORTNIGHT ago, 1500 trade unionists demonstrated outside Leicester jail for the release of the Shrewsbury Two.

A week before, the Leicester Trades Council got a reply from the Trades Union Congress to their request for support and publicity for the demonstration. Organisation department head Ken Graham wrote:

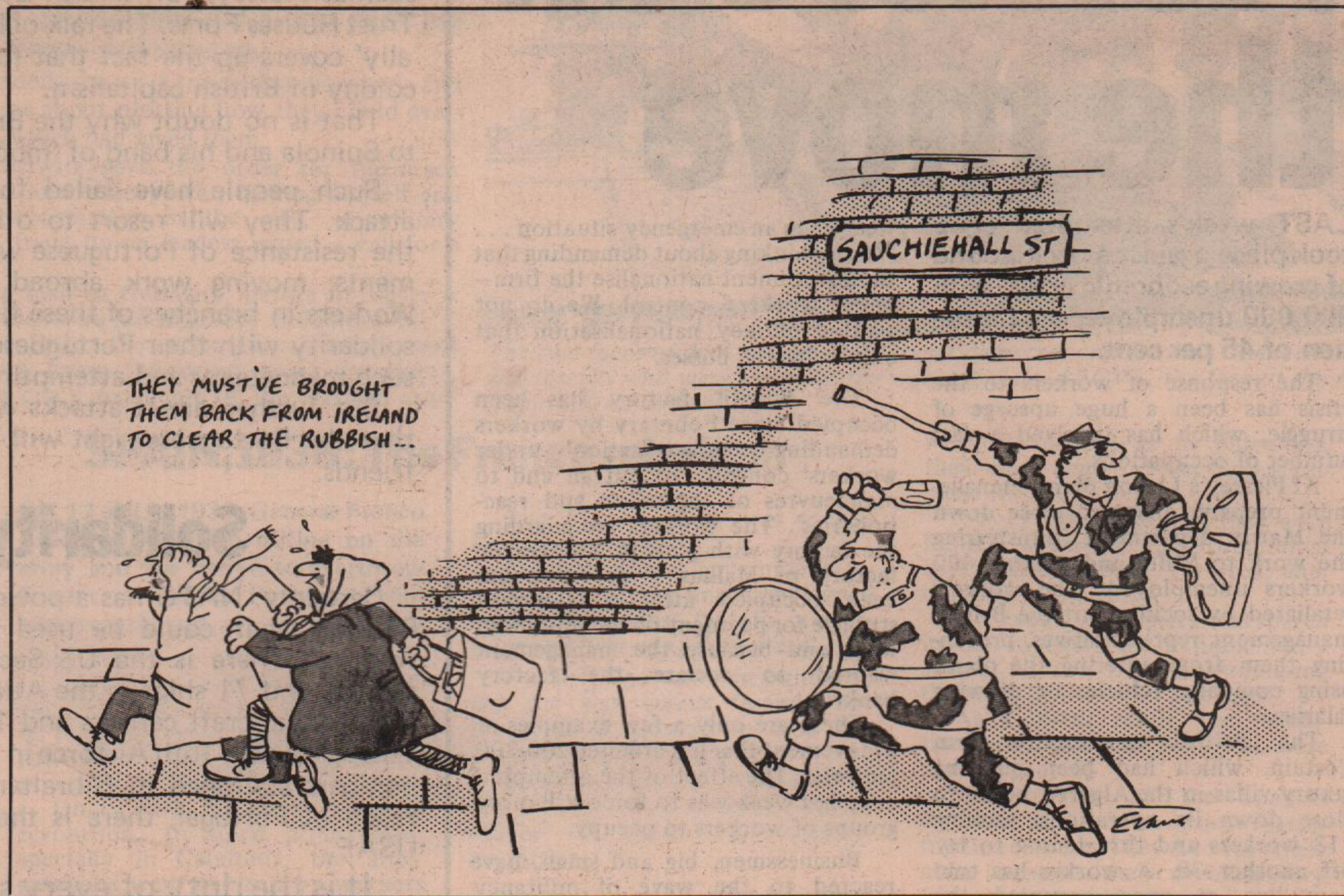
The Trades Councils are not empowered to initiate action on national issues—such as calling a national demonstration over a particular issue.

The TUC General Council is at present considering what further action should be taken as part of the continuing campaign on the Shrewsbury pickets and the use of conspiracy charges in industrial disputes.

Unless Trades Councils are asked to undertake action on a national issue—and this could only be decided by the TUC—a Trades Council should confine its activities to its own area and not seek to involve or communicate with other Trades Councils on national issues.

For the reasons outlined above, the TUC cannot circulate Trades Councils with information about your demonstration or provide you with a speaker.

Leicester Trades Council are suitably impressed by this indication of the TUC's devotion to the cause of the Shrewsbury Two.



## Auschwitz: Moderates in 'final solution' drama

LAST WEEK'S failure to bomb Portugal back to fascism produced this classic headline in the London Evening Standard:

**MODERATES ATTEMPT UPRISING IN PORTUGAL**

As an aid to Fleet Street, Fifth Column offers these less extreme variants on Great Scoops of the Past:

**HITLER SUGGESTS MODERATE SOLUTION TO JEWISH PROBLEM**

**JESUS CHRIST PROMISES RE-NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THREE-DAY COOLING-OFF PERIOD**

**TOLPUDDLE STRIKERS WIN AUSTRALIAN HOLIDAY**

# THE UNIONS

## Why Bevin Mark

# Two attacked the dockers

THE FETISH of the Transport Workers' union bureaucracy for more and more members could hardly be further from the thinking behind the union's creation.

The union's main pioneer, Ernest Bevin, though no revolutionary, had no choice but to concern himself with the practical strength of union organisation, its ability to fight and win tough industrial battles.

He had to persuade workers of the virtues of amalgamation. He argued, in the formative years before 1926, that it was necessary because it brought victories where otherwise there would be defeats.

### Organised

It brought all the dockers together in one union, he underlined it meant that the tramway workers who were ill organised could be helped by busmen and dockers.

The docks and tramway strikes of 1924 proved it. Both were won.

But Bevin, like all other professional politicians, was interested in doing something for the working class not assisting them to do something for themselves.

Throughout his career, he was concerned to build a stable organisation. By that he meant a machine in which he and certain other full-time officials held decisive power.

In the union structure that he shaped are rooted the decisive problems that confront not only dockers, but all other sections of the TGWU who come into struggle today.

Bevin was completely opposed to democratic participation in the union's affairs, fighting the dockers of Glasgow to the bitter end over just this issue.

### Right

They had come into the one big union but wanted to keep their right to elect each year their eight full-time officials.

Bevin chose his ground carefully, insisting that the authority of the national union was at stake. Parochialism was a menace, he argued, confident that few would disagree.

There was parochialism on the Glasgow docks. But Bevin would not compromise. He would not tolerate the direct election and re-election of all union officials.

If he allowed it in one case, it might follow in others.

This battle took other forms. At the union's special rules conference in 1921 Bevin moved for a delegate conference every two years. He was defeated by an overwhelming vote for an annual conference.

In 1923, he moved a conference every three years. Conference disagreed. They opted to have a biennial delegate conference.

Bevin got in 1923 what he had been after in 1921.

At the 1923 conference, he also fought and helped narrowly defeat a demand for the circulation of executive committee minutes. And at delegate conference after delegate conference Bevin fought like a lion against any notion of the election and recall of officials.

He had the post of union general president abolished. He

CONTRARY to the assertions of Jack Jones and the national press, the feelings of dockers about the Transport and General Workers' Union are not usually expressed in snarls.

But many decent trade unionists inside and outside the TGWU are not aware of the crash course in neglect and betrayal that the dockers have been put through in recent years. And so they don't pause to ask why the union has collaborated in the butchery of thousands of jobs, why it has done nothing to unite dockers and transport drivers and why the union's leaders put such faith in inquiries that come to nothing.

The reasons are political. The TGWU leadership, like so many others, are trying to make do under capitalism. They try to negotiate with employers who seem to be decent men and who, if they aren't, could perhaps be made such.

By working together, improved efficiency could be achieved. And then, only then, there might be a little more to go around.

Such attitudes make the union leaders vul-

### 'Gangsters

invade

Jack Jones

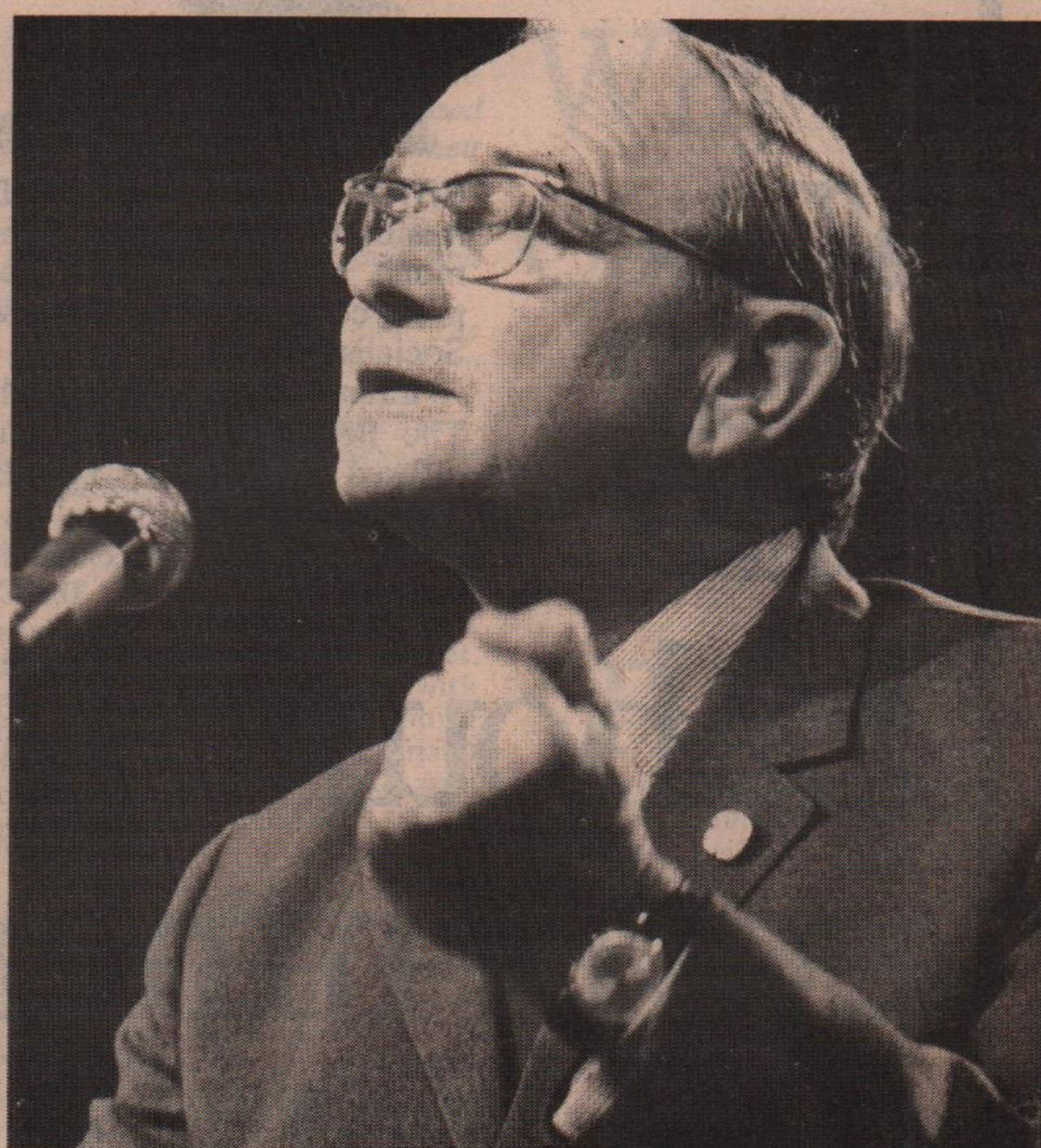
dock talks

By ROBERT PORTER  
ANGRY dockers leered and jostled...

—from the Daily Mail, 6 March

nerable to cheap talk about progress, increasing output, reducing unit costs.

But internal union politics are just as important and they help explain why, throughout the struggle over containerisation, the leaders of the TGWU have behaved the way they have.



SPOT THE DIFFERENCE: Bevin . . . and Jack 'Bevin with a human face' Jones

wanted one unchallenged top man.

Bevin bitterly resented unofficial organisation in the union.

His successor, Arthur Deakin intensified the trends under the banner of opposition to communism, the TGWU became even more bureaucratic, ever more concerned with centralised authority and ever more preoccupied with numbers.

Against this background, the regime of Jack Jones does seem beneficial. And certainly Jones has been influential in ending the black circular which barred communists from holding office.

He has been involved in an exercise to devolve power so as to make the union more attractive, less inefficient and unwieldy.

But he is no more than Bevin with a human face, a reformer who

set out to modernise the out-moded structure of the TGWU as much to head off massive potential revolts as anything else.

Jones has done nothing to alter Bevin's rules. Why should he? He is a man of power who models himself on Bevin and who, therefore, while sincere in wanting to do something for working people, is very, very hostile to the idea of them doing too much for themselves.

Jones is just as hostile to so-called unofficial organisation as was Bevin.

As general secretary he is the union. He claims to represent its overall interests. He cannot therefore allow a small trade group to take precedence over a bigger one, where the union's future of ever more members is seen to lie.

## How the TGWU can be changed

HOW CAN THE TGWU set-up be challenged? You might think the elected executive could do it, but it meets only quarterly and has little real power.

In the union as a whole, controversy is suppressed. Argument is sacrificed on the altar of a unity that must never be tested for fear that it might collapse.

Over recent years, the dockers have found out a great deal about the union. Successive attempts to get the union's BDC conference to hammer out a policy on containers have been thwarted. At the 1972 conference their motion suggesting a definite policy was simply swept under the carpet.

Not that the dockers are done for. They still possess considerable strength far beyond their numbers, because of the strategic nature of their industry and their own high level of organisation. But, on their own, they will never force the kind of changes they need in the TGWU.

Fortunately, they aren't the only oppressed group in the union. Far from it. The Glasgow lagers have had a similar crash course in union bureaucracy. So have the Scottish lorry drivers and the Shell workers, who dared to challenge the Social Contract. There are many, many others.

The dockers have the experience and the organisation to make real links with these workers. Together, they could mount a concerted campaign for more democracy in the union.

### Struggle

In that struggle, monthly meetings of the executive would find a prominent place on the list of demands. So, too, would the circulation of minutes, a more democratic standing orders committee at conference, and more regular conferences.

But the right to elect and recall all full-time officials, the heart of working-class democracy, is the central demand in the struggle to invigorate our movement and gear it up to face the struggles ahead.

## SO YOU THINK YOUR UNION IS BAD...

HUNDREDS of shoe-workers have been sacked and many more put on short-time in the last few months.

When you ask those men and women what their union is doing to protect their jobs they shrug their shoulders.

The closest all but a handful come to trade union activity is when they pay their subs. The organisation of the National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades sees to that.

NUFLAT, the majority union by far in the boot and shoe industry, had its last major strike in 1905.

There are no shop stewards. Branch meetings in most areas are a rare event. Branches are controlled by the branch committee and their secretaries.

Branch secretaries are full-time officials and the committee is hand-picked. Any sign of militancy and you can forget your chances.

Not that you'd have much hope of getting militant. No strike can last more than three days—by union

agreement with the bosses.

After three days out, usually even sooner, the officials order you back. A joint committee of union officials and management decides the case, which is binding on both parties.

That system has been going since 1895!

There are no shop-floor union links between workers. Individual grievances are taken straight to the officials, who come and 'sort it out' with management.

### Dispute

The only shop-floor rep is the collector. If a dispute crops up he is only allowed to tell the branch secretary—he musn't do anything about it.

Rank and file activity is nil. When it has seemed like a threat in the past, the Black Circular looked after it.

The Black Circular was stopped

because the Industrial Relations Act made it illegal. It was a declaration that all officers and delegates had to sign saying they were not members of the fascist or communist parties.

In practice, it meant that anyone who disagreed with the officials was barred from office.

It was used particularly viciously in the Fifties and Sixties after the officials came back from America starry-eyed about productivity deals. The Black Circular helped them foist these deals on their members.

Boot and shoe workers are some of the most viciously exploited workers in Britain. Proof is the fortunes robbed off their backs by the 'shoe squires' who dominate all shoe towns.

Workers in the industry will never be able to fight their bosses without radical reform of their union.

If it is not made more democratic, the dwindling membership of NUFLAT will see the union disappear with the rest of the failing shoe industry.

“OUR FIGHT IS EVERY TRADE UNION

# Troops out of Glasgow

**JOHN TODD** (right) Branch Committee member, TGWU Lagers Branch: This rubbish won't do half as much damage as has been done and is being done by insulating materials and other forms of industrial pollution put out into the atmosphere in the pursuit of profit.



**ALAN MORGAN**, Vice Chairman, Glasgow Fire Brigades Union Executive: We must totally oppose the use of armed forces against the dustmen. Glasgow FBU has opposed the Social Contract from when it first appeared. Now we see how it has worked when the government is prepared to use troops to blackmail us into acceptance.



**JOHN KEENAN** (left) AUEW member and Senior Steward at Rolls Royce, East Kilbride: We had already intended to have a collection for the dustmen's strike before we heard the troops were being moved in. I hope the trade union movement in Scotland takes the appropriate action. As far as I am concerned, that must mean strike action on a wide scale. The health hazard argument is not on.



## Yes, the Labour government has done it before

**BRIGADIER DAVID RIDDELL-WEBSTER**, officer commanding Operation Blackleg in Glasgow, does not know how much a dustcart driver earns. He admitted as much at his press conference in Glasgow last Monday to Laurie Flynn of Socialist Worker.

Laurie went on to ask the Brigadier how much he earned. The Brigadier replied: 'That is an improper question'—and refused to answer. The Brigadier, we can disclose, earns £140 a week, compared to the dustcart drivers' £35 a week.

The Brigadier insists that he does not take sides in the dispute between the drivers and the Corporation. His brother, John Riddell-Webster is the managing director, marketing, of Shell Mex and BP, the company with the biggest profits in the land.

His father, General Sir Thomas Sheridan Riddell-Webster, fought for Shell Mex and a lot of other British companies all over the world, and at one time commanded British

By  
**PAUL FOOT**

forces in Southern India.

The army is not, as the Brigadier pretends, 'neutral' in the struggle between workers and employers. Throughout history, it has been a 'reserve force' which has assisted employers in strikes and lock-outs.

*In the railway strike of 1911, it manned almost the entire Welsh railway system. In the miners' strike the year before, it was sent to 'protect' blacklegs going to work at Tŷnypanyd.*

Until the end of the last war, the army was mainly used to protect blacklegs. The majority Labour government after the war used troops again and again as blacklegs themselves.

### Troops

On each occasion, the government used the same argument for bringing in the troops. The strike was creating a 'health hazard' or a 'danger to life and limb'.

Perishable food on the docks was going bad; a power strike was causing 'intolerable injury' to pensioners. A meat porters' strike could cause typhoid in the City of London!

Each time, too, the workers in and around the industry where the troops were used were not taken in for a moment by this nonsense. They knew that if the troops got away with blacklegging without protest, they would smash the strike power of trade unionism.

Militants in the docks and power stations argued that the danger to trade unionism from sending in the troops was incomparably more serious than any danger to health caused by the employers' meanness.

### Action

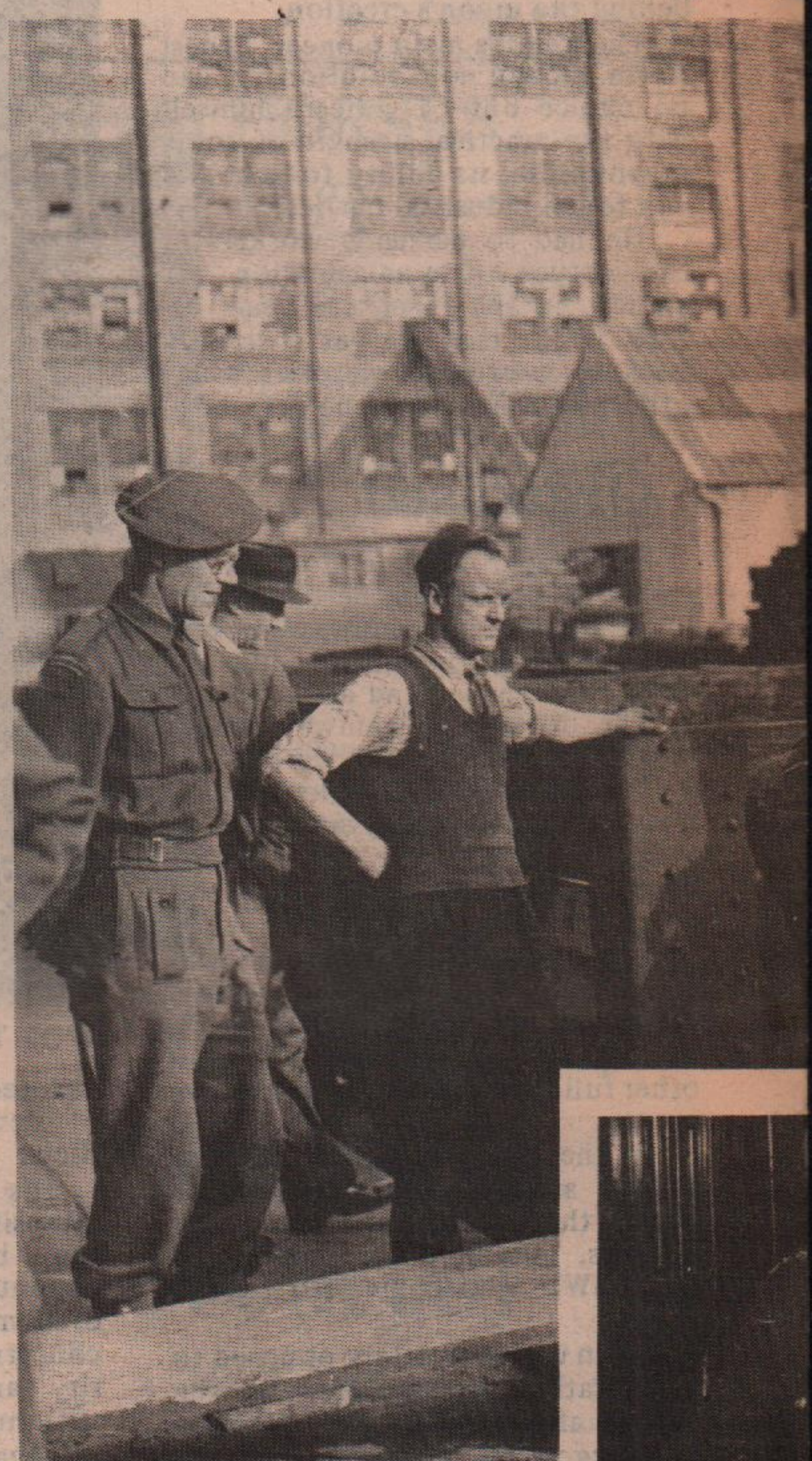
The solidarity action from large numbers of workers cooled the government's strike-breaking ardour. The Labour government from 1964 to 1970 never dared to use troops in a strike, despite a state of emergency and a disgusting Wilson witch-hunt when the seamen struck in 1966.

*But now, in the interests of their beloved Social Contract, the Labour government have returned to the darkest reaction.*

If they get away with what they are doing in Glasgow, they will repeat the operation in Liverpool within a few weeks' time.

The huge queue of public sector workers waiting for wage increases (see page 15) will be threatened. No strike in the country will be safe from blacklegging by the government which the strikers elected.

The Glasgow firemen, who



know something about troops' strike-breaking, have declared that they will not put out fires in the rubbish heaps while the troops are working on them.

That sort of action will get the troops out. There must be more of it. The Glasgow Trades Council must insist that its affiliates stand by the picket lines of its members who drive the city's dustcarts.

Rank and file workers' action, which has already broken through the Social Contract many times in the Glasgow area, can, if forged into a single fighting force, defeat the government's last line of defence for the Social Contract:

**A line of uniformed scabs.**

*Top and right move in to strikes by L dockers in London pet in 1953—the action Brig Riddell-Webster is now plan Glasgow*

*This history of army strike-breaking by Labour governments is taken from the important new Socialist Worker publication, The Crisis: Social Contract or Socialism?*

75p (plus postage) from **IS BOOKS**, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

### IS meetings around the book

**EALING**, West London: Friday 21 March, 1pm, Lecture Theatre, Ealing Technical College, St Mary's Road, W5. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

**GREATER LONDON COUNCIL**: Thursday 20 March, 12.30pm, The Artichoke, London, SE1. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

**WALTHAMSTOW**, East London, Thursday 20 March, 8pm, Rose & Crown pub, Hoe Street, E17. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

**NORTHAMPTON**: Thursday 27 March, 8pm, Room 2, Co-op Hall, Exeter Road (off Kettering Road) Speaker: Paul Foot (editor, Socialist Worker);

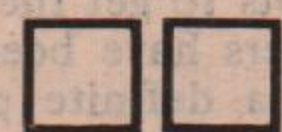
**ASHTON-under-LYNE**: Wednesday 26 March, 8pm The Old Dog Hotel, Old Street. Speakers: Frank Logan and Brian Rose (Manchester trade unionists). Organised by Oldham District IS.

**OXFORD**: Saturday 22 March. Public debate between the International Socialists and the Labour Party. For IS: Duncan Hallas (editor, International Socialism journal). For the Labour Party: Evan Luard (MP for Oxford). Buxton Hall, Ruskin College, Walton Street, 7.15pm. Admission free—all welcome.

**8 April 1946**: 600 Smithfield provision workers struck. Troops were sent in on 15 April, when 3,000 meat porters struck in sympathy.

**8 January 1947**: great road haulage strike numbering over 20,000 including 400 Smithfield drivers. Troops sent into Smithfield on 13 January, whereupon all meat and provision workers came out in sympathy.

**15 March 1948**: 1,300 Ministry of Works employees—engineers, attendants, boilermen, liftmen, etc—struck in protest at delay in settling wage claim. On 18 March troops were sent to stoke boilers at Buckingham Palace, whereupon shop stewards decided to call out all engineering grades if troops were not withdrawn.



**14 June 1948**: London Dock Strike, which later spread to the Mersey, involving some 30,000; on 23 June troops brought in to handle perishable food.

**14 May 1949**: Avonmouth Dockers refused to unload a Canadian ship manned by the International Seafarers' Union, which was blacklegging on the official Canadian seamen's union. On 27 May troops unloaded a banana ship, following which crane drivers refused to work with troops; on 2 June troops began to unload all ships, following which British seamen struck against troops used on lock-gates, etc. Later, troops moved into the London docks, whereupon workers in haulage firms and in Spitalfield refused to handle goods unloaded by troops.

**16 September 1949**: Belfast power station strike; troops drafted in immediately.

**12 December 1949**: 1,000 struck at three London power stations. Troops were sent in, whereupon a further 1,600 at Barking power station came out in protest.



**19 April 1950**: London dock strike against expulsion of leaders from TGWU for solidarity with Canadian seamen: 9,000 came out. On 24 April troops were moved in and a further 4,500 promptly came out.

**24 June 1950**: 1,200 Smithfield meat drivers struck in protest at delay in settling claim. Troops drafted in, and 900 meat porters struck in protest.

**1 September 1950**: strike of London gas maintenance workers started and spread to 15 gasworks in the North Thames Gas Board area; on 3 October, 100 naval ratings left Chatham Barracks to start taking over the maintenance work at gas-works.

**TONY CLIFF: LENIN**  
Volume 1: Building the Party

**SPECIAL ENDS TH**

Published price £3.95  
£6.60 hardback. In March £2.00 paperback (post in will be sent out (b tion) in March.

Cash with orders to **PLUTO PRESS** U Court, 7 Chalcot f NW1 8LH



# ...ONIST'S FIGHT"

—ARCHIE HOOD,  
Chairman of the dustcart  
drivers' strike committee

# Glasgow!



**JOHN CARTY** (left), convenor of Chrysler Linwood: I am absolutely opposed to the use of troops in any industrial dispute. The Corporation must find some way to settle with these men and their union.



**GEORGE KELLY** (left), convenor, Glasgow Corporation electricians: We must be ready to put mass pickets on the cleansing depots when the troops arrive. It's essential to go to the Trades Council and call for a West of Scotland shop stewards' meeting, which can co-ordinate action.



...t: troops  
...ash  
...ndon  
...945 and  
...rol drivers  
...sort of  
...dier David  
...ster (inset)  
...ing in

**OFFER  
S WEEK**

...00 paperback,  
...OW until 21  
...back, £4.50  
...usive) Copies  
...efore publica-

...it 10, Spencer  
...oad, London

## THE WEEK IN IRELAND



### NEWS THE BRITISH PRESS DOESN'T PRINT

**FRIDAY 7 March:** 200 demonstrators held an hour-long meeting outside the Springfield Road police station to express their determination not to allow the Royal Ulster Constabulary to return into the Springfield and Falls Road of Belfast.

It's not surprising that the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are hostile to the RUC, which is no ordinary police force.

Composed almost entirely of Protestants, it has for 50 years been the main means of upholding the 'Protestant ascendancy'.

The RUC has its own peculiar way of enforcing law and order. In 1969, it openly colluded with Protestant mobs who had burnt Catholic homes. Its Shorland armoured cars mounted with heavy machine guns fired on the Divis Flats.

#### Driven

In all the RUC has allowed 40,000 Catholics to be driven from their homes since 1969. No RUC men have been charged in connection with it.

There have been more than 400 documented cases of RUC brutality to prisoners since 1971. No charges have been brought. Members of the RUC Special Branch were involved in the torture of internees in Holywood and Girdwood barracks in 1971-72.

It is as well to remember that when the politely named 'policing row' flares in Northern Ireland, the real issue is whether a sectarian army should be allowed into areas where they, the laws they enforce and the state they represent, are detested.

**TWELVE** teenage members of the Ulster Volunteer Force who petrol-bombed Catholic homes in Antrim were fined up to £100. The eldest, aged 17 and 18, were also given suspended prison sentences.

Three days earlier, the same Belfast city court had sentenced an 18-year-old Catholic to 12 years for possessing a sten gun.

#### Released

**WEDNESDAY 12 March:** In the Commons, Merlyn Rees announced that since the beginning of the first Provisional ceasefire in early December, 122 internees have been released—that is, slightly more than one a day.

There are still 470 men held without trial, so at the present rate internment will still be with us in the summer of 1976.

Anti-internment marches are planned for the next few weeks by the Peoples Democracy and by Sinn Fein, who both point out that the internees, guilty of no crime, should be released unconditionally, not held 'as hostages for the 'good behaviour' of others. Two men, Kevin Hannaway and Phil McCullough, have been in Long Kesh since 9 August, 1971.

**THURSDAY 13 March:** The ultra-right Ulster Volunteer Force, which has an overlapping

## Why the Catholics hate the police

membership with the National Front, denounced the Irish Republican socialist Party as 'anti-Protestant'.

The UVF paper, *Combat*, attacked IRSP members by name and issued thinly-veiled threats. IRSP members are now apprehensive that the fascist group will take advantage of the feud with the Official IRA to launch an assassination campaign.

#### Final

**FRIDAY 14 March:** At Strasbourg, the final session continues in the case against Britain. Torture and inhuman treatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland are alleged.

The case, which began more than two years ago, concerns the 'hooding' and sensory deprivation of internees. 118 witnesses have been heard, including psychiatric experts, internees and ex-internees. Defence of the torture techniques, which was first undertaken by Tory Attorney-General Peter Rawlinson, is now in the hands of Labour's Sam Silkin.

## TROOPS OUT NOW! DEMONSTRATION



**ALL OUT ON  
6 APRIL!**

Assemble at Clerkenwell Green, London EC1 (nearest Tube, Farringdon)

**1.30pm, Sunday 6 April.**

Speakers invited include: Dennis Canavan MP, Siobhan McKenna (actress), Mike Cooley, Duncan Hallas, Brian Grogan and, in a personal capacity, Bill Freeman (NATSOPA), and Terry Povey (NUS Executive)

Organised by the Troops Out Movement

**All IS members to attend.**

# LETTERS

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

## Postal Points

# Common Market: How we argued it out

HOW should we fight against the Common Market? This is what happened when the Edinburgh Trades Council launched its Trade Union Anti-Common Market campaign at a meeting attended by 30 delegates from trade union branches.

The meeting voted to conduct the campaign independently of the Get Britain Out Campaign, which includes Tories and Scottish Nationalists. The debate was notable for the pressure from Communist Party members and others for joining up with Tories etc in the campaign.

Both James Milne, Assistant General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, and Alec Ferry, AUEW district officer and Scottish chairman of the Get Britain Out Campaign, tried to defend trade union involvement in that organisation by dangling the carrot of Government money being made available to national bodies on both sides, of which, they argued, the trade unions should have a share.

### Useful

Ferry gave a useful coverage of the basic arguments against the EEC which will have to be argued on the shop floor, but finished by arguing that the defence of British sovereignty should be a central theme of the campaign.

He warned that 'our Parliament's wishes and desires' will be subordinated to a European body and that 'our Nation' will become a mere province of the European State.

Other delegates, including IS members, argued that such talk would lay the campaign open to the diversions of nationalism and racialism, especially at a time when Powell was beginning a new 'rivers of blood' campaign against black immigrants while also supporting the Get Britain Out Campaign.

'Our sovereign Parliament' desired at the moment only to attack working class living standards to solve the deep problems of British capitalism.

This attack was going to continue in or out of the EEC, and any alliance with the *class enemy* in the referendum campaign would serve only to sow confusion in the working class movement about the struggle ahead.

The visit of Portuguese Plessey workers to the Plessey combine committee in Britain was mentioned as showing the real way forward for workers in the struggle against the multinational companies.

As a result of the debate, the Trade Union Anti-Common Market campaign was launched, sponsored by the TGWU, AUEW, NUM and ASTMS branches. A campaign office will be set up in the trade union centre, and will be manned daily by unemployed and retired trade unionists.

The emphasis will be in educating shop floor militants on the issues, and getting them fully discussed on the shop-floor.

Let's hope other trades councils take the same line!—D STRUTT, Edinburgh Trades Council anti-Common Market Co-ordinating Committee.

## WHY BENN WINS WORKERS' SUPPORT



LAST WEEK'S Socialist Worker deserves congratulations for its much-improved political balance. For some time, there has been a feeling that we don't need to take up the arguments of the Labour lefts, CP and so on.

As Paul Foot notes, there is sympathy for Benn who has started a dialogue with shop stewards committees that cuts out both the Labour and the trade union bureaucracy.

We must devote more space to the ideas that men such as these hold. But one of the arguments was misleading.

The editorial attacked left-wing ministers for going back on beliefs that the government should own industry. Paul Foot attacked the government for not taking control of industry to guarantee investment where it matters most.

It is one thing to point out the sheer cynicism of the private employers who prefer to make a fast buck than look after their long-term investment interests. It is quite another to argue that the government should be looking after long-term investment interests.

We do not see a massive state control as a step towards socialism. This is one of the main arguments that distinguishes us from the Communist Party. The only time we argue for state intervention is as a short-term expedient to defend workers' interests—for example, nationalisation of a bankrupt company (we

argued the same under the Tories).

Our arguments hinge on the self-activity of the workers without reference to the government. We see the state as an obstacle to change, never as the agency of change. An obstacle which, as the crisis deepens, will be used blatantly to resist workers' demands.—JOHN ROSE, W London.

TWO FOOTNOTES to Socialist Worker's exposure (8 March) of Wedgwood Benn's Industry Bill and his abstention from the Commons vote on debating the Shrewsbury pickets.

ONE: The Investors Chronicle of 27 February said of the Bill: 'Some foxy Tory parliamentarians are holding off the attack because they read the bill as a necessary sop to the Labour left that will not amount in the end to a row of beans. This is not an isolated view. Some civil servants, in talks with industry about the probable working of the bill, have been as cynical.'

TWO: Benn railed against 'Tory repression' of workers in a speech in Chelmsford 18 months ago. At a social after the meeting, I organised a collection for the Shrewsbury pickets, who were then on trial and feeling the full weight of that repression. Of those asked to donate, there was one notable refusal: Anthony Wedgwood Benn.—SW reader, Chelmsford.

## 'A distressing refusal to understand'

'IT HAS always been a basic tenet of marxism, that the working class, by itself, can never attain its objectives'. (Jack Woddis, head of the international department of the Communist Party, Morning Star, 28 February, quoted in SW, 8 March.)

'The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the

advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.' (Communist Manifesto).

This elucidates, I think, what Cde Woddis meant, as a moment's real reflection would have made clear. Quoting out of context is always a bit hazardous.

It is damaging to left unity when

used to attack another organisation in an unconstructive, sectarian way. I read and enjoy SW, occasionally give it money, and take comradely criticisms of the CP seriously.

But that little paragraph in Fifth Column was not an analysis, not a constructive criticism, and displayed a distressing refusal to understand.—HOWARD JONES, Lampeter Branch CP.

## ON ABORTION

THE LAW enables many unscrupulous doctors to provide 'abortion on demand' whether necessary or not. Many pregnant women, whose worry was better housing, financial help, before and afterbirth care, have instead been pushed into accepting abortion . . . The real right of choice is one between preparation and carelessness; between prudence and irresponsibility. Carelessness and irresponsibility cannot be compensated by killing the unborn.—PHILIP CONSTANTINE (father of three), Warwick.

WHY DO we seek the apparent paradox of a restriction on the right to control our own bodies? Dr Dawson suggests it is because we're both duped by talk of the 'dignity of motherhood' . . . I fail to be convinced by arguments that abortion has been around as long as pregnancy. So have most forms of human violence. Perhaps we don't adhere to the simplest theory that 'life consists of living in the real world with other people', surely an excellent argument for the liquidation of mental or physical defectives and, by extension, of housewives who seek only to escape from the prison that is accounted their real world, or socialists, committed to changing the whole premises of our existence?—AMANDA BINNS, Leamington.

WHY IS IT that women promote the myth of the 'safe and simple operation'? . . . Mystification regarding the 'right to choose' up to 28 weeks, positing that until then the baby is no more than an extension of the woman's body, disregards all the medical evidence . . . Given the extent of complications and abuses, combined with the callous disregard of the pro-abortion lobby, a woman's right to choose involves full information on what both pregnancy and abortion involves regarding her own body. Whether the figure is 160,000 abortions a year or double, it is still primarily a definition of that number of failed preventions.—KATE BARROW, Leamington.

THE ABORTION Act was not much of a concession from our rulers. But at least it meant an alternative to paying £250 in Harley Street or the terror of the knitting needles on the kitchen table. As thousands of women could testify, the Act was a cruel scandal. But that is an argument for improving it, not repealing it . . . We need everybody to be able to use effective contraception . . . we also need more day nurseries . . . we need all these things but now we have to defend what we have got. As a first step, why not find out what your union's policy is on abortion?—DAVE BLANE, Charing Cross Hospital, London.

ITALY . . . Through its weekly magazine, the *Espresso*, the Socialist Party is campaigning for a referendum to make abortion legal. Most people certainly favour abortion, so a referendum initiated by the Socialist Party would certainly be a winner . . . it would challenge the efficiency of the present coalition government and might provoke a government crisis . . . it is a pity to think that ultimately these women will be just pawns in a game of power.—J MARCHANT, Italy.

SAVING JOBS . . . When the Admiralty seized the Court Line tanker *Halcyon*, they immediately removed a vital part of machinery to prevent its removal by the owners . . . When we see our place of employment being shut down, let production workers help maintenance electricians and fitters in rapidly dismantling machinery and, as a last resort, mixing parts of machinery together.—A DAVENPORT, Wirral.

IF WORKERS go on a large demonstration against foreign imports, because they think, wrongly, that this will solve their problems, should we nevertheless walk alongside, sell *Socialist Worker* and explain our position? Or should we ignore the demonstration?—DAVID PAENSON, Ilford.

No, we shouldn't ignore it—we should sell *SW* and argue our socialist case. We can't convince workers they are wrong if we are not there.

### NO TO THE COMMON MARKET

Posters and leaflets available for local propaganda. Send orders to Sue Baytall, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN. Leaflets—25p per 100, posters—75p per 100. Money with orders please.

ADOLF YOFFE, an old Bolshevik, committed suicide in 1927. Had he lived he would—like so many of his comrades—almost certainly have fallen in Stalin's purges a decade later.

Yoffe, a life-long friend of Trotsky, shot himself as Stalin's campaign to liquidate the Left Opposition was reaching its peak. Trotsky's speech at the

funeral was to be his last public appearance in Russia.

In a farewell note, Yoffe had told him: 'Politically you have always been right, but now more right than ever. Some day the party will realise it, and history will not fail to afford recognition.'

Now Yoffe's widow Maria, at the age

of 76, and after 20 years in Russian labour camps, has been allowed to emigrate to Israel, where she plans to put pen to paper.

Meanwhile, HARRY WICKS, a founder member of both the British Communist Party and later, the tiny Left Opposition in this country, here 'affords recognition' to Yoffe.

FROM HIS student youth, Yoffe chose the path of a revolutionary activist.

During the First World War, when the banner of socialism was bloodied in the service of rival imperialisms, he was an adherent of the internationalist group around the paper *Nashe Slovo* that Trotsky, his life-long friend, later edited.

With the outbreak of the February revolution in Russia in 1917, Yoffe was released from his Siberian exile and hastened to Petrograd. There he joined the Mezhraintsy, the organisation of the *Nashe Slovo* supporters who were negotiating with the Bolsheviks for unification.

**Elected**

Only a few months separated the revolutionaries from the conquest of power. They were months of intense effort.

Yoffe measured up to the tasks of the time.

At the seventh congress of the Russian Communist Party held in July 1917, he was elected a candidate member of Lenin's Central Committee.

Two months later, he shared a place with Lenin and Trotsky on the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. Short, tubby, neat in appearance and a good speaker, Yoffe was distinguished by his tireless energy.

In the early, desperate days of the Russian revolution when the German army was driving remorselessly nearer Petrograd, Yoffe was sent with Krylenko, the head of the armed forces, to sue for an armistice.

**Poignant**

The crucial thing was to win time for the war-weary European working class to join the fight for a democratic peace.

The scene of that bowler-hatted Bolshevik, with great aplomb, leaving the sparsely occupied snow-covered Russian line at Brest Litovsk to win a precious breathing space for the revolution is one of the most poignant moments in its fight for survival.

The Brest Litovsk negotiations began ten years of diplomatic work by Yoffe for the Russian Republic.

He had the distinction of becoming the first Soviet ambassador to the West and to the East. First in Germany, then in China.

After Brest Litovsk, where the German imperialists had exacted such rapacious terms from the Soviet Republic, Yoffe hurried to Berlin as ambassador.

**Lenin's General Staff of 1917**

**STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS**



The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

The 1938 poster that says so much about 'Soviet' Russia...

Beneath the surface of German society rumbled a widespread discontent with the war. The message of Karl Liebknecht and the agitation of the Spartakusbund were finding an echo in the masses.

These were days of hope—and Yoffe excelled himself. The Russian Embassy became the mecca of all those, either Spartakus or socialist independents, who were anxious to drive the movement forward.

**Pro-war**

In November 1918, the flash point was reached. The sailors of the Baltic fleet at Kiel revolted and hoisted the Red Flag. Fraternal greetings were sent to the Red Flag at Kronstadt.

Germany was in the throes of revolution—but political power fell in the lap of the pro-war Social Democratic Party and the Independent socialists.

Yoffe and all his staff were expelled from Berlin because 'under cover of his diplomatic status revolutionary propaganda had been carried on in the German army'.

On his return to Petrograd, he

was arrested and held as hostage for the safety of the German Consul in Moscow.

The actions of the Independent Socialist Haase, who was in charge of the German Foreign Office, were an ominous warning of the dangers to face the German revolution.

When the wars of intervention against Soviet Russia were finally over, the Communist Party had somehow to rebuild the devastated industry and the transport system.

That meant achieving a modus vivendi with the capitalist world. Important work fell to the Soviet Foreign Office, and it was to that diplomatic effort that the Party assigned Yoffe.

In that frenzy of diplomatic conferences in the early Twenties, where the imperialists wrangled over the spoils and the economic consequences of the war, Soviet diplomacy fought for the opportunity to trade and win favourable credits.

Yoffe was one of a team of talented comrades from prison and exile who, in their new-found role, scored some outstanding successes in the field of diplomacy.

On his return from missions

abroad, Yoffe expressed disquiet with political developments within the party.

Discussions in the party nucleus, the Communist Academy and higher party institutions were giving way to the baiting and slandering of the old party leaders.

**Apex**

At the Foreign Office, new faces were coming to the front. Yesterday's Mensheviks and opponents of the October Revolution, men such as Maisky and Troyanovsky, with the ink barely dry on their party cards, were joining in the campaign of vilification.

The years 1926-27 saw the campaign against the Left Opposition in the party reach its apex. Party debate was forsaken for the hooligan breaking-up of meetings wherever Trotsky, Rakovsky Zinoviev or others tried to address party workers.

Gravely ill, harassed by the party leadership, refused permission to travel abroad for medical treatment and conscious that his illness and physical incapacity prevented him

from standing shoulder to shoulder with his old comrade Trotsky and fighting back, Yoffe took his life.

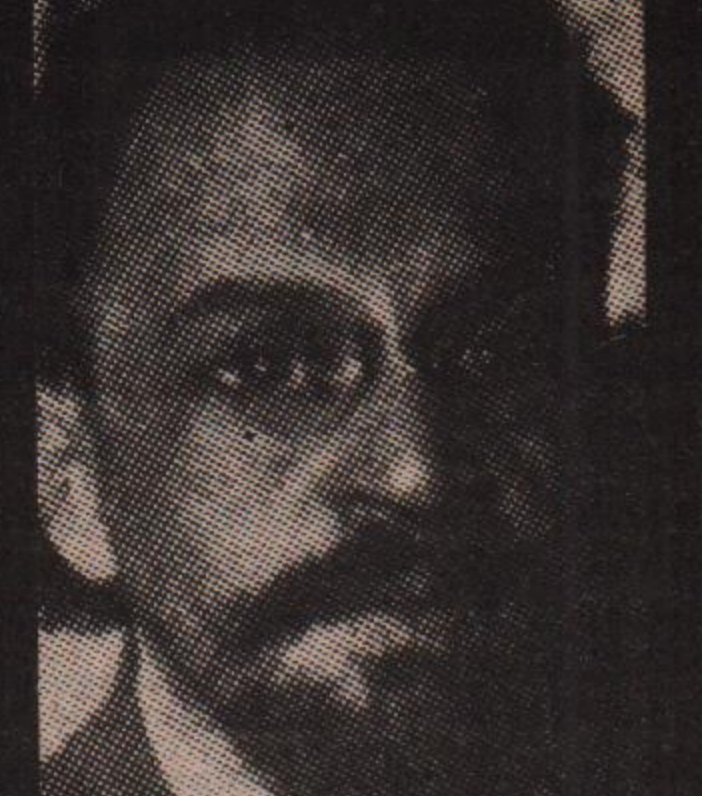
That act was no deed of an unbalanced mind, as the letter that he left for Trotsky testified. The party leadership first tried to suppress his last words, then published them with a scurrilous screed from the Stalinist Yaroslavsky.

Public opinion in Moscow was shocked. In the working-class districts, the tragic end of this member of Lenin's Central Committee was talked about in hushed voices.

Defying the censorship of the party press and in the face of all the calumny directed against the Left Opposition, 10,000 workers assembled at the funeral to pay their homage to the soldier of the revolution.

Trotsky, speaking at the graveside, declared: 'Let us take our leave of him in the same spirit that he lived and fought. He took his stand under the banner of Marx and Lenin; under that banner he died.'

'And we vow to you, Adolf Abramovich, we will carry your banner through to the end'.



The one who got away

**A BOOK FOR BURNING**

BABIES for Burning\* is an anti-abortion tract by two hacks whose medical training began and ended at the News of the World.

In 193 pages, they do not feel the need to quote one fact, figure or statistic. They call the three-volume Lane Report on abortion a piece of 'comic history', perhaps because they have learnt on Fleet Street that the truth should never get in the way of a 'good story'.

An entire chapter, is for example, spent in reconstructing an interview with a 'weeping', 'tawdry', 'dowdy', 'loathsome' doctor who is said to arrange the sale of the fat of aborted foetuses to a soap factory.

But the chapter falls on a single fact. There is an almost complete lack of fat in the immature foetus.

There are horrific descriptions of foetuses crying as they fry to death in the incinerator... 'a baby tied and trussed inside a mother's womb and blindfolded from the placenta from which feeds.'

Had the authors attended a single termination, they would be aware that the evacuated uterine contents are quite unrecognisable and are seldom incinerated in the operating theatre.

If they read an O-level biology text-book, they would find that although the foetus possesses millions of nerve cells, they are barely

By Dr GERRY DAWSON

connected to each other and so unable to make co-ordinated movements, far less cry

They are addicted to racy generalities: 'They (the pregnancy clinics) all talk in the same cliches, expound identical philosophies, perpetuate the same lies, manipulate the same fiddles and corruption, treat pregnant girls as pawns in some grotesque human chess game, generally dislike children and often have genocidal tendencies.'

Their prose is dependent on emotive but largely meaningless adjectives. Pound notes are always 'grubby', offices are invariably 'sleazy', the East End of London is 'notorious', while Ealing is in 'the shabby western extremity of the capital'.

They know nothing else but the double-standard, the kind of hack ethics where to use the conventional phrase 'termination' is a disgusting evasion but where they describe the operation in such sober language as 'someone rips it from the womb and hurls it into the furnace'.

For all the self-righteous talk of morality, there is not one word of real sympathy for the women whose bodies are actually at risk.

But the book's main weakness is its obsession with the abuses of the private system, the better to discredit the whole idea of abortion.

Even if their inventions and inaccuracies were true, theirs would not be an anti-abortion argument but one for improving NHS facilities.

In our society, nothing is free from financial corruption. The whole system is lubricated by it. But, as the staid Medical World puts it, if abortion racketeers do exist 'their actions are only slightly more damaging than those of "respectable" elements of the medical profession who have refused to implement the provisions of the 1967 Act'.

But this book is not interested in rational argument. Its mind is already made up. It will use any device to terrify but none which might inform.

Yet it finally flounders in its own exaggerated prejudices and ill-concealed bias. But if only for the way it reveals the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the anti-abortion argument, it's worth reading.

\*Babies For Burning: The Abortion Business in Britain, by Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish (Serpentine Press, 75p).

**ON THE BOX**

SUNDAY  
BBC-1: 9.20pm. A new production of Shakespeare's KING LEAR starring Michael Hordern is the PLAY OF THE MONTH. It clashes with BBC-2's premiere of a film opening in London later in the week BROTHER CAN YOU SPARE A DIME? a documentary on the USA between the 1929 Wall Street Crash and Pearl Harbour 1941.

TUESDAY  
BBC-1: 9.25pm. POLICE-HARROW ROAD is the TUESDAY DOCUMENTARY, a 'portrait of a busy Metropolitan Police station in West London'.

WEDNESDAY  
BBC-1: 9.55pm. It's long, it's boring and yes! it's Robin Day starring in a 90 minute spectacular A QUESTION OF BRITAIN where a cast of all your favourite industrialists and trade union leaders 'suggest ways' of making Britain prosperous.

FRIDAY  
BBC-2: 8.35pm. This is 'the excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick at fortune we make guilty the sun, the moon and the stars' as one of King Lear's associates said on Sunday. Should apply well to THE REVIVALIST a play about miner Evan Roberts who, in 1904, saw visions, set off a religious revival in Wales—and burnt out in six months.

# WHAT'S ON

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

## IS public meetings

For meetings on THE CRISIS: SOCIAL CONTRACT OR SOCIALISM see centre pages this week.

**AVONMOUTH IS industrial school:** The Social Contract—wage restraint and incomes policies. Speaker: John Deason. Wednesday 26 March, 7.30pm, Room B, Twyford Community Centre, High Street, Shirehampton. One in a series of meetings.

**FULHAM and HAMMERSMITH IS public meeting:** State Capitalism. Speaker: Richard Kuper. Thursday 20 March, 8pm, The Swan, Hammersmith Broadway, Creche available, contact local IS secretary.

**KINGSTON IS film night:** Ireland behind the wire. Thursday 27 March, 8pm, Grove Tavern, Washington Road (near Norbiton Church). Tickets now available from local IS members.

**TOWER HAMLETS IS film night:** Ireland: Behind the Wire. Tuesday 25 March, 7.30pm, Stratford Town Hall, Stratford Broadway, E15 (opposite Tube station).

**S W LONDON DISTRICT IS public meeting:** Stop the Cuts—save the public services. Speakers: Dick North (NUT), Steve Ludlam (NUPE), Chairman: Don Failes (UPW). Thursday 20 March, 8pm, Lower Hall, Lambeth Town Hall. Tickets available from branch secretaries.

**GLASGOW Printworkers IS public meeting:** Freedom of the press and the future of the print industry. Speaker: Vincent Flynn, (ex-general secretary, SOGAT). Saturday 22 March, 11am, City Halls, Candleriggs. All welcome.

**TOWER HAMLETS IS public meeting:** Socialism and the struggle for women's equality. Speaker: Sara Carver (NATSOPA). Thursday, 20 March, 8pm, Black Horse, Leman Street, London E1.

**CENTRAL MANCHESTER District IS public meeting:** Equal pay—this year, next year, sometime, never! How can we fight for it? Speakers: Carol Dourass (SOGAT), and Bella Fullard (shop steward, SEI, Haywood). Thursday 27 March, 8pm, Milton Hall, Deansgate.

**EAST LONDON IS film night:** Ireland behind the wire. Plus speaker: Frankie Drain (building worker). Wednesday 26 March, 7.30pm, Princess Alice, Romford Road, Forest Gate, Tickets 40p. All welcome.

**LEWISHAM IS public meeting:** Women and the law. Speaker: Margaret Renn. Thursday 20 March, 8pm, The Albany, Creek Road, Deptford.

**ACTON IS public meeting:** Rising prices, redundancies, short-time working—what is going on? Speaker: John Palmer. Wednesday 26 March, 7.30pm, Acton Town Hall.

**WANDSWORTH IS public meeting:** The Struggle for women's equality. Speaker: Sara Carver (deputy mother of the chapel, NATSOPA clerical chapel, The Times). Wednesday 9 April, 8pm, Neighbourhood Centre, 172 Lavender Hill, Clapham Junction. All welcome.

**TWICKENHAM IS public meeting:** The Economic Crisis. Speaker: Michael Kidron. Thursday 20 March, 8pm, The Albany Hotel, Station Yard. All welcome.

## Meetings for IS members

**SOUTH EAST LONDON IS District meeting:** The Rank and File Movement. Sunday 23 March, 11am-5.30pm, The Albany, Creek Road, Deptford, SE8. All IS members in Lewisham, Southwark, Woolwich and Fools Cray branches to attend.

**IS AFRICA GROUP day school:** Sunday 20 April, 11am-6pm. Central London Polytechnic, Marylebone Road, London NW1. Sessions on Africa—the world context, South Africa and detente. The Future of Mozambique and Angola, New colonialism in Africa, Solidarity action in Britain. Accommodation available. Further details from IS Africa Group, c/o 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

**LONDON and the South East DAY SCHOOL ON ECONOMICS:** Know little about Marxist economics? You need to know more, and the IS political economy group have ways and means of making sure you do. Saturday 22 March, 12.30 to 5.30, Birbeck College Room 402, Gresse Street, London W1 (nearest tube Tottenham Court Road). Session one: Wages, prices and profits (D Fysh). Session two: Capitalism and the Common Market (M Kidron).

**NATIONAL IS AUEW FRACTION:** 5 April, 11am, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham. Admission by IS card.

**IS ASTMS Fraction:** Aggregate meeting in Birmingham Digbeth Hall, Saturday 13 April, 2.30pm.

**CENTRAL MANCHESTER District IS third training session:** The Labour Party. Speaker: Tony Richardson. Sunday 23 March, 2.30pm. Details from IS Bookshop.

**CRAWLEY/BRIGHTON/GUILDFORD District IS day school:** Rank and File Movements and the Fight against Redundancies. Sunday March 23, 11am-5.30pm, AUEW Hall, Robinson Road, Crawley.

**DISTRICT IS Day Schools:** The Theory of Rank and File Movements/The Fight against redundancies. **TEESSIDE:** Saturday 12 April. **LEEDS:** Sunday 13 April. **MANCHESTER:** Saturday 5 April. **NORTH WEST LONDON:** Saturday 13 April. **SOUTH EAST LONDON:** Sunday 23 March. **BRISTOL:** Sunday 27 April. **SOUTH WALES:** Saturday 5 April. **HITCHIN:** Saturday 12 April. **CRAWLEY:** Saturday 23 March. **OXFORD:** Saturday 27 April. Dates not yet fixed for Birmingham, Liverpool, East Anglia, West and South West London. Full details from branch/district secretaries.

## IS notices

**GEORGE FOULSER—Bermondsey, Seaman, class warrior and writer.** Died 28 February 1975, age 55. A great comrade who terrorised employers, landlords, and false prophets all over the world, an irreplaceable loss to so many friends in the international trade union and revolutionary movements to which he devoted his life's work. Memorial gathering 11am, Saturday 22 March, West London Crematorium, Kensal Green Cemetery, Harrow Road, London W10. Details from Helen, 20 Albion Drive, London E8 (phone 01-249 3533). Contributions towards funeral expenses appreciated.

**BUILDING WORKERS' SPEAKERS:** IS branches, fractions, districts etc wanting speakers on the Lump, unemployment in the building industry, or particularly on the Shrewsbury Two for May Day, contact the London IS Building Workers Branch. Write or phone Jan Goleb, flat 12, 45 Broadwick Street, London W1 (01-437 3978).

**MANCHESTER IS Social:** Friday 21 March, 8pm, Hulme Labour Club, Bonsall Street, Hulme. The Cato Street Conspiracy rock band. Northern Soul Dancers, disco. Admission 35p.

**WOMEN'S VOICE No 16 OUT SOON.** Would all IS branches please pay for previous issues as soon as possible. Send money or change of order to Business Manager, Women's Voice, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

**HELP!** Women's Voice business manager is being forced to get a job that pays! Is there an IS member in London who could work one day a week (unpaid) on distribution Write to Women's Voice, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

**LUTTE OUVRIERE FETE:** Saturday 17 May—Monday 19 May, near Paris. Details from Box F, IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

**CANADIAN and AMERICAN IS members** should contact Jeff Jackson, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 as soon as possible.

**SPEAKERS NOTES ON ABORTION** now available. Every branch should order at least one copy, but they must be paid for cost 2p, plus 4p postage. Order from the Training Organiser, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2, 8DN.

# Ireland: This day is vital

BRANCHES, districts and regions of IS should now be working all-out for the Troops Out Movement demonstration in London on Sunday 6 April. The IS Executive has called for a full national mobilisation of IS members and all those workers within the labour movement who see the need to get a campaign under way to get British troops out of Ireland.

Make sure that coaches are organised from all areas. Publicise the demonstration in factories and offices, and especially in colleges before they break for Easter. Posters are available from Socialist Worker sellers.

A leaflet is available at £1.50 per thousand from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Copies of

the leaflet will be sent to every part of the country this week for local reprinting or duplicating.

Take the campaign into the trade unions, in particular try to get trade union banners on to the demonstration. We need to show that many trade unionists are not swayed by the anti-Irish prejudice of the press. Use the leaflets to mobilise Irish workers by leafletting pubs and churches in Irish immigrant areas.

IS members will find the arguments for getting the troops out well put in the Troops Out Movement pamphlet, Ireland—An Alternative White Paper, also available from IS Books, price 15p.

# WHY WE NEED TO CHANGE THE CONFERENCE

A MAJOR item of discussion at last Saturday's meeting of the IS National Committee was the report of the Organisation Commission that was elected after last year's Conference.

Everyone agreed that the political perspectives—which were printed in shortened form in last week's Socialist Worker—pointed to the need for rapid moves towards a tougher and, at the same time, more flexible combat organisation. The recent publication in the national press of stories based on internal IS material demonstrated beyond dispute the need for much tighter security.

It was unanimously agreed to stop the production and circulation of minutes of the leading committees. In future only political documents will be circulated and, as far as possible, they will appear in Socialist Worker or International Socialism. A clear distinction was drawn by the National Committee between political discussion material, which should be freely available, and administrative, financial and other confidential matters which will not be divulged at all. There will still be an IS Bulletin, available to members, but it will be edited in this spirit.

The Commission's report drew attention to the fact that our organisation has changed quite dramatically over the past two years.

The most significant development was the move towards factory and workplace branches. The fact that we have... workplace branches has a tremendous influence on the way we work.

'District or Area Political Com-



mittees have commonly been established... organising the effective intervention of the group in the area covered. Where District Committees have been set up... the direction, organisation and initiative of the group has clearly improved... The value of developing this local leadership is clear.

'The strengthening of the existing District Committees and the building of committees in the other main areas... is a key part of the process of building IS into an organisation that functions in a central way politically but acts on local initiatives.'

## CONTROVERSIAL

The first three sections of the report, dealing with branch and district organisation, were unanimously endorsed. The fourth section, on the national organisation, proved more controversial. The two main issues here were the National Conference and the relations between Executive Committee and National Committee. There were majority and minority reports from the Organisation Commission and alternative proposals from the Executive Committee.

On Conference, the Executive Committee argued that the need was for a more businesslike conference that could give more serious attention

to various aspects of the work of IS. Such a conference must necessarily be longer and smaller in size than at present. The present conference was too much like a rally. (It is already agreed that a national rally will be held in the autumn.)

The shift from largish geographical branches towards smaller working units, both workplace and otherwise, co-ordinated by a district political leadership, required that the district aggregate must become the centre of political discussion.

The Executive Committee proposal was that the basis of delegacies should be changed to one per 30 members, that delegates should be elected by aggregates on a district basis and that conference last four and a half or five days. Where no functioning district yet existed, the Executive Committee would group branches for conference purposes.

There were various objections to this plan. It was argued by some members that, although the idea was right in principle, it required more extended discussion and should not be implemented before the 1975 conference, which is to be held at the end of May. Others thought that too large a proportion of the organisation still fell outside really well-established district committees and that, in any case, the branch should remain the electoral unit. The reduction in the number of delegates was objected to by some National Committee members because they saw Conference as a valuable training ground to which as many people as feasible should be sent.

## MAJORITY

After a thorough discussion the Executive Committee proposals were accepted by 16 votes to 14.

The Executive Committee and the majority report both recommended that in future the Executive Committee should be directly elected by Conference on a political basis and not, as at present, by the National Committee. This was agreed by a large majority.

The majority report proposed, instead of the present monthly National Committee, 'a larger bi-monthly meeting of nationally elected delegates spread over two days'.

Against this, the minority report proposed a nationally elected 30-member National Committee, meeting monthly, and the Executive Committee proposed replacing the National Committee altogether and establishing an IS Council, composed of delegates elected and recallable by each of the districts and national fractions, which would meet quarterly.

The majority of the National Committee favoured the bi-monthly meeting. Aggregate meetings will be held in every area in the next two months to discuss both political perspectives and proposed organisational changes. A fuller discussion of the March National Committee will be available to members shortly in the IS Bulletin.



## What we stand for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### WE ARE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

For unconditional support to all genuine national liberation movements.

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

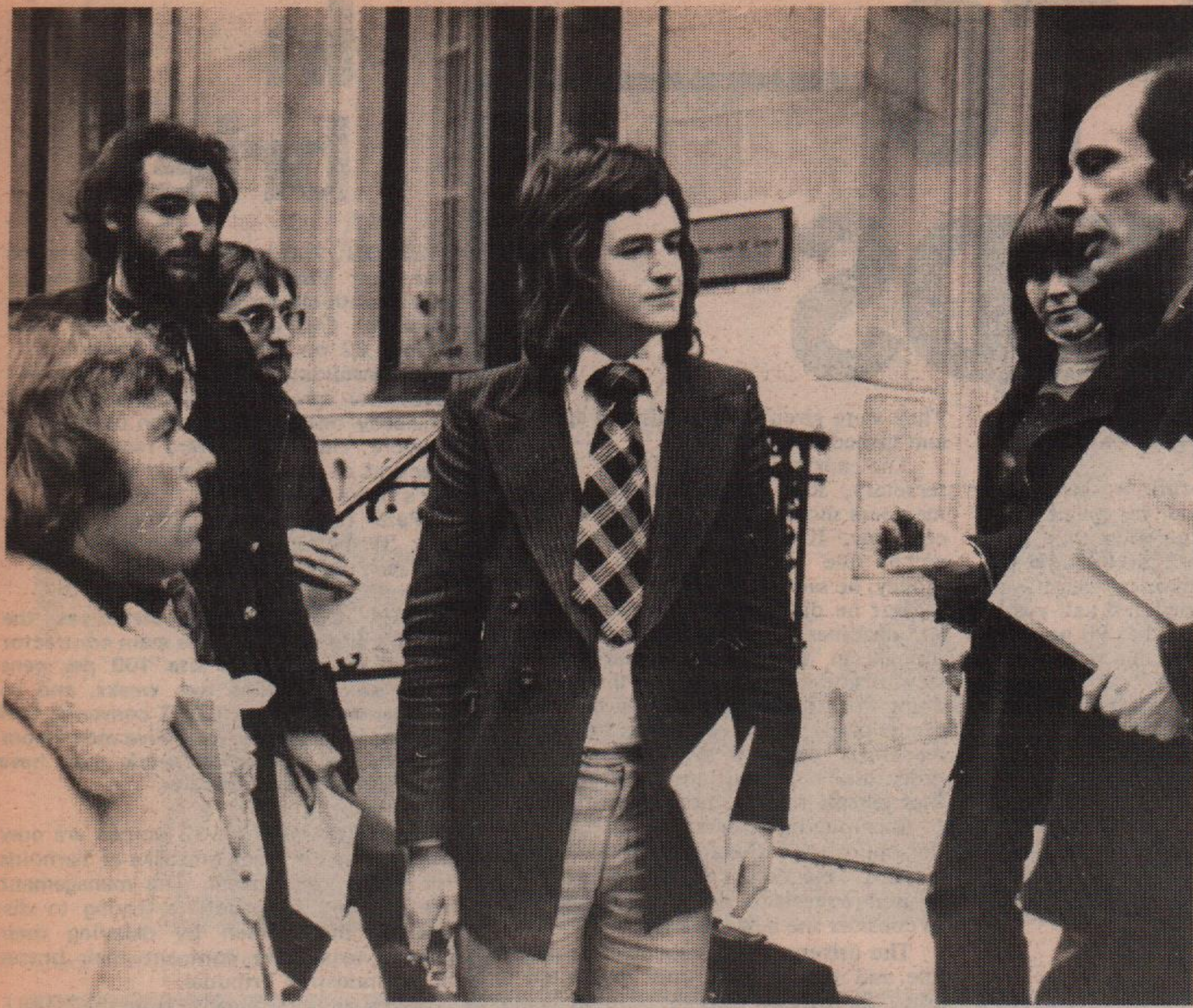
If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to:  
**The International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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





Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

# TEST FOR LIAISON COMMITTEE

Members and supporters of the Rank and File Organising Committee visiting the Chilean Embassy in London last week to protest at the violation of trade union rights

The delegation included shop stewards from London hospitals, the Royal docks and Heathrow Airport.

by Ken Appleby, Organiser, Rank and File Organising Committee.

THE coming conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has, potentially, a key role to play in freeing the Shrewsbury Two.

But the lack of effort in its organisation leaves no doubt that this is a 'low-key' operation—with the

likely outcome yet another 'demand' on the TUC.

Why is this, when in the past the LCDTU has been capable of leading significant independent action?

Although the LCDTU has existed since 1966, it wasn't until 'Red' Barbara Castle produced the 1966 Labour government's industrial relations blueprint, In Place of Strife, that it showed real guts. In February 1969 it called a strike of 150,000 workers, and on May Day 250,000 came out, with 20,000 demonstrating in London. Labour were forced to retreat over in Place of Strife.

When the Tories came to power in mid-1970, the LCDTU again proved its potential by working for the huge unofficial strike on 8 December against the Industrial Relations Bill.

This dissatisfaction came to a head at the March 1973 LCDTU Conference, when it was made obvious that the committee would not allow any democracy or calls for action that might embarrass the 'left' trade union bureaucracy.

A year later the first conference of the National Rank and File Movement took place, supported by 500 delegates from 270 Trade union bodies.

## EFFORT

Since then, the Rank and File Organising Committee has made a conscious effort to learn from what it sees as the mistakes of the LCDTU. It has not just called conferences, but has attempted to carry through the decisions made, in the form of small scale initiatives like organising the adoption of Chilean trade unionists, opening the Shrewsbury Dependents' Fund, supporting victimised trade unionists and running schools on safety, racialism and equal pay. These continuing activities have won the National Rank and File Movement its present, admittedly limited, credibility in the labour movement.

There are still two main problems facing the National Rank and File Movement. Firstly, how to strengthen the existing delegating Rank and File organisations in their respective industries and unions. For a genuine movement cannot be built on a paper membership.

Secondly, the National Rank and File Movement has still to prove itself viable in terms of local activities. Both these problems can only be resolved by sustained activity.

But, despite our criticisms, the LCDTU still has considerable muscle if only it would use it—especially in the fight to free the Shrewsbury pickets. That is why the National Rank and File Organising Committee approached them to make Saturday's conference a joint venture. We were disappointed that they rejected our initiative.

Nevertheless, we call on trade unionists to support this conference and to demand that the LCDTU call for all-out action from May Day whether or not the TUC do so.

## SILENT

July 1972 saw the Pentonville Five in jail. This was met with widespread industrial action, but the LCDTU was strangely silent. A strike for 5 September, called by the committee, was not argued for and received little support.

The miners' confrontation, which was to bring down the Tories, also met with silence from the Liaison Committee and since then, during the Labour government's administration, the Liaison Committee has virtually fallen asleep.

Why then, given the potential it had, has the LCDTU failed?

It is because of its relationship with the trade union leadership. The LCDTU now sees its role as *behind* the trade union leaders, attempting to push them, having abandoned its independent role. Therefore the LCDTU cannot relate to the current problems facing most trade unionists. That is the only explanation for the decrease in the committee's activity at a time when there has been a massive increase in unofficial rank and file activity.

It was because of this move towards 'respectability', because of its tight-rope walk between the bureaucracy and the rank and file, that many trade unionists became dissatisfied.

There will be a meeting for IS members delegated to the Liaison Committee at 8 Cottons Gardens, London, E2, at 8pm on Friday 21 March.

## YES, ACTION FROM BELOW! RANK AND FILE TEACHERS HIT BACK AT THE VENOMOUS MAX

by Jeannie Holborow (Redbridge NUT)

AT LAST the silence has been broken. The Teacher, the weekly paper of the National Union of Teachers, has given Max Morris a whole page to unleash his venom on Rank and File, the movement of socialist teachers in the NUT. Max Morris is a member of the NUT Executive, a member of the Communist Party and head teacher of a large London comprehensive.

Although he starts his article by describing some recent failures by Rank and File he carefully avoids mentioning some notable victories—for example the case of the South Hackney Five.

The article is timed to coincide with NUT Annual Conference. Here Rank and File, working through union procedures, have got their motion on the size of classes to the top of the agenda.

He accuses Rank and File of being 'the voice of a tiny Trotskyite minority'. 'What does this voice proclaim? If it has any theory it consists of three words: Action from Below.'

Here he has summed up correctly what Rank and File stands for in a union dominated by a few head teachers. Rank and File has three main policies, and anyone who agrees with these can be a supporter. It has members from the right of the Labour Party to the left of the revolutionary movement.

### Policies

These policies are:

ONE: A single salary scale for all teachers. Morris says: 'This is designed to set teachers on the lower scales against colleagues on the higher, and create maximum internal dissension in every school.' The idea of a single scale is of course to unite teachers at present divided into hundreds of different salary points.

TWO: Democracy in schools, so that people who work in the school take the decisions that will affect them. At the moment this power is in the hands of the head teacher. Morris defends this by saying 'the fact is that all head teachers teach in the classroom and in very many primary schools teach for most of the time.'

Teachers know this is just not true. The head is the administrator and boss in the school. Rank and File seeks to change this.

THREE: Democracy in the union. Morris says that the union is democratic because we have an annual conference. It is well known that the conference is made up of delegates in such a way that young teachers from urban areas are under-represented, while middle-aged male head teachers from rural areas abound.

He says we only support unofficial strikes. This is totally untrue. Only when the union fails to take effective action are the members forced to act unofficially.

We are not against the union, but wish to change it, and have the right to act independently if it fails to carry out our wishes, which is why we need a Rank and File organisation.

# Metals closure shows need for big link-up

Picture: John Sturrock (Report)



Betty McCann

IF there was one, single compelling argument for the need to build a rank and file movement within the trade unions it comes out of the dispute at Progressive Metals, Port Glasgow. The 18 women previously employed by Progressives have just had their strike settled—by the closure of the factory. The company has called in a liquidator and shut up shop.

A strong rank and file movement would have been able to give the financial backing and get the backing of Progressives that the women needed. It would have been able to overcome the isolation of this long and bitter struggle.

Betty McCann, the convenor, says the strike has a lesson to teach many workers—men and women—and for this reason she

is giving the Rank and File Organising Committee's Women Workers Conference on redundancies full support. 'It is important that women trade unionists get together to discuss the issue of the right to work and how to fight,' she told Socialist Worker.

The strike committee will be delegated to the conference in Manchester on Saturday 26 April because, like many other workers, the women involved in this strike feel there is an immediate need to link up the fight against redundancy and for equal pay in which more and more of them are becoming involved.

The conference is about women, but not just for women. Women workers are often the first to be sacked, laid off or put on short time, but this affects the standard of living of thousands of working men, women and their families. That is why men trade unionists have to support the fight for equal pay, and the fight for women for the right to work.

That is what didn't happen at Progressive Metals. After their long and bitter dispute neither side won. Betty expressed the feeling of the women when she said: 'It is a great feeling to know that Price—the boss of Progressive Metals—has been forced to close down.'

The women began their action over the lack of heating—when they came back after a day's stoppage the manager told them they had been sacked.

They were isolated from the start, and never got the solidarity they needed from other trade unionists. As in other disputes at small factories the women's success depended on other factories blacking Progressive products. Throughout their 18-week strike they were relying on workers at Chrysler, Linwood to black their products.

The senior stewards at Chrysler have a lot to answer for in not fighting the women's case. They repeatedly gave assurances to the convenor that the work would be blacked, but they did nothing, and in fact didn't care too much. Had the AUEW officials and convenors in the area been only half as courageous as the women who stood on the picket line during the wildest winter weather, the strike would have been short and victorious.

For details of the Women's Conference and for forms for credentials write to Roger Cox, Secretary, Rank and File Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

## Women's TUC calls for abortion on demand

THE Womens TUC, meeting in Hastings, last Friday, carried overwhelmingly a resolution supporting the call for abortion on demand on the National Health.

The TUC was asked to mount a campaign for this, although the TUC itself has no policy on abortion. Its new charter, Twelve Aims for Women at Work, contains no demand for abortion or contraception because, as Ethel Chipchase, their women's organiser, told Socialist Worker: 'Not all trade unionists are agreed about it. The TUC Charter can only contain the things the Congress agrees on.' They will now have to be forced to change their minds!

The Women's TUC has no power to affect policy, being only an advisory body, but again it voted not to disband itself.

The IS Women's Sub-Committee has agreed on the details of a campaign to prevent the amendment to the Abortion Act becoming law. The following resolution should be moved through trade union branches and trades councils:

'The amendment to the Abortion Act coincides with severe cuts in expenditure

in the NHS, social services and education. Both will severely restrict the availability of abortions to working-class women, without in any way preventing the abuse of the Act by profiteers. Rather than make abortions more difficult for ordinary women to obtain they should be freely available on demand, on the NHS.

'The branch supports the call for a demonstration in June, calls on the TUC to adopt the demand for abortion as a part of its Women's Charter, calls on the National Executive of the Union to organise on the issue, to support the demonstration and to put pressure on the union's parliamentary group to vote against the amendment.

'This branch will organise a publicity and propaganda campaign by organising public meetings, leaflets etc. And these decisions will be circulated as widely as possible, to the press, TV and affiliated branches.'

Speakers notes have now been produced for IS branches and members, price 2p (plus postage). A fact sheet for wide distribution in the trade union movement will be printed within the next couple of weeks—details will appear in Socialist Worker. Socialist Worker would also like to hear about any activity in your area.

## HACKNEY FIVE ARE CLEARED

THE Board of Governors of South Hackney School in North London unanimously dismissed the case against the five teachers the Inner London Education Authority had requested the Board to consider disciplining, for striking to free the Shrewsbury Two on the day of the TUC lobby.

The NUT Executive refused to give any support, saying the action was 'unofficial'. Indeed they allowed a letter from Sir Edward Britton, NUT general secretary to the ILEA making this point to be used in evidence against the five. Only the governors' dismissal of the case

prevented this happening.

The five, together with their union branch, the Hackney Teachers' Association, put out an immense amount of publicity, including a broadsheet titled TEACHERS' RIGHTS UNDER FIRE. They had got wide-ranging support from branches of the NUT and a number of other unions, including NALGO in the inner sanctum of County Hall itself.

The ILEA representative countered this slap in the face by promising that if it happened again the ILEA would take up the matter directly, without going through the usual channel of the school's

governing body.

There are still threats hanging over the heads of five teachers at Phoenix School in East London and three at Garratt Green, Wandsworth for solidarity strikes with Scottish teachers and over the Houghton salaries award.

Letters and motions of support to: Education Officer, ILEA, County Hall, London SE1; NUT, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1. Copies to NUT representatives at Phoenix School, 49 Bow Road, London E3, and Garratt Green School, Burntwood Lane, London SW17.

# UNITY NEEDED TO BEAT COURTAULDS

**DERBY:—Despite Courtaulds' ruthless exploitation of immigrant labour, its playing off of non-union against union labour, and the problems of a workforce where unions are disorganised, passive and divided, some workers are fighting the giant company.**

At its British Celanese Works at Spondon 750 members of UCATT, AUEW, and the EETPU are on strike

in support of an £8 wage demand.

Recent increases far above this for local Rolls-Royce workers make the men angry at the company's offer of £5 now and another £3 in September. Eric Cockayne, chairman of the shop stewards committee, told Socialist Worker: 'We are not interested in the Social Contract, which means different things to different people. It is the government that has "welshed" on the Social Contract. They have betrayed all trade unionists below the rank of miner.'

There has been some criticism on the picket line of the negotiating committee's

decision to reduce the claim from £15 to £8, and if the strike goes on the claim may be raised.

Courtaulds' 1974 profit worked out at £1 for every £1 paid in wages. The company claim that the offer they have made will cost a mere £250,000 and say they can't afford to pay more because of poor trading figures. The latest half-yearly profit figures show a further 90 per cent rise to £79 million, which makes nonsense of this sob story.

The 3000 process workers are still at work. On Tuesday last week the strikers' leaders spoke to the TGWU Shop Stewards' Committee and asked for their full support.

They were given a good round of applause and turned down.

The advice of the TGWU district secretary, Reg Harris, was that TGWU members should wait until laid off by the company. If they refused to cross the picket line now they would lose dole money, he said.

But he did say members should black all machines repaired by management—though in the latest circular to shop stewards he has now warned them against doing this. 'I would advise you that in the event of a person refusing to operate machinery which is safe and in running order, and as a result are sent home, then that person will not normally be entitled to unemployment benefits . . .' Exactly the opposite of the advice he gave at the stewards' meeting, yet the convenor has refused requests for an emergency meeting to consider the new situation.

The drivers at first respected the picket line and turned back until instructed to driver through by their shop stewards, who stood at the gate and waved them on. This hampered the efforts of the pickets to turn away outside drivers, who see Celanese drivers going through and change their minds.

Stan Simpson, TGWU shop steward, told Socialist Worker: 'This is a bad day for the trade union movement at Celanese, when one union fails to support another over a major issue of wages. We ourselves, have our annual pay increase due in June and if the strikers are forced back on management terms, what hope have we got?'

## GUTLESS

'I personally feel absolutely disgusted that we in the TGWU have let down our brothers in the AUEW. It's about time we got organised and formed a joint shop stewards committee, so that this never happens again, which is all too common in the Courtaulds group.

'About 17 of us voted to support the engineers, but I am angry at the gutless way our convenor and district secretary have handled this situation and refused to give a lead to the men. The engineers must win. I hope they set up a strike fund so that we can begin collecting for them in the factory.'

There are many Asian workers at the factory and one of their leaders told Socialist Worker: 'The feeling in Furzebrook at the moment is that each and every worker is in favour of the engineers and they are looking to the union leaders to call a strike in support. Instead we are left to make our own decisions.

'The problem is that for a long time the workers had no confidence. Many are afraid of unemployment. This is what we have to try to change by daily argument. But there is no clear lead from the union, instead there is more uncertainty.'

## No wage cuts here say hosiery women

by Pete and Teresa Webster  
(Hosiery Workers)

**LEICESTER:—60 women at the Oadby hosiery factory of R Rowley, part of the Courtaulds group, are on strike against management attempts to introduce the minutes system of wage payments.**

One girl from each section was called into the office last week and told that from Monday they would be on this system—and that was that. This would have meant an up to 50 per cent drop in earnings for some girls, and at least an £8 drop for all.

On Monday morning the women, all members of the Hosiery Workers Union, refused to accept these new rates and organised a sit-in. The union was called in and immediately made it official. The women we spoke to seem to think that management want to close the factory and this was a way of getting people to leave without having to pay redundancy money.

So far the girls are well organised, and the picket is involving most of the strikers, who have also got complete use of the works canteen. The only van that has been allowed through the picket line was the wages van.

'We're not asking for higher wages, but I'm damned sure we're not going to take a reduction,' was a typical comment from the strikers. 'If other silly buggers want to take wage cuts they can, but we're not!', another woman said. The women are in a fighting mood. Further talks were to take place.



Hosiery workers on the picket line at Rowleys

## Classified

Entries for the Classified column must arrive by first post Monday. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 3p a word. CASH WITH COPY to Classified, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Adverts that arrive without payment will be charged at double the rate.

**HISTORY WORKSHOP 9: BRITAIN BETWEEN THE WARS, 1920-1940. RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD.** Friday afternoon. May 2-Sunday May 4, 1975.

Admission (bookable only in advance) £2 for weekend. (OAP and unsupported mothers 50p) Numbers limited to 500. Block bookings to 12. Tickets from History Workshop, 49 Elder Avenue, Crouch End, London N8.

**BIG FLAME JOURNAL:** A journal of revolutionary socialism. Number one out now. Articles on women's struggles during Tower Hill rent strike, Portugal, autonomy and the social struggles. Fords, industrial struggle 1969-1974. Price 25p from all good bookshops, single copies 25p from Big Flame Publications, '632' Bookshop, 632 Bristol Road, Birmingham 20. Bulk/Bookshop rates on request.

**RADICAL ALTERNATIVES TO PRISON BENEFIT:** In conjunction with Unity Theatre. Thursday 20 March, 7.45pm, Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington St, St Pancras Road, London NW1. Tickets 50p.

**JOHN AND MARGARET LLYWARCH** invite you to enjoy a North Wales farm-house holiday. Clean air, mountain streams, country rambles, fishing, wildlife galore, barbecues. A children's paradise and only two miles from a main line railway station. For terms ring 069-186 2272 or write to Bryn Iddon, Bron y Garth, Oswestry, Salop.

**THE SITUATION IN IRELAND—and what the labour movement in Britain can do.** Sunday 23 March, 2pm, West London Troops Out Movement Conference. Small hall, Hammersmith Town Hall, King St, London W6.

**THE ORGANISATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISTS** by Pietr Arshinov, Nestor Makhno, etc. 20p from left bookshops of 13 Colman Street, Hull. An Anarchist Workers Association publication.

**THE CIA IN BRITAIN:** public meeting arranged by North London Anarchist Workers Association. Roebuck pub (corner of Maple Street and Tottenham Court Road). Tuesday 25 March, 8pm. (Nearest tube Warren Street)

**HISTORICAL MATERIALISM—**a socialist analysis of the materialist conception of history. Friday March 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Questions. Discussion. Meeting launches new booklet in which the MCH is expounded with clarity and simplicity. Copies available 25p each, post paid, from The Socialist Party of Great Britain, Dept 3PC, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT:** demonstration 6 April. Assemble 1.30pm, Clerkenwell Green, march to Whitehall, London.

**THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT AND IRELAND Conference,** Saturday 24 May. Get your trade union branch delegated to this vital conference. Sponsoring letters signed by ten Labour MPs from: Troops Out Movement, 103 Hammersmith Road, London W14. Trades councils have already been invited.

**Fight the Lump! Free the Shrewsbury Two! Support the Mitcham building workers pickets!** Come and see: Broadside: The Big Lump. Combine: The Shrewsbury Show. Speakers: Allan Tattam and Jack Henry. Monday 24 March, 8pm, Oval House, 54 Kennington Oval, London SE11 (nearest tube Oval).

**NEW PLAY by CAST Theatre Group:** Sam the Man. Thursday 20 March, 8.30pm, Central London Poly, 104-108 Bolsover Street, London W1.

**SCOTTISH Rank and File Busmen's meeting:** Sunday 6 April, 2.30pm, Room 3, Edinburgh Trades Council, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

**Public meeting on SPAIN.** Speakers: Miguel Garcia (Spanish Solidarity Committee) and Robin Blackburn (IMG). Friday 21 March 7pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Organised by Spanish Solidarity Committee and Amnesty International.

**VICTORY TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE!** Public meeting: speaker Moses Gareob (administrative secretary of SWAPO). Thursday 20 March, 7pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. Organised by the Namibia Support Committee as part of mobilisation for 23 March demonstration.

Mr Oligarchy says don't miss **KARTOON KLOWNS** new play—**MUGGINS NO LONGER: SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM**—for all comrades labouring against the wages of alienation. Comfort the gorillas and smash cultural oppression. Coming soon. Watch this space.

**100 MEN WANTED** for organising and running crèche for Women's Liberation Conference, being held in Manchester 4, 5, 6 April. Please contact John at 061-794 1389 or write c/o MWL, 218 Upper Brook Street, Manchester 13 with offers of help/money.

**TWO COMRADES** wanted to share house in Peterborough with telephone, shower, freezer and well-stocked garden. Jobs available locally. Write J Broadbent 140 Clarence Road, Peterborough PE1 2LE.

**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.

## POLICE THROW OUT STUDENT OCCUPATION

**AT LANCASTER** University the police are being used against students who are in their second week of occupation of the college administration.

In the high court last week an injunction was served on the 1,100 students involved in the occupation. The police were brought in on Tuesday morning and cleared 200 students out of the University House.

It is an ominous warning to all students and trade unionists involved in fighting to defend jobs and conditions. For if the police can be used to clear a student occupation then they can be used to clear a factory occupation.

The dispute started when a student was refused a hardship loan on the grounds that he was on rent strike. The vice-chancellor, Charles Carter, then raised the stakes by pushing a resolution through the college senate warning that all involved in the occupation would be expelled from the campus. Immediately more than a thousand students signed a petition stating that they had been in the occupation.

This failed to impress the vice-chancellor, who called a further meeting of the Senate. The student representatives were excluded from the room and a new threat issued.

'Senate resolve to establish, as appropriate, machinery for dealing with disruption caused by the occupation of University House, a committee . . . with the duty of receiving . . . evidence about the involvement of the individuals with the occupation and of deciding who if anyone should be charged with offences and of arranging for their prosecution . . .'

Twelve months ago students at ESSEX University were faced with a similar situation, including the involve-

ment of the police. It appears that the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals is pulling strings behind the scenes. They held a secret meeting last weekend to advise the Lancaster vice-chancellor what to do.

Unfortunately the mistakes made at Essex may be repeated. Although hundreds of students are involved in the occupation some members of the executive of the Students Union are under the illusion that Carter can be forced to discipline everyone rather than a few.

The Senate has now met again and changed the terms of the disciplinary tribunal. Right of appeal will be to one reactionary professor. Any student who is called before the tribunal will be automatically excluded from the university while the tribunal deliberates. Carter is aiming to break the students' union and pick off the key militants. Only the most vigorous fight back can succeed.

## DRAGGED

Lancaster is important for all students in the fight against the education cuts. There can be no doubt that other administrations are watching with care to see if Carter can get away with ending the occupation and successfully victimising a few students. With the backing of the vice-chancellors' committee it looks like the dispute could be long and the occupation dragged into the vacation.

Lancaster needs national support. If students lose there it could set back students opposition to the cuts considerably. Telegrams of support should be sent from trade union branches, student union and IS Societies to the Students Union, Lancaster University, Bailrigg, Lancaster.

## In brief

**PRESTON:** 250 tradesmen at Courtaulds Red Scar Viscose plant are continuing their month-old strike in support of their claim for £40 basic. Management have offered £2 on top of their present £31, plus consolidation of the threshold and have now agreed to open the proposed efficiency deal to negotiation on a return to work. The shop steward recommended rejection of the new offer at last Wednesday's strike meeting.

Pete Lingard, pipe fitters' steward, said: 'If the lads stay out, it is important that we seek support from elsewhere.'

**SOUTH LONDON:** The strike at the Leach's site won after the main contractor agreed to make the site 100 per cent trade union, within two weeks, and to co-operate with the UCATT convenor, Carl Cooper, to recruit the men. Five men whom the strikers refused to work with have been removed from the site.

**WOLVERHAMPTON:** 32 women are now in the fifteenth week on strike at Yarnolds for union recognition. The management are refusing to negotiate, trying to dishearten the women by delaying their chance to openly confront their bosses at the Industrial Tribunal.

More support is needed from the TGWU, in picketing, blacking and with financial help. As the chairman of Wolverhampton Trades Council said: 'This is one of the most vital disputes that has occurred in the area for a long time. Only with positive rank and file trade union support will this vital dispute be won.'

Messages of support and donations to Yarnolds Strike Committee, c/o TGWU Offices, 33 Berry Street, Wolverhampton.

**OXFORD:** Short-time working has come to Cowley. All year British Leyland has been worried about building up stocks before the launch of its new model. Overtime was banned on this model in the assembly plant to strengthen the workers' hand in the annual wage review, but it was not solid, and the senior stewards eventually recommended it be called off.

Now management is confident about meeting their target figure before the launch they have announced the inevitable: short time. Only the Marina is affected at the moment, but the 4,500 workers will be out all Easter weekend and then be on a four-day and three-night week. If the Budget is not 'favourable', worse will follow.

**CASTLE BROMWICH:** The 600 toolroom workers at the British Leyland plant are back at work after a five-week strike that started after management stalling during a three-month negotiating period and a desisory offer. They had also insisted that no increase would be paid to anyone until all grades of labour in the factory had agreed their settlements, including new measured day work standards.

After five weeks on strike without the support of the AUEW Executive—although the Birmingham AUEW East District Committee endorsed their actions—the men have accepted a compromise. They are returning to work for two weeks, with an interim payment of £15.

Management have withdrawn the condition that every group settle before the toolroom get their increase. If an agreement can still not be reached the situation may flare up again.

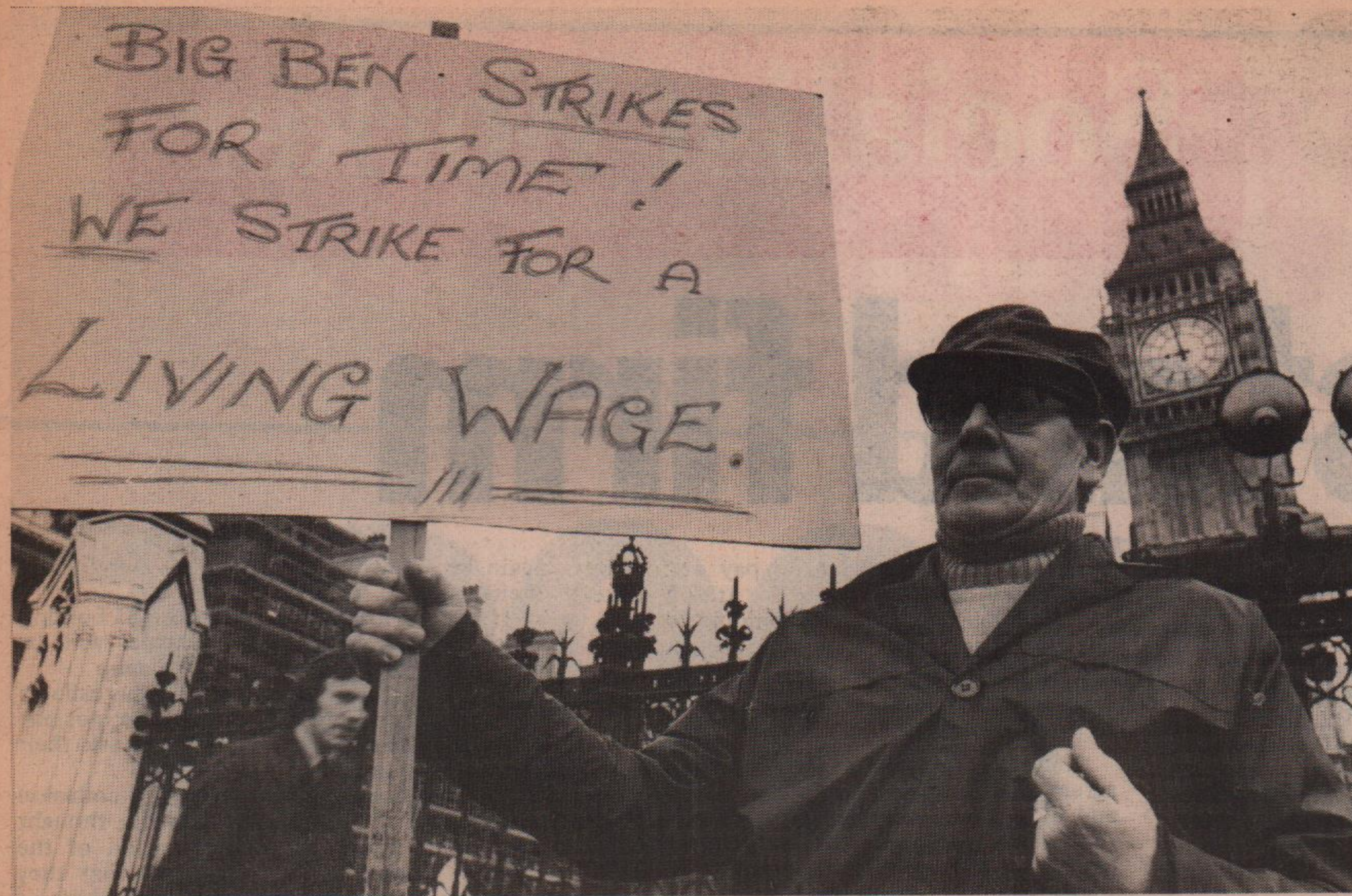
**NORTH LONDON:** 97 workers at Maccady's steel stocholders have returned to work after winning their strike for a London weighting claim. They have won a £3 weighting increase, the immediate payment of consolidated thresholds and an agreement to negotiate new grading scales. Union representative George Dias thanks all those who have given the strikers help and financial support.

**DUNDEE:** 40 shipbuilders at the Smith and Hutton fitting yard were given the sack, with no notice two weeks ago. The men replied by occupying the yards and mounting a 24-hour picket, preventing management from moving one of the boat engines.

They are now working on the boats which gives them work until August, and they have received a guarantee from one of the buyers. The bosses at Smith and Hutton admitted at a meeting of the town council that the shutdown was their fault through overspending, and their American financiers had withdrawn further backing. Donations and support to Bert McNally, Smith and Hutton workers, Victoria Docks, Dundee.

**LOUGHBOROUGH:** All 300 workers at the bus builders at Willowbrook have been on strike for two weeks over the sacking of a TGWU shop steward who refused to touch work blacked in a long-standing bonus and overtime dispute. Management claim they are defending a principle—their right to sack who they want, and they are refusing to negotiate.

Many of the men are convinced that the strike was provoked deliberately to head off militancy. Pickets are being respected, and attempts to get apprentices to scab, and move vehicles at night, have failed.



Electrician Stan Wright picketing outside parliament

## 500 strikers show what they think of parliamentary privilege

'WHEN you're dealing with the government there's always someone else the dispute has to be referred to. We've waited too bloody long and we want a settlement.'

Monty Alter was standing outside the Houses of Parliament last Monday, and was speaking on behalf of the Department of Environment pickets who are striking for a pay award which was due last month.

The strike involves 500 workers from ten unions and they are being backed throughout London by other Department of Environment (DoE) workers—who are being asked to pay a £5-a-week levy to keep the strikers going.

The gap between wages inside the Department and outside sparked the strike on 10 March. The workers were promised an inquiry into this gap at their last settlement—it was due in January, but hasn't appeared.

'It's bloody stupid', said a stoker. 'The comparability study has gone on for months. They can afford £5 million for a new car park. Yet they can't afford to

pay us. If they find it difficult the union can put it together for them in three days—and for nothing.'

From Trafalgar Square, down Whitehall to Parliament, the strike is solid. It is organised by the London Group Committee Staff Side Association. No union has yet made it official—and the strikers have been angered by the picket-breaking sanctioned by union leaders such as Tom Jackson of the Post Office workers.

'Support and financial assistance has come from all London districts', the committee has announced. 'The DoE in Northern Ireland have sent money—and they wanted to join us on the strike,' claimed one of the pickets.

### Complaints

'All we've got from the Tory MPs has been V-signs', said an electrician. 'The Tribune MPs have said they support us, and we've had the public stopping and saying, "Good on you lads, we're with you, keep it up."'

So have other DoE workers such as Mike Lang from the British Museum. He took Monday afternoon leave to join the pickets outside Parliament. 'We're giving the strike full support. The fact is we're relying on them. The kind of complaints I've had from members when I've gone round with collection sheets—from the old blokes—is: "I've been paying union dues for 30 years so why aren't they paying these lads and making it official?"'

'It's not that they mind shelling out, but the unions should make it official.'

Within Parliament the rubbish is piling up, the heating is down to half and the food is down to sandwiches. But conditions for the workers have never been good, as another picket explained. 'What's crazy about it is the MPs sit in there passing resolutions about the Factory Acts—and yet they break it all over the place in there.'

'We work well below ground level, with no natural daylight, and they have the cheek to go on about Factory Acts!'

The strikers are fighting with round-the-clock pickets. Support is needed—and many DoE workers argue that the answer is simple: spread the strike!

Strike fund collection sheets are available from the London Group Committee, 82 Charing Cross Road, London WC2, or send contributions direct to K O'Connor, Supplies Department Division, Greycoats Street Depot, London SW1.

# Pay beds: Workers oppose consultants

LONDON:—The battle at Westminster Hospital has made the big headlines this week.

The 400-strong National Union of Public Employees branch has been fighting to get at least some private beds closed during the Easter break. The hospital authorities insist that for the staff holidays only National Health Service beds should be closed.

But the real battle—and the cancer at the heart of the NHS—lies elsewhere, not with the ancillary workers, who are fighting to save the NHS but with the highly-paid consultants.

'Gradually the consultants' work-to-contract is wrecking the NHS,' commented the secretary of a London NUPE branch. Now members of the Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association, the big money boys of the NHS, are threatening to close wards, hospitals, limit entry of overseas doctors, boycott NHS committees and bring the NHS toppling down if their demands aren't met.

While some consultants are attempting to break the NHS to hold on to their money, privileges and power, the other health workers are fighting to get private beds out of the hospitals now—and make the NHS a service for all the people. In LONDON the fight against private beds

by Nigel Fountain

has centred on Hammersmith, Moorfields and now Westminster hospitals.

NUPE members at Moorfields have issued a long statement nailing the campaign against them by the national press. They point out how private beds at Moorfields—at 12 per cent of the total—were three times the London average.

'Now the consultants have taken over a floor at the Wellington Hospital—a new private venture—with hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of equipment. Prices there are twice that of the normal private rate,' pointed out a doctor at Hackney Hospital.

### Total ban

'People can't afford private medicine,' explained another NUPE member, 'and they can't get NHS treatment. The consultants are trying to curb the entry of foreign doctors and to close wards and hospitals. The result, they hope, will be that a pool of desperate people will be forced to use their facilities.'

At Hammersmith and Moorfields there has been a total ban on private patients

for months now. At Westminster Hospital NUPE members originally demanded the closure of a complete ward of 15 beds at Easter, but they scaled it down to eight. Still the hospital authorities wouldn't budge. After trying to get agreement, the workers banned services to private patients.

The 400 predominantly women staff has been solid—except for the kitchen supervisor Sid Hook and the head hospital porter Ramon Dias. Hook has been smuggling food into the sixth floor private patients section while Dias has moved equipment from the basement to the private wing.

Neither are union members. Dias claimed that he couldn't act unless so instructed by his National Association of Hospital Head Porters. 'That lot?' exclaimed a NUPE member. 'All they do is meet once a year and have a drink.'

'If they advise me then I will do so,' Dias said. Had he asked them? 'No I haven't.'

Hook and Dias' action by Monday evening had led NUPE members to threaten to close the entire hospital. How did Dias feel about that? 'I take orders from the hospital secretary,' he replied. He

didn't see any question of solidarity with other workers in the hospital, and he announced that he didn't want 'to answer any questions.'

In MANCHESTER, at the Christie Hospital NUPE members have acted against consultants using NHS facilities to jump the queue for trivial operations like nose straightenings, and other 'beautifying' surgery.

'This type of surgery is highly profitable for the consultants and their reactions have more to do with their bank balances than their clinical judgement', stated a leaflet put out just before a NUPE mass meeting backing the ban.

## Devon: 140 fight closure

DEVON:—76 men and 64 women face redundancy at Bonas Tapes, makers of zip fastener tapes, in Ilfracombe. Management are threatening to close the factory by autumn.

The management are claiming the closure on the general economic situation and the flood of cheap Japanese imports. While management is going on about cheap Japanese labour, the very reason they took over the Ilfracombe factory was the availability of cheap labour in Devon.

The local TGWU official, Jim Pedley, has spent weeks of letter writing but has achieved nothing. He even kept invited trade union speakers outside a branch meeting while he allowed members of management inside.

It is the workers at Bonas Tapes whose

jobs are at stake, and they are the ones who have to act to prevent the closure. An action committee has now been formed. At its first public meeting 90 members of Bonas Tapes attended to hear Alan Watts, a shop steward from M K Electrics in North London, speak on fighting redundancies.

The action committee is working to keep finished tapes inside the factory, as there is more than half a million pounds worth of tapes inside, and to stop any attempt to move machinery from leaving the factory.

The action committee is anxious to get in touch with other West Country trade unionists to build support. Its address is c/o Stan Morgan, 16 Belvedere Road, Ilfracombe.

## Powermen and railmen out to break Social Contract

NEGOTIATIONS over claims by railwaymen and electricity supply workers will determine the survival of the Social Contract.

Electricity supply manual workers are demanding an offer that would raise their lowest grade of £29.82 to the pit surface workers' £41 minimum. This would leave another large hole in the Social Contract. Including consolidation of the threshold this would mean increases of around 34 per cent.

Many of the 106,000 electricity supply workers live in mining communities. Their success would help the 30,000 power engineers and 50,000 office staff in the power industry. Both have demanded 'substantial increases.'

The pit surface men also set the target for 200,000 railway workers for the NUR is committed to matching their increases. Negotiations begin on Friday over a 35 per cent claim.

But after letting the miners through the government is preparing to fight. Michael Foot, the Employment Secretary, now says that the miners' deal was a 'special settlement' because of the role they play in the economy.

He means that it was special because of what industrial action might do to the economy. But the power workers have met a different response. On Monday night negotiations broke down in deadlock. The government has been pressurising

the Electricity Council to resist and try to keep the Social Contract going.

The National Coal Board is following the government's decision to resist further claims by refusing to give clerical staff rises equivalent to the surface workers. COSA, the white-collar section of the NUM, has appealed to Mick McGahey, the vice-president of the NUM, to help put pressure on the Coal Board. COSA are demanding a rise of 30.5 per cent including consolidation of the threshold.

But the pressure is not just on the Coal Board or the Electricity Council. The leaders of the four unions involved with the power workers—the TGWU, GMWU, AUEW and most important the EETPU—are also under pressure from the government to preserve the Contract.

They must be put under even more pressure from rank and file members to fight all the way. Any deal of less than 30 per cent will mean a fall in living standards.

But the pressure must be put on not just for each individual group to resist and fight for their claims, but for united action across the whole public sector. We need to build rank and file links between different groups in particular areas. Proper representative delegate committees are needed, to spread action nationally and to campaign among other trade unionists for public sector workers to take industrial action.

## SCAFFOLDERS REJECT PLAN TO GO TO TRIBUNAL

NEWCASTLE-U-T:—Scaffolders at McAlpine's Eldon Square site are still on strike against the victimisation of 14 men.

Dave Shenton, Transport and General Workers Union regional secretary, recently sent a ballot paper to each scaffolder asking if they wished to go to an independent tribunal. When all the ballot papers showed unanimous rejection of the tribunal he said that he would go ahead with it anyway.

The 10 pickets who were arrested accused of crimes such as swearing and threatening behaviour, are being sent to the crown court. When the date of the trial is announced the strike committee is calling for a national picket at the court. All trade unionists should respond to this call to show their solidarity with the scaffolders.

Information regarding the pickets can be obtained from E Brady, 86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle. Donations to B Alderson, 13 Bamborough Towers, Newcastle 12.

## Socialist Worker MAY DAY GREETINGS

Socialist Worker is including a special four-page supplement for the many trade union bodies, shop stewards committees and other labour organisations who wish to send May Day greetings.

The rates for advertisements will be:  
'Special' Classified insertion (up to 20 words) 50p  
Semi-display, per single column inch (size 1in x 2in) £1  
Display, per single column inch £2

Advance space may be booked now by telephone. Ring 01-739 2639. All copy or art work must be received by Friday, 18 April.

Send to Socialist Worker (May Day), 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.  
Message:

Name and address of Organisation:

Size and Style of Advertisement

Payment Enclosed:

# London

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# dockers stand firm

**LONDON:—**The strike of 10,000 dockworkers which has completely shut the docks for three weeks is to continue. A mass meeting of 5000 men at the Royal Docks on Monday voted by about four to one to fight on.

This vote showed that the dockers realise the importance of this fight for the future of their jobs and of the whole docks industry. The vote has added significance: the men know they are fighting alone in London, but

still stayed out.

The assistance the London dockers have received from dockers in other ports has been, to say the least, pitiful. The men in other ports will suffer if London is beaten.

Forty-five ships have been diverted from Tilbury Docks alone. They haven't just disappeared into thin air, they've been worked somewhere.

In 1972 the strength of the dockers was the National Port Shop Stewards Committee. In this fight it has run away from the issue. London isn't on strike simply over blacking

lorries, or being put back on pay or to win one or two container bases: we are on strike for the whole principle of defending our jobs, and extending the Dock Labour Scheme. Every shop steward worth his salt knows that.

Yet all sorts of excuses have been stuck up why they shouldn't support us.

London can only go back to work if we agree to call off our campaign of picketing and blacking. The employers have laid that on the line. If we do go back on those terms, no docker in any port in the country will ever

again be able to claim work that is rightfully theirs.

If London loses, all dockers lose. If London wins: the Dock Labour Scheme will be strengthened, so every docker will gain.

Yet so far, not one single port has called a mass meeting to put the London case, not one committee has had the courage to ask their men for support.

The London Port Employers, in collusion with the Road Haulage Association, thought they could break the determination of the London docker. They calculated that they could beat the London dockers in a show of strength. They completely miscalculated the determination of the men in London to fight for their jobs.

It is not the determination of the men that is cracking but that of the employers, who have £180 million worth of exports on their hands and are now seeking direct talks with the union.

The Port of London still handles 20 per cent of the export trade of this country. Tilbury is the largest container port in Britain. London is strong enough to win this fight on its own. But the fight will now be longer and bitter than it would have been with national support.

London dockers have got a proud record of support and solidarity with other trade unionists in struggle. Dockers in London now need some of that support returned. Donations to: Royal Group Shop Stewards Committee, 51 Creighton Ave, East Ham, London E6.

## Tuesday: All out against the National Front

**LONDON:—**The National Front is holding a demonstration outside Islington Town Hall next Tuesday to protest over the council's refusal to let them use the town hall for a meeting.

Says the Front's internal bulletin: 'Like last year's Red Lion Square activity this could be one of those special events which those members who do not attend will curse themselves for missing.'

Red Lion Square was where anti-fascist demonstrator Kevin Gately met his death.

The National Front at first received permission to use the hall from Islington Labour leader Gerry Southgate. This triggered a wave of opposition from local trade unionists. Town hall workers and others threatened action and the full council reversed Southgate's decision.

For the National Front the demonstration is a national mobilisation. 'Groups out of London are expected to go out of their way to back up London members in what could be a very considerable confrontation with the Left,' states the bulletin.

The International Socialists executive committee is calling on all London members and student members from IS Student Societies to support an anti-fascist picket outside the town hall. This is being organised by the NALGO Action Group in support of resolutions passed by the Islington NALGO Town Hall branch and the local trades council.

PICKET: Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London N1. 5.30pm. Tuesday 25 March. Nearest tubes: Highbury and Islington, Angel.

## 5,000 MARCH FOR CHILE

Picture: John Sturrock (Report)



**LIVERPOOL:—**'Venceremos! We shall win!' shouted marchers on the 5000-strong demonstration against co-operation with the Chilean junta last Saturday. Trade unionists from as far away as London and Scotland came to march and listen to speeches from trade unionists and others, including Joan Jara, widow of the

murdered Chilean folk singer Victor Jara. 'I would also be with you if I wasn't in jail for my part in defending British trade union rights,' said imprisoned Shrewsbury picket Des Warren in a message to the gathering. Chilean speakers stressed the importance of working-class solidarity in their struggle.

## Jailed pickets: Action call for May Day

THE Rank and File Organising Committee has called on all trade unionists to organise now for independent industrial action on May Day to free the two jailed Shrewsbury pickets, Ricky Tomlinson and Des Warren.

Ken Appleby, the committee's organiser, told Socialist Worker: 'We obviously give full support for all attempts to get official TUC or union action on May 1st to Free the Two. But we also think that this is not enough. If trade unionists start to organise now for strike action on the first, it will help push the trade union leaders along, and, if they are not

pushed, will provide at least some focal point for action.'

**Ossie Lewis, a member of the CPSA executive and treasurer of the Shrewsbury Dependents' Fund, writes:**

The disgrace of the North Wales Charter Defence Committee in issuing their last bulletin—as revealed by Laurie Flynn in last week's Socialist Worker—contrasts sharply with the fighting spirit shown by Elsa Warren and Marlene Tomlinson.

These wives of the two jailed Shrewsbury pickets are showing

tremendous courage. At times hounded by newsharks of the capitalist press or reviled by stooges of the bosses who regard them as the wives of 'violent criminals', they remain uncowed and dignified.

### Cheerful

Both of them keep up a steady stream of letters bombarding Labour ministers over the victimisation of their husbands. Often at short notice, they have to make arrangements to have their children looked after while they travel many miles to attend meetings and rallies where they play their part in the campaign to secure the early release of their husbands.

Having recently visited them, I can confirm that despite their traumatic experiences and the heart-breaking disappointments they have suffered, they still manage to keep outwardly cheerful. Elsa Warren has five children

and Marlene Tomlinson two, and the absence of the fathers is no small problem.

As it would appear that no further financial support can be expected from the North Wales Defence Committee, the Rank and File Organising Committee have decided to launch a special appeal for regular monthly contributions to the Shrewsbury Dependents Fund, to ensure a guaranteed income for the families in addition to the monthly donations made by the men's unions, TGWU and UCATT.

Neither of the two wives are in the best of health and a holiday would do them a lot of good. These two staunch wives are bearing the brunt of the attack on trade union picketing by the use of the sinister conspiracy laws and are owed a tremendous debt of gratitude. Nothing should be too good for them.

Donations please to: Shrewsbury Dependents Fund, c/o Rank and File Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

### END BRITISH MILITARY COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID!

Support the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa!

Demonstrate on Sunday 23 March The revolution in Portugal has shifted the balance of power in Southern Africa, giving hope to the liberation struggles not only of Angola and Mozambique, but the whole of Southern Africa. No collaboration with the racist regimes.

Assemble Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, at 1.30pm, for march to Trafalgar Square and rally at 3pm.

## POLICE EVICT STUDENTS

**LANCASTER:—**At 3am on Tuesday, more than 100 police acting on the instructions of Charles Carter, vice-chancellor of Lancaster University, cleared 200 students from an occupation of the college administration. The door was broken in and the students dragged out. This is the first time police have been used to end a student occupation. Last year at Essex University police intervention

led to 105 arrests.

It is not accidental that the police have been used this week. After a meeting of college authorities over the weekend police have been used in Lancaster, students banned from examinations at Essex and summonses are still threatened at Surrey University.

More details: page 13.

## Socialist Worker DELIVERED TO YOUR DOOR

Subscription rates for Socialist Worker have been forced up again by the Post Office which has increased the postage rates by 2½p for each copy. We cannot afford to absorb any of this extra cost as we have been able in the past. Don't blame us, blame the Post Office!

I enclose £\_\_\_\_\_ for one year/six months Socialist Worker

(£6 for a year, £3 for six months)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Socialist Worker, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2

For bulk orders phone 01-739 2639