

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

GLASGOW: The mailed fist of the Social Contract

TROOPS OUT! SPREAD THE

STRIKES!

Socialist Worker



The poster produced by Glasgow International Socialists to win support for the dustcart drivers.

THE troops in Glasgow are NOT there to deal with a health hazard. They are there to break strikes.

That has become perfectly clear with the news this week that Glasgow's Labour-controlled council is refusing to pay the dustcart drivers at least some of the money they were promised last November—even after Liverpool Council has paid more money to its drivers.

The dustcart drivers *can* clear the rubbish. The striking electricians *can* work the incinerators. The soldiers can't do either. At the moment, they can't clear the rubbish as fast as it accumulates.

It's not health hazards which bring the troops to Glasgow. It's politics. Deeply reactionary, anti-working class politics which is prepared to smash the workers' only real power—their strike power—with the armed forces of the state.

These politics have been adopted wholesale, not only by the Labour council in Glasgow, but also by the Labour government which sent in the troops. The government is desperately anxious to keep down the wages of the people who elected them. They are prepared to sap the strength of trade unionism in order to uphold their version of wage restraint—the Social Contract.

But what is the reaction of the trade union leaders? Glasgow's Labour council leader tells the Scottish press that the Scottish Trades Union Congress has begged the strikers to return to work (in private: naturally he wants them to beg them in public).

The Transport and General Workers Union leaders in Scotland have murmured against the use of troops, and slunk back to their offices. From the leaders of the Electricians' Union, whose official strike is being broken by troops, there has been not a squeak of protest.

SCABS

Hardly a word has come from left-wing Labour MPs in Parliament.

It is left, as so often, to the workers themselves to show what they think of the government, its Social Contract and its scabs. In Liverpool, the binmen have followed the dustcart drivers' settlement by insisting on the same increases. 25,000 council workers face Liverpool Corporation with similar demands next week. In Port Glasgow and Greenock, the dustcart drivers have come out on strike in solidarity with their brothers in Glasgow.

That sort of action will not only safeguard council workers' living standards. It will force the troops out. The government can keep the troops in as long as the strikers are isolated in Glasgow. If council workers all over the country join in, all the councils, including Glasgow will be forced to settle.

In the past two weeks, the Glasgow International Socialists have strained every muscle to support the

council strikers and get the troops out.

For this they have had to put up with a constant howl of abuse not only from the gutter press, but also from union leaders and officials. John Reidford, Communist secretary of Glasgow Trades Council, told a Scottish Sunday newspaper that the International Socialists were 'fleas in a bed who turn up at other peoples' picketing.'

Yes, IS trade unionists do turn up at other people's picketing because they believe that the most powerful weapon in the workers' armoury is solidarity: that an injury to one is an injury to all, that unless the dustcart drivers and electricians are assisted by workers everywhere

in the country, then all of us will go down.

That's why the International Socialists have grown in confidence and members over the past weeks. As long as workers are left to the mercy of the Harold Wilsons and Jack Jones and the John Reidfords as long as we do not have a powerful organisation of socialist shop floor workers, we cannot even be sure of being allowed to go on strike, without Labour governments breaking our strikes to pieces with uniformed scabs.

Health Hazard Hypocrisy—page 3
Why no unions in the Army?—page 7
What happened in Glasgow, and what to do about it—centre pages.



Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

Only four men on the picket, police told dockers when they went to picket Dagenham Cold Storage depot in East London last Wednesday. So four men stood on the picket line . . . and there seemed to be rather a lot of workers on the pavement. The London dockers are still out in their fight for jobs. FULL STORY: back page.

TROOPS OUT NOW! DEMONSTRATION



ALL OUT SUNDAY 6th 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.

Shop-floor socialists must get together

By The Editor

EVERY DAY, the news shouts at us about the desperate political situation in which we are being plunged.

Every lurch to the right by the Labour government, every reactionary statement from trade union officials, proves the simple truth which we have been proclaiming for years: that Labour Party politicians and trade union officials will turn against their supporters as the capitalist system degenerates into crisis.

It's obvious, too, that rank and file workers do have the power to change their situation. That's written into the history of the last three years: from the miner's strike to the action of dustcart drivers in Glasgow.

But there's another lesson which comes clearly out of the last year's experience: *industrial militancy alone is not a guarantee against the ravages of capitalism.*

The shop-floor militancy which protected workers' interests in time of capitalist expansion—in the 1950s and 1960s—cannot necessarily do so in times of capitalist crisis in the mid-1970s.

The question now is not simply 'how much can we win in a straight fight with the employer?' Now we have to cope with mass lay-offs, and sackings; the imprisonment of pickets; the use of troops in industrial disputes; the break-up of education and health services and so on.

Rank and file militancy, isolated in each factory, cannot deal with these problems.

It's easy for instance, to be militant about import controls, in the belief that import controls save jobs. But they don't. They only

Socialist Worker collectors card

save some jobs at the expense of others—and they almost certainly lead to higher prices.

So we have to turn that militancy currently being wasted on calling for import controls into a real fight for jobs against the firms who exploit workers here and abroad.

That needs more than a will to fight. It means socialist understanding of how the capitalist system works in different parts of the world.

Again, rank and file militancy in a car factory can quickly turn to despair when half a factory is on short time—unless large numbers of workers understand why we are in economic crisis, place the blame on the profit system and call for occupations and nationalisation to force jobs out of that system.

In other words, the only guarantee for workers' advance in the next two crucial years is the growth of fighting socialist organisation on the shop floor.

For years now, we've been campaigning for that in Socialist Worker. We've found there are many thousands of socialists in the workplace who are sympathetic to our ideas, and who buy our paper.

The response from thousands of individual trade unionists to our appeal for money to pay off High Court fines last year amazed all of us.

Many of these socialists, caught

PORTUGAL



AT THE TURNING POINT

THERE IS a deceptive calm about Lisbon this week. There are no workers parading in the streets or fraternising with soldiers. Even the troops themselves, so recently parading in victory over the right-wing coup of 11 March, are seldom in evidence.

But behind the scenes, in the factories and offices, a bitter class struggle is still being fought out. The nationalisation of the banks, which was forced last week by a strike of bank clerks, has revealed massive economic sabotage by the ruling class. Tens of millions of pounds were paid into private accounts or to finance parties of the right wing.

Other employers are trying to get their money out of the country either by simple smuggling or by bogus sales of goods abroad. At the same time they are talking sweetly to their workers about 'the desperate economic crisis' and begging them to accept speed-up and redundancy (some of the bosses' pleas in the papers along these lines made us think we were back in Britain!).

SABOTAGE

These pleas are being fiercely resisted in the factories. We spoke for much of last night to the chairman of the works committee of Eurofil, a giant textile plant outside Lisbon which employs 1600 workers.

'We discovered,' he said, 'that management had been sabotaging the plant and were planning to lay off 300 workers. So we occupied the plant, locked out the bosses and are running it ourselves—all of us.'

'We want the government to nationalise the plant to guarantee jobs.'

Scores of other factories in the Lisbon area are occupied by workers who are making the same demands on the government. We

in the day-to-day fight against the employers, in family commitments and in trade union work, would like to do more to help the fight for socialist policies.

We want to encourage all these men and women to seek out the other socialists in their workplace and join up with them on a regular basis.

We'd like to see discussion groups forming around the paper, which meet regularly and talk about socialist policies, both in the factory and nationally, and how they can be fought for.

Such discussion groups need not be talking shops. There's plenty of things which can be done immediately to help the workers' cause—and will only be done if socialists get together, even on an informal basis with very limited objectives.

Socialist Worker discussion groups can determine the pace of events and the outcome of a debate in a mass meeting on redundancy; they can campaign against the closure of a school or a hospital ward—and so on.

Or they can swell the Fighting Fund with regular collections on the workshop floor without which a socialist paper cannot survive.

Many of these things will not be done unless socialists come together and plan a campaign. The commitment can be very small—but the return can be enormous.

Some supporters in factories have written to us suggesting that we produce Socialist Worker Supporters' cards, which, they think can help them to organise groups among socialists who read and enjoy the paper.

So we've produced 9000 of them—and collectors' cards as well.

In the factories where they've been sent, they seem to be going down well. We'll be reporting about that in future issues. In the meantime, if you want to try the cards out, write in at once and they will be on their way.

LISBON, Tuesday: Chris Harman and Colin Sparks report

could see no sign of any slackening in the workers' militancy—or of substantial concessions to their demands by the government.

The armed forces are insisting that there must be a peaceful run-up to the elections on 25 April. In a few regiments, the soldiers have elected their officers and in some others they decide which orders they will obey.

Other regiments are demanding the purging of right-wing officers and the shooting of those involved in the 11 March coup.

The right-wing is also trying to organise. On Friday night in Oporto, the PPD, a neo-fascist party, organised 2000 upper class youths to attack a Communist Party meeting. After the attack, the youths rampaged through the town, attacking the Communist Party headquarters. There was a night of rioting, with both parties fighting it out in the streets.

The government press is full of the threats of an invasion organised by right-wing elements in Spain, though most class-conscious workers regard that as premature.

The overwhelming feeling is that the outcome of these momentous struggles is still very much in the balance.

The workers have the confidence and strength to establish a socialist order. They need the centralised discipline and organisation of a revolutionary socialist party to direct and organise their effort.

On the other hand, if they heed the insidious advice of Communist and Socialist Party leaders and slacken their hold on the factories and banks, they could go down in a barbarous holocaust.

FOR CENTURIES, the agricultural workers of the Alentejo in the South of Portugal have been toiling for the great landlords. They have worked for a miserable pittance while their masters have grown rich.

But now the poor and the exploited are on the move. Among them are the farmworkers of the Alentejo. Late last month they decided that they could tolerate the situation no longer. They got in their tractors (above left) and moved to seize the land.

Above right, the farmworkers meet a government man from the Institute of Agriculture Re-organisation, rushed in to head off the land seizures. His name is Agostimo Pestano (centre) a member of the Communist Party.

He warns the tractor drivers that they must confine themselves to fallow, uncultivated land. The tractor drivers do not agree.

The man from the Institute still insists. But says one of the tractor drivers: 'What happens if we find livestock on the fallow? Can we have that? Or is that too to be denied us?'

The government official has no answer to this new threat to private property.

Annibal Pedro, 70 (below) recalls that all his life he has had to keep quiet. Now he is one of the many determined to enjoy the newly-taken land. It is their land, after all. They and they alone have worked it. To hell with holding back. 'This land is our land'.



Pictures by Kelvin Brodie, of the Sunday Times.

SPEAKERS ON PORTUGAL: The IS Portugal Group can organise speakers for meetings on the Revolution in Portugal. Phone Joanna Rollo, 01-734 5795.

International Socialists day school on PORTUGAL
 Speakers: From the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee, Chris Harman (now in Portugal), and from the Rank and File Organising Committee, Saturday 5 April, 10.30am-5pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.
 Entrance by IS membership card only—non-members must be accompanied by a member.
 Registration 25p (including speakers' notes on Portugal and the Revolution).

Sacked - by order of the Special Branch

TONY MORRIS has been sacked from his job as a petrol pump attendant in a South London garage because the Special Branch told his employer he was a collector for the IRA.

Tony is not, and never has been, a member of the IRA. He is a member of Merton International Socialists.

Last Thursday, a London industrial tribunal chaired by Sir John Clayton refused to hear the detailed evidence about Tony's sacking from Transport and General Workers' official Ron Todd.

Brother Todd was shut up by the tribunal as soon as he mentioned the Special Branch. And the tribunal contemptuously rejected Tony's application for a hearing into a case for wrongful dismissal.

Last May, Tony Morris was taken on at the Rosehill garage, which is part of a chain owned by the Futurama Signs company, whose headquarters are at Chessington and whose managing director is Mr Henry Gold.

On 8 October, Tony was suddenly and arbitrarily sacked without explanation.

He approached Ron Todd, who asked for a meeting with Mr Gold. After a long delay Mr Gold asked Ron Todd to meet him for a 'secret discussion' in the Churchill Hotel, Portman Square on 27 November—the day after the Birmingham bombings.

When Ron Todd arrived, he found Gold and a representative of the Motor Agents Association in the foyer. 'We must stay in a crowded place' explained Gold, who then told the following story:

Confirm

A fortnight before Tony Morris was sacked, there was a break-in at the garage.

Nothing was stolen, but in the course of the inquiries the local police, led by Inspector Page of Sutton police station, told the manager that Tony Morris was an IRA man.

The police gave the management the number of a Special Branch agent who would confirm this.

Gold rang the number and was told that Morris was a 'suspected IRA collector'. So he sacked him.

Ron Todd asked Gold whether he thought it was right to sack a man 'on a nod and a wink from the Special Branch'. Gold said he 'considered it a good enough reason with bombs going off everywhere'.

Check

Ron Todd contacted Inspector Payne, who gave him a Special Branch number. Ron tried no less than 14 times to contact someone at the number who could help him with information about Tony Morris. Each time he was fobbed off.

The delay meant that the time had run out for a 'wrongful dismissal' case to go to an industrial tribunal. But Ron Todd applied to a court for a hearing, anyway—on the grounds that the delays had been caused by the need to check the information from the Special Branch.

Last week, Mr Gold agreed to see a Socialist Worker reporter about the case, but cancelled the interview the next day 'on legal advice'.

At the preliminary hearing last Thursday, Ron Todd intended to explain how the delay in taking up Tony's case was because of Gold's



Tony Morris: sacked 'on a nod and a wink'

story about Special Branch.

As he started to talk, he was stopped. Gold's lawyer, in a series of objections, successfully persuaded the court that this evidence should not be heard.

So Tony's case was dismissed. Ron says he will be consulting the union's legal officers about an appeal.

This disgraceful case must not be ignored. Transport and General Workers' Union branches must pass resolutions demanding that the union take up his case at the highest level.

Special Branch, who will not comment to the press, must be forced to reveal whether they gave information

—which was false, anyway—which led to the sacking of a man.

The Sutton police must be asked why they give information about the political activities of workers to employers in situations which are likely to lead to their sacking.

The TGWU is committed to opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act because the Act victimises trade unionists. Its branches must now come to the support of a member who has been crudely victimised because he is Irish.

All resolutions on this case will be printed in future issues of Socialist Worker.

Has peace really returned to Ireland?

HAVE peace and normality really returned to the streets of Northern Ireland? Is a peaceful solution close at hand?

NO. Twenty people have died in the last five weeks. 14,500 British soldiers are still there. There have been no substantial reductions in the number of troops.

The present lull will be short-lived. The Constitutional Convention expected at the end of April will mean the end of yet another attempt by the British government to solve the 'Irish question'.

The Convention will almost certainly provide a majority for the extreme Loyalist alliance of Craig, Paisley and West, whose aim is simple. It was summed up pretty well by one of their candidates, like this:

'We as Loyalists do not want and will not have a united Ireland, an Irish dimension, Council

of Ireland, power-sharing or any more devious deceitful devices, fancy franchises, political polemics, pious or impious platitudes, phoney peace or misconstrived meaningless ceasefires.

'What we want in large measure is peace through victory and a return in large measure to the pre-1968 era of peace, progress and prosperity'.

Another spokesman suggested this could be best achieved by cutting off water, gas and electricity supplies to Catholic areas



These politicians are under continual pressure from the even more reactionary Loyalist paramilitary groups, such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force, whose connections with our own home-grown fascists, the National Front, is not disputed.

The Loyalist paramilitaries are

unhappy with what they consider British concessions to the IRA over the cease-fire.

They are held in check by politicians' promises that all will be well after the 'Convention'.

The Loyalist politicians are buying time now by promising high hopes for the future. In doing this they are limiting their room for manoeuvre in the months ahead, when they will increasingly be hostages to the less respectable and more extreme paramilitaries.

All this spells bad news for Merlyn Rees, who will either have to make substantial concessions to the Loyalists and put the IRA cease-fire at risk—or confront the Loyalists.

Whatever the outcome, the mix is a sure one for increased Loyalist and British army onslaughts against the Catholic minority. The scale of these is likely to be greater than anything we have yet seen.

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WHAT WE THINK

IT HAS BEEN reported that people on Glasgow buses have been cheering as they pass soldiers shifting rubbish in their bid to break the dustcart drivers' strike.

Certainly a lot of working people sympathise with the argument that it is right for the Labour Council to call in troops because there is a 'health hazard'. Why do we think they are mistaken?

The obvious reply is that if the Council are so concerned about health risks, then why don't they settle with the drivers? The drivers have an absolutely cast-iron case. They are simply demanding the same pay as the private contract drivers working for the Council.

What trade unionist can fail to support such a claim? Why on earth should public service workers accept less pay than the contractors—who are in business to make profits—pay their men to do the same work?

Sacrifice

The Council have claimed that they cannot settle, that they are bound by the nationally negotiated rates. Everyone now knows that this is not true. Liverpool Council have settled, in a similar dispute, outside the national framework. There is nothing whatever to prevent Glasgow doing the same.

Nothing, that is, except the determination of the Council to 'make an example', to defend the indefensible in the interests of government wages policy. They are trying to sacrifice the drivers on the altar of the Social Contract.

The health hazard arises from the Council's obstinacy. The councillors have it in their power to get the drivers back to work tomorrow. But these so-called 'Labour' men, councillors and government ministers, prefer to try strike-breaking by soldiers—with all that this implies for future disputes.

But, in any case, the health hazards argument is a fraud. There are, indeed, real and continuing health hazards in Glasgow and in every major city. Yet another report has just appeared proving that atmospheric lead pollution is stunting the brains of growing children. This is not new. It has been known for years.

But no troops are brought in to clean up this most serious health hazard. Powerful capitalist interests are involved, you see.

Respectable

Or, to take another obvious example, the hospital consultants' work-to-rule is certainly creating health hazards for the thousands of people who are not getting the treatment they need. Do we see army doctors brought in to break this industrial action? Not on your life. The consultants are wealthy, 'respectable' upper-middle class people. As always, there is one law for the rich and another for the workers.

It was in Glasgow that some of the worst cases of asbestosis were discovered. But never a suggestion that troops be brought in to tackle these ever-present health hazards that shorten the lives of thousands year in and year out.

It is contemptible hypocrisy for the Glasgow Council, above all others, to blame the drivers for a particular health hazard that the Council have themselves created. And where do you suppose all those rats have come from, if not from rat-infested tenements tolerated by this same Council?

The use of troops in attempts to break strikes is always against the interests of all working people. This is a try-on. If it succeeds in Glasgow it will be repeated again and again. The Glasgow Corporation drivers' strike committee has put the matter in a nutshell:

'If troops are used in our dispute they can be used against all workers.'

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

OUR TV AND PRESS are full of stories about 'the threat' to Cambodia and Vietnam. What worries the millionaires who control Fleet Street is that the rotten, corrupt, puppet regimes imposed by US military intervention are crumbling.

The real threat to Cambodia and Vietnam is US imperialism. Without massive US support Lon Nol and Thieu could never have got power in the first place. Without the commitment of US troops in 1965, the Vietnam war would have ended then and so would the long agony of the Vietnamese people. There was no war in Cambodia until 1970, when US troops and their Vietnamese puppet units invaded the country.

Unless the US government can overcome the powerful resistance of the American people to a new intervention, Lon Nol and Thieu are finished. The sooner the better.

THE SLEEPING GIANT STIRS...

How the car workers rose in rebellion

By **TONY BARROW**
Convenor, Ford's Leamington

THIS PAMPHLET* on the Detroit strikes and sit-ins of 1973 is a testament to human endurance and to what determined workers can achieve.

It all began on 24 July with a shutdown of the Jefferson assembly plant. Two weeks later, on 7 August, the Detroit Forge shut down. On 14 August, the Mack sit-down began.

But on 16 August, union officials physically crushed the Mack strike, terrorising the Chrysler workers back to work with the help of police batons. Seventy-three militants, including the author of this pamphlet, were never allowed back.

Racist

The workers were not prepared for this stunning blow by their own leadership, the Union of Auto Workers. The uprising was effectively put down.

It began over a conflict with a racist supervisor in the Jefferson plant. Two black workers locked themselves in a wire cage housing a vital power switch and so shut down the entire plant.

Chrysler gave in to demands that the supervisor be sacked . . . and the workers went wild with elation. For the first time, they had actually won something.

Ford's and General Motors were quick to condemn Chrysler for giving in. And the UAW told the workers to hand over their power and allow them to deal with it.

The workers refused and steadfastly fought



Unemployed car workers demanding jobs at a recent Washington rally. The struggle could explode in Detroit next month, as it did two years ago . . .

the company and the union. But racist foremen were not the cause of the Jefferson affair, only the trigger. The cause was massive speed-ups, achieved by tightening discipline and driving workers beyond endurance.

One of the best episodes highlighted in the pamphlet concerns the Mack worker who returned to the plant and sat on the line, demanding his job back. He was beaten almost senseless by two company guards.

The workers rose up to defend him and—when the police were called in—forced them to retreat. They were prepared to defend the man with their own lives. This is workers' power, this is

what we are fighting for, this is what we can achieve.

For the struggle in Detroit in 1973 is the same struggle in Britain in 1975. A pattern is emerging in the motor industry whereby vast numbers of workers are laid off and the companies attempt to increase production with a reduced labour force.

It's coming here, brothers and sisters, so read this pamphlet. The lessons are there for all to see, and the one that comes over loud and clear is: **ORGANISE.**

*Detroit Auto Uprising 1973, by Jack Weinberg (available soon from IS Books, 25p)

American workers fight back

THE SLEEPING giant that is the American labour movement is beginning to stir.

The first factory occupation of America's new depression—by 1500 men who had heard that this was how workers protected themselves in the Thirties—began last week and ended in victory 30 hours later.

Members of the Lift Truck Builders Union took over their plant, in Danville, Illinois, as a conscious example to other workers, that even in this crisis, the bosses can be beaten.

They won all their demands, including those of 'no compulsory overtime' and 'no victimisations' and so beat off management attempts to use the threat of unemployment to undermine working conditions.

Meanwhile, on a reservation in Shiprock, New Mexico, armed members of the American Indian Movement were taking over a camera factory.

Flames

They forced the management to start negotiations on the redundancy of hundreds of Navajo women workers. Before the armed takeover, the management had been conducting massive lay-offs with no compensation.

By April, there will be more fuel for the flames.

Then the Chrysler Supplementary Unemployment Benefit (SUB) fund dries up. And so April in Detroit is going to be the hottest month of the year.

The car companies got away with nearly 400,000 lay-offs before Christmas because, under the SUB fund agreement, workers were guaranteed 95 per cent of their average wages for a year.

Worse

But 51,000 Chrysler workers were conned because the fund will go bankrupt after only four months. From being guaranteed almost double the pay of British car-workers, laid-off Chrysler workers will be forced to exist on state unemployment benefits worse than those in Britain.

They won't take it lying down, however. Although the trade union bureaucrats are committed to doing absolutely nothing, the branch unemployment committees and the various rank and file committees are already in the process of preparing mass action against the collapse of the SUB and for the creation of new jobs in the plants.

Abortion today, jail tomorrow

IN ITALY, where abortion is a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment, an enormous movement is growing for reform.

An estimated three million women are driven to illegal abortions every year. There are two reasons for this very high figure: the punitive law, cooked up by the fascists and the Catholic church and never repealed; and the lack of knowledge about contraception, deriving from the church's opposition to it.

In their fanatical defence of the holiness of maternity and the rights of the unborn child, the church and its political party, the ruling Christian Democrats, prefer to let hundreds of women die from back-street abortions every year. The death rate from abortions is 50 women for every 100,000 performed—40 times higher than in Britain.

But a different type of abortion goes completely unpunished.

A survey recently carried out by the factory council at a Rome company employing more than 1000 women found that, because of work conditions, one woman in every ten had undergone a forced interruption of her pregnancy.

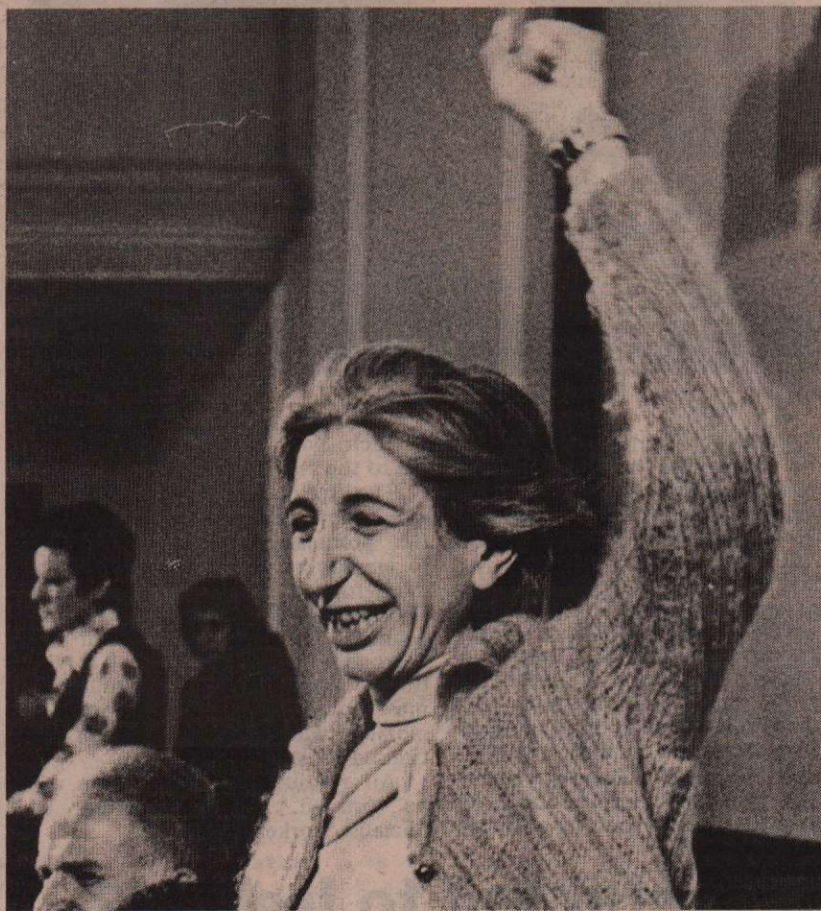
Exhausted by the rhythm of work, or poisoned by dangerous gases, thousands of women abort in Italian factories every year.

Poison

A 20-year-old woman worker told the inquiry: 'I work in the welding department: eight hours a day breathing lead fumes.

'Then I gave birth to a child which died immediately. The doctor explained that the placenta had lead poisoning.'

And so capitalist society jails working class women for having clandestine abortions, but takes no steps to punish those responsible for unwanted abortions caused solely by the violence of a productive system based on profit and speculation.



Adele Faccio, a 53-year-old abortion campaigner, speaking at a meeting of 4000 supporters in Rome shortly before her arrest. She had helped to run a Florence clinic which gave cheap and safe abortions—until the police arrested the doctors and charged the women. Adele told the meeting: 'The Church has created this farce called Holy Year. We will transform it into Women's Year and Abortion Year.' She is still in prison.

The reform movement has the full support of the revolutionary left and the feminist groups. The magazine Espresso has launched a campaign for a referendum and the socialist trade union UIL is backing the collection of signatures.

Last month, the High Court declared that it was no longer illegal to terminate a pregnancy when there was a grave danger to the mother.

This was greeted as a victory in some quarters, but the court has shown that it is determined to halt the reform movement with the minimum of concessions.

In the fight for real reform—free abortion on demand—the combined force of the revolutionary left will have a vital and perhaps decisive role to play.

JAMAICA: THE FACE OF POVERTY

RECENT governmental hearings over the proposed new minimum wage have revealed the depths of poverty in which many Jamaicans are forced to live.

Nearly half all wage earners earn less than £5 a week, and only one in 20 more than £25—even though prices are as high as in Britain.

The employers' federation have suggested a minimum weekly wage

of £5. They say they recognise this cannot provide a decent standard of living, but it is all they can afford!

The government is trying to prevent any struggle against these low wages with its threat of an Industrial Relations Act.

But union opposition has so far caused it to postpone bringing the act before parliament, although it first promised it to the employers two years ago.

WORLD CRISIS

ESSAYS IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

EDITED BY Nigel Harris AND John Palmer
TONY CLIFF
PAUL FOOT
MICHAEL KIDRON
JIM KINCAID

IS BOOKS have 500 reprinted copies of this important book on IS politics. Formerly £2.25, it's now for sale at 65p each (85p by post, 55p plus post to bookshops).
Order from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Picture: Angela Phillips (IFL)

A Class Warrior

Mark One

SIR ROBERT Mark, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, launched a furious attack last week on left-wing demonstrators.

'The courts, the Press and the public', he said, 'probably do not appreciate the sophistication with which the extremists use political demonstrations to undermine public confidence in established institutions'.

Their 'technique', he added, was the 'planned counter-demonstration', leaving no doubt that he was not only attacking the left but also preparing the climate against them with an anti-National Front demonstration planned in North London a few days later.

His purpose was simple—to encourage magistrates to send socialist demonstrators to prison for minor offences and to strengthen the hand of policemen who make arrests on demonstrations.

But Mark found great difficulty in finding any facts to justify his allegations. There were, he said, 1321 demonstrations in London between

1972 and 1974.

Fifty-four had resulted in any sort of disorder—four per cent of the total.

366 people had reported themselves injured—one for every three and a half demonstrations. Most of the injuries were mainly cuts and bruises.

623 people had been arrested—that's one arrest for every two demonstrations

Almost all the charges of those arrested were for very minor offences: obstruction of the highway, possessing offensive weapons (often banners or even coins) or threatening behaviour. Yet Mark complains that people charged with these minor offences were not sent to prison!



COINCIDENCE?

THE DAY after Mark's speech, Ian Coleman, a student at Sheffield Polytechnic, appeared in court to appeal against an 18-month jail sentence for 'actual bodily harm'.

At his trial, he had strongly denied police allegations that he had kicked two policemen during an anti-Fascist demonstration last June.

The Court of Appeal, who said the case coincided with Mark's speech 'quite by chance', turned down the appeal, though it was made quite clear that his course would be ruined if the savage sentence was upheld.

THE POLICE,
SHOWING
'EXCESSIVE
TOLERANCE'

Graft - 'an established institution'

SIR ROBERT Mark's 'deep concern' with the few, minor outbreaks of violence on demonstrations—many of which are deliberately provoked by his own policemen—compares interestingly with his action in another sphere where he is known as a 'hard man':

POLICE CORRUPTION

He set up an inquiry into Scotland Yard corruption which has been going on for three years and has uncovered a fantastic network of graft throughout the Metropolitan Police.

Mr James Humphreys, the Soho porn king, has told of how he paid £1,600 a week to policemen to keep them quiet. Another Soho 'businessman', Mr Gerald Citron, has named the senior police officers who allowed him to make money from porn and prostitution.

Mark's inquiry found that one of his most senior detectives owned part of an illegal dirty bookshop in Soho. The former head of the Flying Squad, Mr Kenneth Drury, was photographed on holiday in Cyprus with Mr Humphreys. Another police head of department had been on holiday with Bernie Silvers, the ace pimp.

What has Sir Robert Mark done about these investigations 'to maintain public confidence in established institutions'?

A year ago he suspended 42 officers, five of them senior detective inspectors. One was chief superintendent Bill Moody, head of the Porn Squad.

Drury, the former Flying Squad chief, has resigned—without charge. No less than 90 other policemen, according to Mark's own statement, have resigned 'to forestall disciplinary proceedings'. Not one has been charged.

Arrest

All the signs are that Mark's much-vaunted 'clean-up' operation has slowed to a halt. Peter Gladstone-Smith, the Sunday Telegraph crime correspondent, wrote on 2 February:

'In police circles, the arrest of a number of senior ex-detectives has been supposed to be imminent for some months. But a Scotland Yard spokesman yesterday confirmed that no such action was in prospect.'

Humphreys is in jail. Silvers is in jail. But the policemen whom they paid are not.

And that is not all. On 27 February, the Daily Mail reported that a senior Scotland Yard detective superintendent was behind a plot to get £250,000 from executives of the London building company, Murphys, in exchange for a promise not to prosecute Murphy's for tax evasion.

So far from Sir Robert Mark's police headquarters: NO ARRESTS.



Excuse me, sir, but have you seen our latest line in 'excessive tolerance'? A demonstrating docker, no doubt one of Mark's 'sophisticated extremists', finds out about the police's 'sense of duty'.

FACT

In February 1974, a Sunday Times survey of conviction rates found that in indictable offences:

80 per cent of all prosecutions led to convictions.

63 per cent of all prosecutions of policemen led to convictions.

66 per cent of all prosecutions of constables led to convictions.

50 per cent of all prosecutions of sergeants and inspectors led to conviction.

30 per cent of all prosecutions of policemen for bribery, blackmail or conspiracy led to convictions.

On 7 August last year, Scotland Yard's special inquiries squad began an investigation into allegations of corruption among police in Bradford—some of it apparently connected with the Poulson scandal.

So far from Sir Robert Mark's police headquarters: NO ARRESTS.

On 25 January, the Daily Mirror reported that the statements in the trumped-up Barn Murder prosecution of George Ince had been stolen by senior policemen, and handed over for £6000. Five senior officers were cautioned, but...

So far from Sir Robert Mark's police headquarters: NO ARRESTS

Last September, a book was published telling the story of Adam

Acworth, a former detective-constable at Scotland Yard who served nine years in the London police and was acquitted in a big corruption case involving the Scotland Yard drugs squad in 1973.

Acworth wrote: 'Half the CID and uniformed policemen in the Metropolitan Police have been involved in corruption.'

He added: 'One thing I felt was certain—the Commissioner, Robert Mark, wasn't going to right any basic wrongs'.

Bold

Acworth is right. Like his brother James, who is a senior Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, Sir Robert Mark is a keen class warrior.

His job is to protect the class which has property from the hands of the other class which created it. That's why he wants to defend 'established institutions'.

That's why Mark and his courtiers in the newspapers are much more concerned to imprison socialist demonstrators for carrying an offensive weapon than to punish policemen who treble their salaries through pay-offs from pimps and part shares in dirty bookshops.

The socialist demonstrator in prison and Superintendent Ponce at large are both monuments to the cringing, fawning, cheating, exploiting system which Sir Robert is desperate to defend.

PAUL FOOT

VROOM, VROOM! Miners' leaders roar into action

TWO PROBLEMS concerning transport faced the executive of the Mineworkers Union at their March meeting. The first was the news that the Coal Board was putting up the price of subsidised transport to and from work for miners. Every miner in the country would be out of pocket as a result. This news brought 'no action' from the executive.

The other problem called for immediate action. It was the proposal that every full-time official of the union should be provided with new cars every two years.

The cars would be provided on a 'personal basis' which seems to mean that they will become the property of the official. If the official resigns or retires he keeps the car.

The cars will be 2000 to 2300 cc (cost: about £2000 each) and will be renewed every two years. Tax, insurance and maintenance will be paid by the union.

In exchange, the officials will have to take a cut in their petrol allowance—from 8p a mile to 6p a mile. If the official's car does 20 miles to the gallon, he'll get £1.20 a gallon.

Some members of the executive complained that this sort of decision was exactly the sort of thing which alienated the executive from the men in the pit. The resolution was opposed by the Left without a recorded vote, and passed by the normal right-wing majority.

No-one was available for comment at the NUM headquarters on Monday. A spokesman said: 'No, I'm afraid they're all in India.' It seems that the executive also discussed representations of the NUM at the Mineworkers' International meeting in India this week.

Someone pointed out that the difference between sending six delegates and 15 delegates was really very small, so they might as well send 15. This was agreed.



A small (and rich) circle of friends

NOW that the non-suspense is over—there was never any doubt that the cabinet would recommend staying in the Common Market—the line-up is clear. The Confederation of British Industry, the Tory Party, the Liberal Party, the capitalist press and the right wing of the Labour Party form a coalition led by Harold Wilson.

They have plenty of money for the propaganda war. As the Guardian (pro-Common Market like the rest, of course) tactfully expressed it, 'no difficulty is anticipated in raising the necessary cash'. And the open and avowed pro-European Economic Community propaganda—advertisements, posters and whatever—will not be the half of it.

The 'freedom' of the British press about which there has been such a hullabaloo recently—it was supposed to be 'threatened' by the Trades Union Bill—turns out to mean that Fleet Street speaks with

International Socialists say:

NO to bosses' common market

YES to workers' unity all over Europe

one voice—a pro-EEC voice.

Expect plenty more 'news' stories like the tale of Mr Stanley Adams, arrested by the wicked Swiss government for helping the 'trust busters' of the EEC Commission against the price-gouging of Hoffman-La Roche.

Quite by chance, of course, a whole series of stories showing the Brussels bureaucracy in a 'progressive' light will break over the next

few weeks. And great efforts will be made to find 'leftist' sounding arguments for the Common Market.

'I believe a special responsibility rests on the "Yes" men, of whom I have long been one,' says a writer in the Sunday Times. 'Because they tend to consist (by no means exclusively) of the better off, the sophisticates, the people who, their critics like to claim, are going to be alright whatever happens, they have

to be very careful not to give the impression of an elitist club.'

That is why the role of the right wing of the Labour Party is so vital to the marketeers. Wilson and his associates—much more than extreme right-wingers like Jenkins—are indispensable for delivering a slice of the Labour vote to the right-wing coalition.

The fig-leaf of 're-negotiation', the lengthy charade culminating in that non-event, the Dublin summit, was wholly and solely designed to cover up the about turn of the Wilson government. The man who two years ago called the EEC 'a Magna Carta for the barons of the multinational mega-corporations', now recommends it.

The other coalition, the opposition to the EEC, is not particularly left-wing, far from it. But it does express, in however distorted a form, some of the aspirations of workers against the system.

'Mr Healey's Budget, expected on 22 April, will demonstrate his total rejection of left-wing demands—from the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, from the Tribune group of MPs and from the TUC—to reflate Britain's flagging economy,' noted the well-informed political correspondent of the Observer.

It may seem an abuse of language to call the TUC and Labour's NEC 'left-wing'. But all things are relative. In the EEC referendum struggle over the budget and unemployment, the most corrupt, degenerated and conservative forces in the Labour movement are in a bloc with big-business.

The opposition to them is led by reformists, opportunists and assorted hangers-on waving union jacks. But make no mistake about it. The place of every real socialist is inside that opposition.

DUNCAN HALLAS



Like you, Tony, we believe in industrial democracy

Don't nationalise us. Don't stop our progress towards workers' control.

We're small and we're efficient. Already we have many employee directors. Already 90% of our workers are shareholders. Between them our employees already own 20% of the company. Already we have full disclosure—every worker receives regular up-to-date profit and loss figures.

Some of us would see that as a move to the right, not to the left.

Why put our success at risk? Don't nationalise us.

Bristol Channel Ship Repairers Ltd.
Fighting for co-partnership.

...And also we believe in lunches, PR men and Labour MPs



APPROXIMATELY £60,000 was spent by the engineering and shipbuilding group C H Bailey of Newport Monmouthshire on adverts like the one above. It was an expensive—and unsuccessful attempt to save their subsidiary, Bristol Channel Ship Repairers from nationalisation.

Most companies in shipbuilding weren't too unhappy about Wedgwood Benn's plans. They unloaded the loss-making companies on the state—and pocketed vast sums of compensation in return. Not so BCSR, for there was an important difference—they were making money.

Public relations for the company were operated with by a London public relations company INS Ltd. Thier efforts were aided by Tom Torney. He is the Labour MP for Bradford South, a member of the Left Tribune group and a strong supporter of nationalisation. Bradford, as readers are doubtless aware, is a long way from Bristol.

No matter. Mr Turnbull of INS Ltd said that 'Tom has shown a personal interest in this case, and has helped us a lot. Yes he's run a couple of lunches for us in the House of Commons, where we've been able to put our case to a variety of MPs.'

'He's also been down to Avonmouth to see how the company operates—as have a couple of other Labour MPs. They've all been very impressed.'

And all for no financial reward, as Mr Turnbull explained. 'No he doesn't get any money for it. We retain Sir Stephen McAdden Tory MP for Southend as paid parliamentary adviser. He just arranged the lunches, sent out the invitations, and sent us the bill. That's the usual form you know for these things.'

Moved

But alas, all those meals were eaten in vain, and BCSR has gone to the great state grabber in the sky. But it's good to see that Mr Torney doesn't allow his Tribune beliefs to stand in the way of a united campaign with bosses, PR men and Tories. The working people of Bradford are doubtless moved to have such a representative.

ANOTHER moderate has had to do the decent thing. Keith Stevens scabbed on an AUEW strike in Grimsby. His fellow workers consequently sent him to Coventry.

So last month he sailed off with his family for a new life. 'I can't see any future in this country if trade unionists are going to behave in this way.'

And where has he gone? Why, off to that country where most workers can't upset Stevens because they're not allowed to form trade unions. Sunny South Africa...

Free? Of course, just keep your mouth shut

IN the hospitals of this country a battle is going on. On one side some consultants fighting for even more money, and for more power, even if they wreck the health service in the process. On the other side are the poorly paid, often ill-organised hospital workers, plus many dockers and some consultants fighting to make the NHS work.

Many of those workers are immigrants.

Last week the Daily Express, that great champion of the NHS has its views on the subject. 'The NHS—including the provision for pay beds—was established in 1948, long before there was any large scale immigration into Britain', said their editorial on 19 March.

'Those who have come here since often do very useful jobs but they

should be very wary of interfering with our institutions. If they do interfere, they may stir up resentment which will go far beyond patients who pay for medical treatment.'

This tactic, and this language is designed to do a simple job. That is to drive immigrant workers out of struggle to turn them into scabs, to drive a wedge between workers and to smash the trade union movement.

What a 'useful job' the Daily Express performs. What a great and British institution it is.

PRINCIPLED people the Scottish National Party. In March 1973 their MP Winnie Ewing was marching with William Wolfe, SNP chairman against the presence of foreign bases on Scottish soil. She has expressed her abhorrence of the presence of US polaris submarines at Holy Loch.

Well, perhaps she should pay a visit to the Dumbartonshire branch of her party. The West Highland Free Press has drawn attention to that branch's attack on the Scottish TUC's call for the closure of the Faslane submarine base. 'The STUC's action is totally irresponsible,' they claimed. 'The working man is not being represented by such people.'

So who, and what, does Winnie represent?

Death, dope & scoutmasters

IT MAY not be a great contribution, but it is a notable one that Richard Nixon has made to understanding the American political system. A steady stream of skeletons are marching out of the cupboard he so generously opened.

Many of the skeletons bear badges labelled with the words CIA, FBI and Mafia, and many wear them all. Two aides to the assassinated Robert Kennedy have revealed to the New York Times that the CIA and the Mafia jointly planned the assassination of the Cuban leader Castro. Understandable enough, really, the Mafia lost a lot of money when the US was thrown out of Cuba, so to provide aid for the job—and for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion was probably the least they felt they could do.

One much publicised Nixon campaign was the 'fight' against drugs trafficking. This involved much work with tracker dogs, electronic sniffers, and resounding speeches. This would 'clean the streets of the USA' it was argued.

Unfortunately it also involved various Corsican gentlemen who made a good living shipping heroin into the USA. And where did they get it? From the CIA in Southern

Asia. 'This was considered to be helpful to anti-Communist forces' reports the International Herald Tribune. These 'anti-Communist forces' are believed to be a reference to the South Vietnamese government, who pocketed (and pocket) their share of the proceeds.

Let no one deny the US authorities' ability to provide a good after sales service. First ship your GIs to Asia to fight for the freedom of drug traffickers. Then drive them on to heroin through their lack of enthusiasm for the war. Then ship the junkies back home to buy their fixes courtesy of the CIA and the Corsican gentlemen.

Of course they might get arrested by the FBI, but then those fearless fighters have other things on their minds too. They have just been forced to reveal documents detailing their 31 year battle against the Socialist Workers' Party, a 2500 strong Trotskyist grouping. The battle included blackmail, phone tapping, the writing of a letter to a school board under the moving name of 'concerned mother' denouncing an SWP member who was a teacher, and even trying to get a scoutmaster fired because his wife was an SWP member...

Why no trade unions for soldiers?

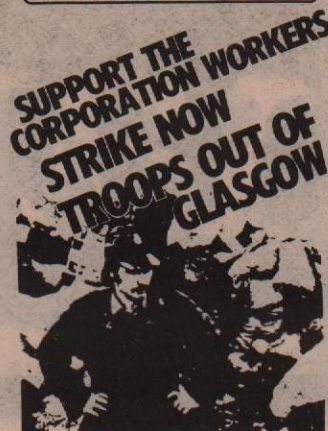
by Dave Cook, ex-Marine Commando

TO understand why servicemen obey orders of any nature is not difficult. It was made clear to me when a young second lieutenant with a speech impediment read an article from the Manual of Military Law to a group of marines in a commando unit.

Nobody really understood the Military Manual—most people regarded it as a barbed-wire entanglement of legal jargon designed to confuse all it directly concerned. So the effect of a bad reader combined with a badly-written book resulted in total mystery.

This situation prompted one marine, to ask the sergeant-major afterwards what it all amounted to. The sergeant-major, a dour Scot, replied: 'It's quite simple laddie. It

Socialist Worker



means you can get 90 days for any bloody thing.'

This concise answer revealed the true perspective of the Manual of Military Law—it was a mailed fist that the hierarchy could use with draconian effect. Total obedience and subjugation is easily achieved.

We're soldiers of the army
Earning our measly pay
Guarding the profits of millionaires
For four lousy shillings a day.

—song of soldiers during the Korean War

WHY ARE YOU MOVING RUBBISH IN GLASGOW?

Many people do not know the facts behind the dustcart drivers' dispute. Do you know them? Did you know that the dustcart drivers only get £35 a week? That they are only demanding the same as other HGV drivers. Is that a crime?

When the drivers struck last November for the same claim as at present, they returned to work after four weeks, based on the Glasgow Corporation's promise of local talks on pay parity. Did you know that promise has been broken?

If you think there is a health hazard, don't you think it would be better for the Corporation to honour its pledges and pay the drivers what is rightly theirs? Or do you think the authorities are right to get people like you to do their dirty work.

Every winter thousands of old age pensioners die of the cold. Is that a health hazard? Are troops used to issue blankets to keep them warm? The biggest health hazard in Britain today is industrial pollution. Are troops used to combat that?

Do you really believe you are being used against a health hazard now? Or do you think you are being used as strike-breakers?

Would you have to act like this if you had your own trade union?

DO YOU WANT TO BE A STRIKE-BREAKER?

ABOVE: The leaflet handed out to troops in Glasgow last week by members of the International Socialists

RIGHT: Soldiers move in to break the 1948 docks strike on the orders of the Labour government



When the soldiers said No

DISTURBANCES, mutinies and so on in the British Army can be divided into two categories; those caused by grievances over conditions and those caused by political ideas. Occasionally the two have overlapped.

There have been frequent outbursts, varying in size and importance, directed against bullying NCOs, poor food and so on.

The most famous instance in World War Two involved a whole division who, when shipped out of North Africa believing they were going home, found themselves on an Italian invasion beach. The whole lot sat down and it took several days and a selection of crawling generals before they got up again.

Most ex-soldiers can recount events like this, though smaller in scale. In my battalion complaints about poor rations in Malaya came to a head with a dining hall full of men throwing food up in the air and at the orderly officer. The padre was eventually summoned to bring us back to reason—funny how the church allies itself with the state in a crisis!

From a socialist's point of view,

by Dick Muskett, who served in the army in Malaya and in Aden.

mutinies caused by a growth in political consciousness are more significant, as examples of how, at times of political ferment in society, ideas can catch hold in the army.

The news leaks and rumours of low morale in the army in Northern Ireland today are echoes of similar stories 100 years ago. Then there were anxious reports of a high level of disaffection in units in Dublin, with Republican ideas widely circulating, not only in Irish regiments but in Scots and English as well. More than 50 years later, in 1916, the Connaught Rangers, stationed in India, mutinied after hearing news of the Easter Rising from home and several were later executed.

Slow

The largest outbreak, which quickly became openly political, was in 1919. The government had been curiously slow to demobilise men at the end of the war, and it didn't take much for soldiers to realise they

were probably going to end up in Russia, putting down the Bolshevik Revolution. Starting in the Folkestone area, regiments refused embarkation orders, held meetings and elected representatives. This spread across Southern England like wildfire, and lorryloads of soldiers drove to London to negotiate with the top brass—the Cabinet held all-night sittings!

Red flag

Across the Channel, in the huge supply camps in the Calais area, soldiers committees took over the administration, and for some months officers meekly allowed this. In a few places it went even further—transit camps were burned down in Hampshire and Surrey, and a police station near Woking was stormed—though this may have been beer, not Bolshevism!

It wasn't beer at a Canadian camp in North Wales, though. A British officer at the inquiry said he only ordered his men to fire after they had been fired on by the mutineers, 'led by a man with a Russian-sounding name, waving a red flag'. Presumably this agitator had his

foreign name written on his red flag!

This flimsy story was spoilt by the inquest, which found that the dead Canadians had been bayoneted in the back.

These mutinies were successful in that they speeded up demob and they undoubtedly influenced the government's decision not to send more troops to aid the counter-revolutionary armies.

In recent years, resistance to army discipline on political grounds has been much more the action of individuals, and the army has become increasingly sophisticated in dealing with such incidents. Any soldier who shows 'intellectual' leanings—such as reading books—is derided, and those who question authority are swiftly posted or even discharged to prevent them infecting others.

An outbreak of pacifism in my battalion in West Berlin, with such symptoms as 'Make love, not war' badges and anti-Vietnam War posters, was tolerated until talk of a soldiers' trade union was banded about. Those of us considered ringleaders were investigated, intimidated and removed by home postings, discharge—and promotion.

The Manual is unchallengeable and it is the cardinal right of the hierarchy to invoke it—but how often is this tremendous power misused and how frivolously? The answer, that I base on personal experience, is that misuse and frivolity occur frequently. When this power is waved like a mighty sword, there is no hidden direction in which it can fail to swipe. This was shown for me before I finished my recruit training, in a way that was difficult to believe.

As raw recruits we were on the parade ground, heads shaven like billiard balls and brass gleaming, when the adjutant decided to inspect us.

For the some obscure reason the adjutant ordered an ex-miner to 'double' (run) to the edge of the parade ground, pluck a leaf from a tree and identify it. This the ex-miner failed to do—probably because his experience on the coalface did not make this kind of study easy. For failing to identify a leaf from a lime tree the ex-miner was rewarded with an extra parade.

Botany

Any objection or protest against this judicial lunacy could well have resulted in an uncomfortable period in a detention quarter, so the reluctant miner had to carry out his extra parade, and unconsciously developed an acute hatred for lime trees and adjutants with a lay interest in botany.

There are many more instances that demonstrate just how absolute hierarchical power in the armed services really is.

But it's that threat of 90 days (and, Catch 22, squaddies are forbidden to quote the Military Manual in their own defence) and the discipline that keeps men isolated that is the trump card.

It's only in an army working for a ruling class that this is necessary. Workers in factories have unions. They can face their problems together, make collective decisions and take collective action to solve those problems. That, in the last analysis, means politics—working-class politics.

Scabs

So it becomes obvious. In any army designed to protect the system of its ruling class nothing can be left to chance, and army discipline tries to make sure that nothing is. If workers in factories can use their collective strength in their own interest, workers in uniform are prevented from doing so because the interest they are paid to uphold is the interest of the bosses.

The troops in Glasgow today can be used as scabs for one reason alone—they have no organisation of their own. They are in no position to decide together whether what they are told to do is in their interest or against it. Any attempt to do that is, for one soldier—insubordination, for more than one—mutiny.

It is just as necessary for soldiers to organise as for workers. Troops are used against workers and peasants in all parts of the world. Today in Northern Ireland they are being used against the Irish working class. Tomorrow they may have to decide whether to shoot their brother workers in Britain, not just to clear up their rubbish.

The decision will have to be made, and only by fighting for trade union rights and a soldier's charter now will the right decision be made.

These are your rights

The question of basic trade union and political rights in the army is crucial. It is the duty not only of soldiers and NCOs but all trade unionists to fight for:

- The right of soldiers to join the trade union of their choice.
- The right to elect their own representatives.
- The right freely to negotiate their wages and conditions.
- The right to free political association and discussion.

What happened



By JOHN DEASON

THE TROOPS first went in last Tuesday week—and were immediately confronted by pickets.

By Wednesday, the picket of Dawsholm incinerator, joined by stewards from Rolls Royce Hillington and Yarrow, began to bite. Labourers and engineers from Polmadie incinerator refused to co-operate with the army and walked out.

By Thursday, engineers at Dawsholm refused to co-operate. Contractors trying to move a tip in Crawford Street were stopped by pickets. The picketing was certainly effective.

The army temporarily gave up trying to operate the incinerators. Meanwhile, demoralised by pickets and the nastiness of the work, the army claimed to have shifted 500 tons on Wednesday and 400 tons on Thursday.

Formula

With 70,000 tons of rubbish accumulating at an estimated 1000 tons a day, they have got a long job.

But attempts to win sympathy stoppages are being severely hampered by local union officials. There is a danger in thinking that the Social Contract is the sole property of national leaders such as Jack Jones.

It's not. It is a formula for the trade union bureaucrat at every level to help bail out a bankrupt Labour government by heading off, containing, and sabotaging



Mick Napier, of Glasgow IS: the march organisers pointed him out to police as a 'disruptive element'. He was arrested and put in the back of a police van—but not charged.

rank and file militancy.

At the drivers' mass meeting on Tuesday, they and the electricians called for the Glasgow Trades Council to organise a West of Scotland stewards meeting—but at an emergency meeting, attended by 250 delegates, the Trades Council executive guillotined any discussion of it.

The same executive had, on 5 March, organised a meeting of 350 shop stewards on the anti-Common Market campaign.

The Trades Council decision was simply to call a solidarity march on the Friday. But even this was partly sabotaged by the antics of local officials.

The full-time Trades Council secretary, Reidford, a Communist Party member, made numerous press announcements that the march was for shop stewards only. On the day, the Trades

Council Executive arbitrarily changed tack again and led the 1000 marchers to a back street in Glasgow centre instead of to Dawsholm where they could have picketed the incinerator to a standstill.

Meanwhile, Reidford distinguished himself by fingering Glasgow IS organiser Mick Napier for the police to seize for being 'disruptive'.

Reidford then unsuccessfully tried to get thrown off the march those trade unionists carrying Socialist Worker placards calling for Troops Out of Glasgow, Strike Now, Support Corporation workers.

Restrict

The march ended with frustrated militants calling for an immediate picket of Dawsholm. One group of marchers, led by angry rank and file strikers, tried to go at least to the City Chambers.

They were denounced over the loudspeakers as 'ultra-lefts', taunted by 'this is a trade union march, not an International Socialists one.'

Most trade union officials are anxious to restrict solidarity action and so save the Labour Government embarrassment. Other officials, like Reidford, are more concerned to witch-hunt the International Socialists than meaningfully support the Corporation strikers.

As James Jack, General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, said the day before the troops went in: 'We're obsessed with the situation that could develop if the troops are brought in. There is a danger of subversive elements to the left of the Communist Party who are not interested in the dustmen's dispute but will use the situation for their own ends.'

The STUC, you will remember, attacked the Glasgow firemen for striking in 1973 and instructed its affiliated bodies to refuse them any support. Then, too, the Labour Corporation brought in the troops.

Settled

Well, we are interested in the Corporation strikes. Our interest is that of every other rank and file trade unionist: to see that they are not smashed as sacrificial lambs to the government's Social Contract.

The troops will be withdrawn and the strike settled satisfactorily if other workers strike and join mass solidarity pickets.

For this reason it is the duty of the International Socialists—and of every other genuine socialist in the working class movement—to do everything possible to campaign for support for the strikers and against the use of army blacklegs.

What would have happened if all these workers on the march... had gone, as planned, to this picket line? The lorry wouldn't have got through...



THE IS EXECUTIVE Committee issued 10,000 national leaflets calling for Troops out of Glasgow on the day the troops went in. In Glasgow, tens of thousands of local leaflets and hundreds of posters have gone out. IS members and Socialist Worker supporters should:

Raise money for the Glasgow strikers now. Send to: Glasgow Dustcart and Electricians' Strike Committee, Trade Union Centre,

Carlton Place, Glasgow.

Condemn the Labour government for using the troops. Send resolutions to every trade union body, especially the TGWU executive, calling for official recognition and support for the Glasgow dustcart drivers.

Approach other council workers for sympathy action, especially dustcart drivers such as those in Greenock who struck in sympathy on Monday. Other council work-

ers must also follow Liverpool's example and put in the new local claims.

Campaign against the press propaganda claim that the troops are necessary because of the 'health hazard'. IS branches should distribute the national leaflet and hold public meetings on The Professional Strikebreakers for the Social Contract. Speakers available through the IS National Office.

Public meeting organised by the International Socialists around the new book on the crisis by Tony Cliff.

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

TONY CLIFF
THE CRISIS
SOCIAL CONTRACT
OR SOCIALISM

75p (plus postage) from IS BOOKS, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Also available from Pluto Press, Unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH, and bookshops. Bulk reductions for trade union branches, shop stewards' committees, trades councils, etc— inquire Pluto Press. A Socialist Worker Publication.

What to b

THE Glasgow get rank and urgently if they ment withdraw the dustcart dri over the last w still refuse to m a whole range officials.

On Monday a every variant o tried in an effort in. At one po committee lead Council while tr

Instead of c talks with the means at their disgusting atti councillors, the TGWU officials tion and caution

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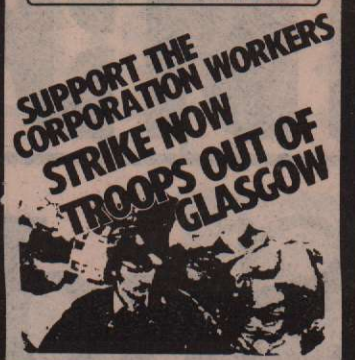
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What a way to stop So they 'dealt with they were banned

... in Glasgow

Socialist Worker



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...ow need to take the lead
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...this week demanding:

...Glasgow Labour councillors
...d electricians;
...wards and rank and file
...ould join the picket line;
...wards' meeting of all
...est of Scotland;
...e unionists called on to
...the troops should re-

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, deplore attacks on the International Socialists by some leading members of the Communist Party in the Glasgow area.

The International Socialists have behaved throughout as principled trade unionists campaigning for support for the Corporation strikers and against the use of troops as strike breakers. Such efforts can only be applauded and supported.

The people who have publicly attacked IS would be better engaged in winning support for the Corporation strikers.

We are not surprised at witch-hunting of the International Socialists by the millionaire press, nor by attacks by right wingers in the trade union movement, but we don't expect leading Communist Party members to join in.

Lewis Collins, Treasurer, GMWU No 44 Branch,
Hugh Higgins, John Glen, Alan Wilson, Local Authority Electricians Strike Committee,
George Wilmshurst, Sec, TGWU 7/169 Branch,

'These attacks are deplorable'

John Todd, Glasgow TGWU District Committee,
Alan Campbell, Alan Morgan, Ronnie Robertson, Glasgow FBU Dist. Cttee,
Sammy Morris, SOGAT FOC, Lairds,
Jim Freil, Glasgow SGA executive,
Joe Lynch and Tony Jacques, Joint SOGAT FOCs, Thames Case,
Willie Lee, AUEW Steward, Chrysler Linwood,
Billy Cowan, AUEW TASS Convenor, John Brown Engineering,
Jimmy Cowan, AUEW Shop Steward, John Brown Engineering,
John McCann, Chairman Cumbernauld Trades Council,
Eric Lennon, SLADE FOC, John Swain,
Alex Sherriff, NALGO Branch Secretary,
John McFadden, NALGO Branch Executive.

By LAURIE FLYNN

GLASGOW'S Labour Council put more than a little energy into the public relations campaign that accompanied the arrival of the troops to break the dustcart drivers' strike.

They called the press into the magnificent city chambers, where city officials and some councillors despatched themselves in the company of the brigadiers and captains drafted in from Edinburgh.

It was an awful sight, but a revealing one. When you are away from people such as these, Labour's city fathers, you can still think of them as having something to do with socialism. You think that they, like the organisations to which they belong, at least used to talk about changing society, abolishing misery and want. But when you see them at close quarters you know that they don't even bother with the talk any more.

It's the little things that underline the point. After the press conference, Brigadier Riddell-Watson was swept off into an ante-room. At the top of the second flight of stairs stood one of Glasgow's Labour councillors. Down below, three women were on their knees at work. They were washing the stairs.

Closer to wealth

The councillor's eyes flitted to them and with a desperate sense of relief, darted away. They told his story with the accuracy of a draughtsman's drawing. This Labour man had arrived. He had escaped from poverty and toil. He had an expense account and a position in life. The last thing he wanted was stair-washers or dustcart drivers making trouble, upsetting him and his enjoyment of life.

Labour has had an almost uninterrupted quarter of a century reign in the city of Glasgow. In that time, the organisation and its representatives have become more and more tightly woven into local society, smuggling closer and closer to those with wealth and power.

The process of integration has had many sides to it. You sit on the Police Committee. You dispense justice as a JP. You meet employers to bring new work to Glasgow. You help clear the ground for the contractors to shove the new express-ways through the city. You make friends and contacts in a whole new world. Your life style changes. You become a professional politician.

You are drawn further and further away from working people and their problems.

So much so that their own struggles have no place at all in your scheme of things. They're a damned nuisance. They get in the way. If they are dustcart drivers, they even dirty the city in which you are such an important person.

Sway

So when the Labour government tells you to stand firm and offers you the troops, you are being positively virtuous in breaking a strike.

It is a simple thing, this process of decay. So it can vary in degree of crudeness. It can be very crude in great cities like Glasgow where Labour has long held unchallenged sway.

After all, it is common to lend a very literal interpretation to the idea of doing something for other people.

Once in a position of influence you can sell your wares. While this does nothing for ordinary people, it does at least help the small building contractor in need of a contract or would-be publican in need of a licence. And, of course, it does something for yourself.

Fraud

Labour in Glasgow has established a very considerable reputation in this field. Last Tuesday, even as the troops were being got ready, the Daily Record announced that another councillor was the subject of a fraud probe—one of the men who voted to call in troops.

He has been charged with fiddling his expenses. Of course, it's only fair to say that the Tories are no different in kind.

They find more respectable ways to enrich themselves—if they are not already rich, that is. And being poor, some Labour men will do things much more blatantly and for much smaller consideration.

But some Labour men do do it and go on doing it, just as they go on striving to keep the Corporation workers on low and lousy pay.

Revolutionary socialists argued

The Labour councillor and the look that said so much...

from the start that this would happen. They stressed that Labour politicians bid for power on a representative basis and therefore go along with the system of power carefully created by those with wealth and influence to serve their ends.

They pointed out that our system may call itself democracy, but in fact it gives working people no real control. They underline that the shop steward system points the way to a form of democratic involvement whereby people not only elect their delegates but subject them to constant recall.

It is this lack of recall and real democracy that has led to the situation in Glasgow, where Labour is ranged directly against the obvious interests of working people.

Rot

It is this lack of recall and real democracy which is largely responsible for creating a situation where financial and political corruption flowers and where ideals die and rot away.

Fortunately, these are not the only qualities evident in Glasgow.

On Clydeside, there is a massive potential for a flowering of a superior form of democracy, which will decisively involve working people in the places where they work and live and which will allow them to advance their own interests.



...hazard! On Thursday 19 March, two of Glasgow's main incinerators broke down. The troops couldn't mend them. ...hazard by dumping rubbish from the city centre at Bishopbriggs, on the edge of the city. The following day, ...practice—because it increased the health hazard!

PICTURES: John Sturrock (Report)

LEADERS

Suddenly, there's a health hazard

THE PRESS have been full of reports of the health hazard facing the people of Glasgow. Since I live in Maryhill, one of the worst districts, I can't say I have noticed a great deal of difference in the environment since the dust-cart drivers' strike started.

Rubbish has always piled up in our back courts because the council will not provide enough dustbins. There is always a health hazard because few houses have either hot water or a bath, and too many still have no WC.

If the council really wanted to eliminate the health hazard, they could demolish areas like Maryhill and those like it throughout the city. These areas are the responsibility of the Labour-dominated Glasgow Corporation, already well known for shirking these responsibilities.

It is because of the council that ten weeks of rubbish has accumulated in the streets. The Labour Council have refused to keep the promises they made to Glasgow dustmen more than four months ago. They did it in the name of the Social Contract.

Pay-up

Now the troops are back in to back up that stand, and other trade unionists on strike have had their disputes threatened.

If Glasgow Council were really serious about the health hazard they would get the troops out and pay the drivers their money. -ALEC GRAHAM, Glasgow.

DISEASE CALLED POVERTY

GLASGOW is the worst place in Britain for infectious disease among children. It also has diseases directly attributable to poverty.

And working men and women are constantly exposed to health hazards, such as asbestosis, at work.

What can the troops do about this? Nothing. They have never been used to help pensioners who suffer from hypothermia.

They are being used as strike-breakers—and the health hazard claims are being used as a hypocritical cover. -LINDA JONES, ETU, Glasgow.

What happened in Glasgow: Pages 8 and 9



Children at play in Glasgow's Kingston Area. They were born in a health hazard—and suffer for it with infectious diseases.

John Sturrock (Report)

THE FACTS BEHIND YOUR RENT RISE

NEXT MONTH the rent for my council house will be increased by 48p a week.

Hold on, you may say, hasn't the Labour Government abolished the Tory Housing Finance Act? Yes, well, that's true. However, the bill which replaces it, Labour's Housing (Subsidies) Bill, allows councils to raise their rents by more than 50p a week!

The result is that millions of council tenants are being offered the prospect of much higher rents (70p, 80p or £1)—or eviction. The truth is that Labour's abolition of the Housing Finance Act, as part of the Social Contract, has resulted in something worse.

This is not the end of the story. Next week I expect a further letter from the council telling me my rates have gone up by more than 50p a week. These rises are not because of increases in services to local ratepayers. Everywhere services such as education, housing, health and social services are being slashed in the interests of 'economy'.

Interest

The crisis of capitalism is twisting the tails of local councils in every direction. Take interest rates: each new council house costs an average £13,000 to build. But the interest paid to moneylenders over a 60-year period will boost this figure to more than £60,000!

The situation is now so bad that, in London, rents only pay one-third of the interest burden.

What should we do? There will be pockets of action against the rent rises, and we should support the tenants. There will also be cases of ratepayers' action groups taking direct action, such as rate strikes.

We should intervene to ensure that the socialist arguments are put to guard against the neo-fascist elements who will use these groups.

We can ensure one thing. When we are engaged in arguing for higher wages and people (employers or trade union officials) trot out the Social Contract, we should point out that the Social Contract was meant to be more than just wages.

If social justice means massive rent and rate rises, then any pretence that the Social Contract is more than a means of cutting our living standards is finally exposed. -HUGH KERR, Harlow.

Workers' alliance -with Powell?

COMMUNIST PARTY delegates to Brent Trades Council were anxious to get its blessing for a 'broad-based' meeting of people who want Britain out of the Common Market. From this they hope to elect a committee which will organise a campaign throughout the area.

When challenged as to how 'broad-based' they saw this campaign, there was some confusion.

IS comrades proposed that the Trades Council should limit its efforts to campaigning in the local organisations of the working class. This would give the Council the chance to

operate among 250,000 workers in the largest industrial complex in London.

The Communists furiously opposed us. They tried to talk it out, rule it out, and finally, having failed, they voted as a block against the proposal.

Now the way is open in Brent for the Enoch Powells and other cowboys with openly anti-working class politics to share a platform with men supposed to be leaders and faithful fighters for working people. Should this happen, the result could only be confusion and demoralisation for class-conscious workers.

It is up to Socialist Worker to explain how the Communist Party ends up forgetting its internationalism. -PHILIP NAYLOR, London NW10.

NEEDLESS EXAGGERATION...

SOCIALIST WORKER (15 March) printed an attack on IS by the General Secretary of the CPSA together with my reply. The reply concluded with a reference to 'large scale redundancies'. This was not my conclusion—I am as aware as any other civil servant that we are not faced with large-scale redundancies. I would be grateful if you would print this letter, as our credibility is built up through being honest not by needless exaggeration. -MIKE McGRATH, CPSA, London.

OUR LIVES ARE AT STAKE

THE CASUALTY department of Chorley Hospital in Lancashire was recently closed down. The people in the area feel strongly that an unwarranted amount of danger is attached to this as accident victims would have to go either to Wigan or Preston.

With this in mind, the Trades Council called for an one-hour stoppage

The stoppage went ahead on Friday 7 March. In Leyland, about 10,000 trade unionists, mostly from Leyland Motors, had a protest march led by a brass band.

Brother Len Brindle, Leyland Motors Convenor, AUEW, led the delegation. He thanked the marchers for a marvellous turnout, on behalf of the shop stewards and the trades council and went on to say that the amount of opposition should surely change the health authorities' mind. We hope it will. -A HARDMAN, Wigan.

Postal Points

UNEMPLOYED people are more likely to be disaffected with the system than others... has IS made any serious efforts to draw such people into revolutionary politics? What is needed is something like the Shrewsbury Fact Sheet... logically explaining the causes of unemployment and what to do about it. -JAMES MADGE, W London.

HIGHBURY Quadrant School in London finally has a lollypop lady. What makes this specially important is that the parents' picket was threatened with arrests. The legal precedent is the Prebbles case, when the right to picket in non-industrial disputes was removed... The picket ignored the threat and won! -JENNY JACKSON, Stoke Newington.

I DON'T know who is the bigger hypocrite, you or the Tory press. Why should revolutionary socialists have the monopoly in complaining about a thug like Shelepin?... we should be complaining the loudest... I doubt whether he will lose any sleep over the protests of SW. -J MURPHY, Kirkby.

PERHAPS the coming visit of 'Comrade Shelepin' is a good opportunity for us to publically demonstrate our opposition to Stalinism and lift the veil from many

workers' eyes and, perhaps establish links with Jewish, Ukrainian and other cultural groups. Unless the myth that revolution means Stalinism is broken, our chances of socialism may well remain just dreams. -RUSS HAYWOOD, Stockport.

I HOPE we never achieve the 'socialism' advocated by Peter Marsden (The Politics of Inequality). Under this system family allowances are to go into the father's pocket. For more than 50 years, women have fought for family allowances to be paid to the mother. It is indeed a strange Marxism which aims at perpetuating the father-ruled family. -KATHLEEN JONES, Shrewsbury.

THE MAJOR American oil companies are now declaring their 1974 profits... Esso made profits of 3,140 million dollars, a rise of 28 per cent, followed by Texaco, 23 per cent... A Marseilles court has a case in which the defendants are the French subsidiaries of Shell, BP and Petrofina. The charges? Price fixing! -C FELLOWES, Manchester.

COULD YOU tell me my rights? I am a 16-year-old schoolgirl, and asked the head if I could join the students union... I was not given a satisfactory answer. Would I be eligible. -SCHOOLGIRL, Bristol.

Can we have some information, please?

NO TO THE COMMON MARKET

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

Is there a future for capitalism?

LAST October the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations said in Dacca that there was no serious physical shortage of food in Bangladesh.

Not long after that Mrs Gandhi announced in Delhi that there was no serious physical shortage of food in India. And if we look at the world output of food we find that it dropped by 2½ per cent, only 2½ per cent.

Yet in October and November something like 150,000 Bengalis died of starvation. We don't know how many died in India because the government of India, being very discreet, prevented foreign correspondents from going into the areas to find out.

But how is it possible, when there is so little physical shortage of food, for so many thousands of people to die? How is it possible?

We know why it was. It was because the rich peasantry of Ranpur district in Bangladesh preserved their profit margins. It is because the Bangladesh government choose to preserve their profit margins. Why did they do that? Because the United States was preserving their profit margins.

Fact

This is not my account—this is the account of the US Secretary of Agriculture, Mr Earl Butz, who said 'The central priority is maintaining the market incentives of American farmers. That is the method by which we can achieve large food output.'

Very nice. Meanwhile 150,000 people die. That is the cost.

In fact in India, and in Bangladesh, food output is rising, but the price charged for that food output makes it beyond the capacity of the masses of people to buy.

And that is the problem.

Wherever we look we find that food is seen as an opportunity not to feed people but to make profits. Earl Butz, said not long ago: 'Food is a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.' Not a method of feeding Bengalis—a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.

The United Nations called an international food conference at Rome and what was the American proposal? It was that the entire situation arose because the oil sheiks were grabbing too much of world resources, they should unload this in order to secure the profit motives of American farmers, who would then grow enough grain for everybody else.

Profit

Mr Dahrendorf did discuss what to do with the so-called oil surpluses of the sheiks. They've made a small killing in the oil markets. He didn't discuss why it was that last year Shell oil company made one billion dollars profit.

Why is it that all the large Western corporations that made large profits do not come under discussion but the oil sheiks do?

Wherever you look in relationship to food, you pursue the argument through implements, through irrigation, through hybrid seeds, through fertilisers, you find exactly the same situation. The system is economically irrational.

The theme in Mr Dahrendorf's lectures is that the world has pursued economic growth to the sacrifice of welfare. If this were true there would be no food crisis today.

We know that the addition of one ton of fertiliser to agricul-

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Mr Earl Butz, the US Agriculture Minister, said not long ago: 'Food is a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.' Not a method of feeding Bengalis—a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.

Meanwhile, 150,000 people die . . .



IS THERE a future for capitalism? Professor Ralf Dahrendorf (right), director of the London School of Economics and one of Europe's leading 'democratic' intellectuals, thinks there is. His ideas were answered in a recent public debate with Nigel Harris (left) of IS. The debate, organised by the LSE IS Society and attended by more than 300 students, heard a powerful speech from Harris, part of which we reprint here.



ture in Asia will increase the food grain output by ten tons. The addition of one ton of fertiliser in Western Europe will increase the output by three tons. Therefore if output were the target, they would be adding fertiliser to Asian agriculture not to European.

But they are not. Why? Because the profit margins are not high enough.

Now Professor Dahrendorf says in his Reith lectures: 'Reliance on market forces is still the most effective way to promote economic development in the interests of individuals.'

Which individuals? The individuals who are operating on the Chicago grain market, Mrs Gandhi, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the Shah of Iran, Emperor Haile Selassie. A number of individuals indeed do very well. But in terms of the mass of people the cost is 150,000 dead Bengalis.

Poor

Now the food situation is only the crudest, most vivid example of the way the system operates.

The problem is not poor countries versus rich countries, the economically backward countries against the economically advanced countries. It is that the system cannot incorporate the population of the world, whether it's in Britain in terms of the poor, in India in terms of the poor.

That is because everything is subordinated to the maintenance of those market forces, those market incentives. The system cannot produce rational economic growth.

It is not the case that people have been pursuing economic growth to the sacrifice of welfare.

If the system had been pursuing economic growth there would not be 7½ million unemployed in the United States. There would not be 1.2 million unemployed in West Germany. That is the result of the declining rate of profit.

Now we look at a situation in crisis and it means that economic development is becoming impossible. Which is why countries are stopping bothering to plan, or if they do plan it's a public relations exercise.

Class

What are they doing? They're spending their money on defence. The most dynamic growth sector of the developing countries today is the defence sector.

And why? Because they've got to have bayonets to defend themselves against their own people.

At the moment in terms of this 'rational growth system' 200-300 billion dollars a year are spent on the means to destroy people, on defence. That is the product also of preserving a privileged position.

And that is because the core of the system is class power. A class, a world class, some of whose members are white, some of whom are black and some of whom are intermediate, but a world class whose survival depends upon the defence of privilege and profit. National power and private profit.

Unless that system can be undone, dismantled, overthrown, it is very difficult to see how there won't be 150,000 Bengalis dying, it will probably be half a million. Or, as in the 1943 Bengal Famine, three million dying.

Now Professor Dahrendorf assumes in his lectures that the problems are over. By and large we have arrived, there is prosperity, the standard of living has risen, many of the ancient age-old tyrannies have been removed.

And he proposes that we pull up the ladder when a majority are not even on board. That we turn ourselves away from growth and all the nastiness there associated and we begin to talk about improving the quality of life.

But the majority of people have got few enough benefits from this frenetic, savage, obscene process of growth. If capitalism now says 'Right, we won't have any more growth', God help us. Even the small benefits which are being won out of this system will begin to disappear.

Starve

Professor Dahrendorf's problem is: Survival is not enough. What matters is a life worth living.

Tell that to the Bengalis. Tell that to the people who will starve this year and who will starve next year, and who have no hope of survival.

When he does his proposals in the last lecture he says we must improve the basic services, 'at all times and in all places.'

Public services? Basic services? Electricity, sewerage, water, to the villages of South West China, to the villages of Indonesia, to the villages of India? And without economic growth? What world are we living in?

Even the provision of drinking water in the Indonesian villages would be a fantastic step forward, without worrying about rubbish collection and other delicacies.

Without economic growth and without tackling the central problem of economic growth, which is the private profit system, without tackling the grotesque inequality his proposals are the wildest utopianism.

The problem, he says, is over. That is, the fragile, provisional prosperity of some people in some

countries is enough to call off the fight.

That little provisional toe-hold that people have got on some kind of prosperity is now threatened. 60,000 working on short-time in the Lancashire textile industry, 6,000 laid off. 7½ million unemployed in the United States. Talk to them about they've arrived and really the problem is their individual liberties.

Boom

The perspective is grim. Let me quote to you The Times editorial of 26 September last year. They argue that there will be an upturn in the system in the closing months of 1975 and through 1976. That will lead to a boom in 1977.

That boom will have a hyperinflation effect on the international currency structure. It will wreck the currency structure, so that the slump which comes in 1977-78 will be of catastrophic proportions.

It will be the second great catastrophe of this century. That's the sort of scale they're thinking on, and they see no end to the abyss. They see no way in which the system can be salvaged.

Of course, the system will survive, they'll hang on. They've got a police force, they've got an army, they've got a centralised bureaucracy. They'll hang on to their privileges, even though their heart bleeds for all the poor that are dying somewhere or other.

Tiger

Now I've tried very crudely to outline a diagnosis. The question is: what are the solutions?

The resources are available. There is no physical shortage. The technology is available. The people are available.

But they cannot meet the actual needs because the satisfaction of human needs is only an accidental by-product of the system under which we live. The prosperity is an accidental by-product.

The potential cannot be realised while we suffer under this system. I can do no better than to quote Professor Tawney: 'You can strip an onion skin by skin. You cannot take the claws off a tiger claw by claw.'

Every time there is a reform of one kind or another, some marginal adjustment, it will be converted: a public housing programme is converted by a private housing market; a public hospital system is converted by private patients, the central power core will convert it back to the making of privileges and profit for the system.

The crisis is now pushing down real wages, it is attacking a way of life, it is attacking the whole structure of the world. It is banging against these petty provincial boundaries which we call national borders. That is the reason for the hysteria of the ruling classes because they see all the forces unfolding beneath them which are liable to overthrow them.

Savage

And they should be overthrown. Because of the scale of the crisis, the second time this century, we have the potential for building a world order which, in fact, will lead to the satisfaction of human needs. But it requires some forces other than the ruling class, because the ruling classes will not saw off the bough on which they are sitting.

I believe that that class is the working class, itself the generator of profit, itself under the most savage pressure round the world—fairly mild pressure in this country, but fantastically savage pressure in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America.

It needs the building of a revolutionary party, separate from that structure and absolutely opposed to the making of profit out of starvation and famine.

The ruling classes of the world will use all means at their disposal to destroy that challenge including calling for national loyalty, the interests of we rich, our country, our people against the blacks, the foreigners, and anybody else they can blame.

Break

But the alternative to a working-class revolution, be quite clear is the barbarism we have already seen. We've seen that in the failure of the working-class revolution of the 1920s.

What was it? Nazism. Fascism, and a second world war. And rates of unemployment in the industrialised countries and the imposition of fantastic poverty on the backward countries. That is the face of the alternative.

I see no alternative. I see no alternative in the Reith lectures, which seem to me a manifesto of despair. Despair, the locking yourself up in a suburb.

The only perspective now, emerging out of the mist, is a working-class revolution, and an international revolution which will break the national boundaries and break the national ruling classes.

Socialist Worker welcomes readers' comments on Nigel Harris' speech. Write to: Letters, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.

ON THE BOX

SUNDAY
BBC-1: 8.10pm. One of the better John Wayne Westerns is RIO BRAVO, directed by Howard Hawks. At 10.25pm on BBC-2 is English director John Boorman's thriller POINT BLANK, starring Lee Marvin.

MONDAY
BBC-2: 9.10. Johnny Cash, the singer who combines the remains of the old American tradition of radical protest songs with a laboured patriotism introduces RIDIN' THE RAILS, the story of the American railways. On BBC-2 at 10pm is HORIZON—THE FIRST SIGNS OF WASHOE, investigating successful attempts to

develop a sign language for a chimpanzee . . .

TUESDAY
BBC-2: 8.35pm. THE BOOK PROGRAMME includes a discussion on Robert Skidelski's new biography of Oswald Mosley. On BBC-1 at 9.25 the TUESDAY DOCUMENTARY—AN IMAGE OF ENGLAND, examines the story of the Yorkshire village of Lothersdale, from pre-Norman conquest to the present day.

WEDNESDAY
BBC-2: 7.55pm. TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX PRESENTS is another assemblage of film clips from the good old days. At 10.30pm on ITV is ST HELENA:

A TALE OF A COLONY about that 'Remote chunk of rock in the middle of the South Atlantic Ocean'. At 10.45pm on BBC-1 the MIDWEEK SPECIAL examines the loss of the MV Lovat

FRIDAY
BBC-2: 9.30pm. THE MONEY PROGRAMME is about New York, THE DEBT CITY, where the financial crisis is meaning massive lay-offs in city employees, welfare cuts, and even the police force. The writer has never seen it but Don Siegel's INVASION OF THE BODY SNATCHERS at 11pm (Birmingham area only) made in the 1950s is argued to be one of the better science fiction films. It is alleged to mirror the anti-communist paranoia of the period . . .



WHAT'S ON

IS public meetings

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

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.

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.

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.

AVONMOUTH IS industrial meeting: Redundancy and short-time working—how to fight them. Speaker: Steve Jefferys (IS industrial organiser). Wednesday 2 April, 7.30pm, Room B, Twyford Community Centre, High Street, Shirehampton. One in a series of meetings.

MANCHESTER Health Workers IS public meeting: Sit-ins and occupations. Speaker: John Deason (IS industrial organiser). Thursday 3 April, 8pm, Ancoats Hotel, Great Ancoats Street.

WATFORD IS public meeting: The Struggle in Ireland. Speaker: Paddy Prendiville. Thursday 3 April, 8pm, Watford Trades Union Hall (upstairs room), Woodford Road, near Watford Junction Station.

PLYMOUTH IS public meeting: Redundancies and how to fight them. Speakers: Paul Foot (editor, Socialist Worker) and Jimmy Rule (AUEW shop steward). Thursday 3 April, 8pm, Hyde Park Hotel, Mutley Plain. All welcome.

Meetings for IS members

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.

IS Middle East Group day school: Saturday 5 April, 10.30am-6pm, 381 Clapham Road, London SW9 (150 yards from Clapham North tube). Sessions on the Conflict in the Middle East and the future of Palestine, the class nature of Egypt, and Class and race in Israel within the context of the political history of Zionism. Contact Middle East Group for accommodation if necessary, c/o 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

WEST MANCHESTER District IS education school: The State. Speaker: Colin Barker. Wednesday 2 April, 8pm, further details from Jules Townshend (phone 881 7845).

AN IS Shipyard Workers fraction is being established. The first meeting will be in Liverpool on Saturday 19 April. Further details contact IS national office (01-739 6273).

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

IS EETPU Fraction Meeting: Saturday 5 April. Contact fraction secretary or national office (01-739 6273) for details.



- Pamphlets produced by the International Socialists:
- The struggle for workers power by Roger Rosewell, 10p
 - Can socialism come through parliament, by Roger Kline, 10p
 - Workers against racism, by Paul Foot, 10p
 - Women fight back, by Kath Ennis, 10p
 - Lenin, by Jim Higgins, 5p
 - The meaning of Marxism, by Duncan Hallas, 25p. Study guide to the meaning of Marxism, by Richard Kuper, 10p
 - The politics of Lenin, by Paul Kinsborg, 20p
 - Russia: How the revolution was lost, by Chris Harman, 15p
 - Asbestos, the dust that kills in the name of profit, 10p
 - The struggle in Ireland, by Chris Harman, 15p
 - Black workers in Britain, 15p
 - Whats happening to our Health Service? by IS health workers, 10p
 - Workers against the law: The truth about the Shrewsbury Trials, by Laurie Flynn, 10p
- Please add 6p postage for each pamphlet. IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

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.

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. **BRISTOL:** Sunday 27 April. **SOUTH WALES:** Saturday 5 April. **HITCHIN:** Saturday 12 April. **OXFORD:** Saturday 27 April. **SOUTH WEST LONDON:** Saturday 26 April. **WEST LONDON:** Sunday 20 April. Dates not yet fixed for Birmingham, Liverpool, East Anglia. Full details from branch/district secretaries.

LONDON BUILDING WORKERS IS fraction meeting: Saturday 5 April, 2pm-5.30pm, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2. All London building workers to attend.

IS notices

IS JOURNAL numbers 7-37 needed by a growing group of Canadian comrades. If you have any to spare for them, please write to Jeff Jackson, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

GLAXO: Would IS members and sympathisers working for the Glaxo group, please get in contact with a view to forming a Glaxo IS group. Write to Glaxo IS group, c/o Whats On, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.

LUTTE OUVRIERE FETE: Employment and politics near Paris, 17-19 May. Discounts available for IS members and Socialist Worker readers. Help needed for IS stall. Write now for full details to Box F, IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

PLUTO PRESS: Sorry, comrades, if you have not yet received ordered copies of Cliff's Lenin volume 1, there will be a delay of a week. The first 1000 copies have all been sold. New delivery expected soon.

WORLD CRISIS: IS Books have 500 remaindered copies of World Crisis, edited by Nigel Harris and John Palmer (formerly £2.25) for sale at 65p—or 85p by post (55p plus post to bookshops). Postal rates have risen by up to 55 per cent on small packages. This makes it absolutely necessary for us to apply our 5 per cent postal charge to all orders over £1. Small orders: add 9p for each book, 6p for each pamphlet. IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

DISTRICT IS Day Schools: The second of the series will be on Inflation, the Permanent Arms Economy and Wage Controls, the third on Social Democracy, the Revolutionary Party and the Struggle within the Trade Unions. IS districts that have not already fixed dates for these should contact Pete Marsden, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 (phone 01-739 6273 Weds-Fri).

NATIONAL FRONT—The New Nazis: Stocks of this IS pamphlet are running low. Would IS branches and districts please return surplus copies to IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, where they will be glad to give credit for them.

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).

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.

SOCIALIST WORKER needs someone to help organise cuttings and information files. Anyone with at least one free day a week, with a bit of enthusiasm, please phone SW editorial now. 01-739 6361.

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.

Showing Labour's Left like it is...

by Steve Jefferys

I SAW the latest play by the acting group CAST, Sam the Man: Socialist MP, last week. It's about the Left Labour MP who gets elected in the Labour landslide of 1945, and is still around, believing in the Parliamentary Road to Socialism, in 1975.

All the characters and struggles of the Labour Lefts over the past 30 years are rolled into Sam's personal story. Sam quickly learns to play by parliamentary rules during Labour's majority of 1945-50. During the 'thirteen wasted years' of 'You've Never Had It So Good Tory Britain, Sam is always there. Demonstrating

against the Suez invasion, against the Bomb, against the attack on Clause Four. Sam's always on the left, always ineffective and never ready to make a decisive break with the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party.

During the 1946-70 Wilson government, Sam really takes a hammering. Not only does the government go back on everything Sam believes in, but Tribunate friends such as 'Red' Barbara Castle actually end up introducing anti-union laws.

Sam doesn't stop to ask questions. When he sees a workers' movement developing outside parliament that's more important than any 120 Left

MPs inside, he's quick to link arms at its head. The miners kick out the Tories and it's back to Harold again.

'This time,' Sam ends up saying, 'it'll be different. We've got ministers in the government and there'll be no stopping us.'

The play lasts about 45 minutes and is good, funny, revolutionary theatre. IS districts and branches, as well as trade union schools, can really make use of it. It should be followed by a comrade who gets up and argues why this time what we need is a revolutionary party. That's what the play's about. Phone CAST on 01-402 6087 to book.

WORKERS' ACTION

FIGHT LAYOFFS!

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By David Martin
Newly available! Canadian work-
ers are now out of their jobs.
According to government statis-
tics—7,000 of these indefinitely.
Many may never return to their
jobs.
In the same month industry
members, under the leadership of
the United National Caucus, cor-
rected signs reading: 'Defend Our
Jobs, Not Our Lives, Profits, and
the Government of Canada.'
agreements that protect them
against inflation and the threat of
growing unemployment. We can
expect more of the same through
out the rest of this year.

FRATERNAL ORGANISATION SET UP IN CANADA

A NEW revolutionary socialist group has been formed in Canada. At the meeting in Toronto over the weekend 8-9 February the Independent Socialist (Ontario), a fraternal organisation of IS, was founded.

The Independent Socialists developed as a revolutionary response to the breakdown of 'left nationalist' politics in Canada, which had flourished in the 1960s, particularly among students and intellectuals. The domination of Canada, by the United States both politically and economically, led many thousands of Canadians to rally around the cause of Canadian independence.

But since then the Canadian economy has experienced rising inflation, lay-offs and unemployment, and the workers have fought back with a militancy unseen in 30 years. The irrelevance of nationalist slogans to these problems has become increasingly obvious. This has produced a deep crisis in the 'left nationalist' movement, both inside and outside the left nationalist New

Democratic Party, and out of this crisis the Independent Socialists have been formed.

Their crucial first step is in helping to build a rank and file opposition in the trade union movement. Members have already begun this work, publishing rank and file newspapers in several unions. The Independent Socialists will be publishing a newspaper, Workers' Action, which will be the key to building a nationwide Canadian IS.

SEVENTEEN members of IS met in London last month for the second meeting of the IS North American Group, a work group of the International Subcommittee. There were two sessions, one to discuss IS(US) and the American scene today, and the other on the role of the Canadian left in the crisis of Canadian nationalism.

Sheila McGregor was appointed full-time IS Women's Organiser at the last meeting of the National Committee.

The socialist struggle – in Urdu

MORE than a third of the latest issue of Urdu Chingari is written by Asian manual workers.

Writes one: "A fair wage" is a misleading concept—for wages are that part of a worker's total produce that is not appropriated by the employer. Only under socialism will workers decide for themselves what part of their production may be consumed and what part accumulated.

Another writes: "The hypocrisy of the debate in Oxford over Bhutto's degree so blatant: If Kissinger deserves a Nobel Peace Prize for massacring thousands of workers in Vietnam, Cambodia and Chile, then Mr Bhutto, with all the blood in Bangladesh and Baluchistan, surely deserves a law degree!"

The range of articles is wide: the nature of the present economic crisis,

the political situation in Pakistan, the use of the Immigration Act against militant workers, Imperial Typewriters and the question of nationalisation, first hand industrial reports on conditions inside factories, tactics of struggles and much more.

Chingari is the only paper in Urdu for militant Asian workers in Britain. Copies from Urdu Chingari, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.



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 c... 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 _____



a question of socialism

It's class that matters, not colour

I HAVE got nothing against coloured people but we have got to look after the British first. With the crisis this country cannot afford to have so many coloured people here.

A LARGE number of active and militant trade unionists agree with a great deal that they read in Socialist Worker. For many, however, a main disagreement is when we call for 'no immigration controls'.

After all when there is an economic crisis one doesn't make sense to stop people coming into this country so there are more jobs and houses for us all. Why do socialists reject this apparently convincing argument?

Basically because this apparent solution to unemployment and bad housing will not solve the problems at all. If it were true that immigration caused unemployment and bad housing it would follow that the cities which have the highest black population would also have the highest unemployment figures. In fact the opposite is the case. The areas of highest unemployment—Scotland, the North East, Northern Ireland—are the areas of lowest immigration.

Lowest

In the 1930s this country had more than three million out of work—one worker in five. At that time immigration was very small indeed.

It is the same with housing. Glasgow and Belfast have the worst housing shortage and conditions. More than 90 per cent of Belfast Protestants and Catholics together have no inside toilet. Yet both cities also have the lowest rate of immigration in Britain.

There is no link between the number of black people in this country and unemployment or the housing shortage. The real cause lies with capitalist society.

Recently the press has been full of stories about millions of bricks lying unused in Peterborough. Yet the number of new houses being built is the lowest since 1953. Why? Not because there are too many blacks in the country, but because it is not profitable to build houses at

the moment, although thousands of people need somewhere to live.

In the same way black immigrants cannot be blamed for high unemployment. Workers black and white are being thrown on the dole. This is the result of the crisis in capitalism not black immigration.

You cannot treat appendicitis by prescribing aspirin—the real cause of the pain, the infected appendix, has to be removed. In the same way you do not cure unemployment and bad housing by picking on black workers, but by removing the cause—capitalism itself.

Useful

So socialists support the principle 'no immigration controls' because any attempt to limit immigration is a step towards blaming black immigrants for problems which they suffer but certainly don't cause.

This is why the employers find racist ideas so useful. For as the economic crisis gets worse, the employers will seek to use racism as a way of protecting their wealth and themselves. They will be much happier if their workers, instead of uniting together to fight against short-time working and redundancies or for a wage increase to keep up with inflation, start fighting among themselves on the basis of the colour of their skin.

Racist calls for the control of immigration blur and deflect the real question now: who is going to pay for the crisis, the employers or the workers? Such calls can only help the employers and divide workers.

Cuts

The most ardent supporter of immigration control is Enoch Powell. His credentials to give advice to working people are questionable. He supported every attack the last Tory government launched against the working class—the Industrial Relations Act, the Fair Rent Act, cuts in hospitals, ending free school milk, low pensions.

Powell lives in a fashionable part of London and once said: 'Often, when I am kneeling down in Church, I think to myself how much we should thank God, the Holy Ghost, for the gift of capitalism.'

His main policy to meet the present crisis is to control the supply of money, so pushing up unemployment beyond the two million mark. Trade unionists who blame black people for unemployment should take a closer look at Enoch Powell, who wants to do just that.

Solve

There is another important reason why socialists oppose immigration controls. Basic to the argument for restricting the number of black immigrants is the idea that somehow all 'British' people have a common interest—rich and poor, employer and employed are all part of one British nation and should stand side by side to solve their problems together.

But Lord Stokes and a British Leyland worker for example may be white and British but have little more in common. Carworkers, whatever the colour of their skin and whatever country they live in, face the common prospect of redundancies, short-time working and speed-up.

The multinational car producers try to obscure this by appealing to racism and nationalism. So British carworkers are told to work harder to stop the Germans or Japanese from capturing the car market. The same thing happens in Japan and Germany. In this way the employers play the British worker off against the German or Japanese.

Socialists believe that the dividing line between people is neither their country nor the colour of their skin. It is the class to which they belong. The demand for 'no immigration control' is practical recognition of this principle.

**PAUL
HOLBOROW**

For a longer account of the socialist opposition to racism, read Paul Foot's *Workers Against Racism*, available 16p (postage included) from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.



Some of the 200 teachers and other trade unionists picketing the governors' meeting at Phoenix School.

Picture: John Rasmussen (Report)

TEACHERS' VICTORY

EAST LONDON:—The Phoenix School Board of Governors met last Wednesday to hear the complaint against five teachers who had taken an 'unauthorised absence' when they went on a one-day strike against the Houghton Report.

They had also gone on a half-day strike in support of Scottish teachers last November.

The governors decided *unanimously* that no further inquiry or disciplinary action is warranted.

This is an important victory. The teachers had argued that the right to strike is a fundamental, established right of trade unionists—whether officially endorsed by the union or not—and their actions were democratically taken by a majority of the NUT members at the school.

TURNOVER

They said they were striking in the interests of the school, its teachers and pupils, and the education system in general. A career structure which leaves classroom teachers badly paid will not help to recruit teachers or stop high staff turnover.

The Inner London Education Authority had selected only four schools for this kind of disciplinary action and were trying to intimidate the majority of teachers by making an example of a few.

The Phoenix teachers won their

case, but the battle is not over. There are several outstanding issues that all NUT members should raise in their school meetings NUT and local association meetings:

Three teachers at Garratt Green School are going before their Board of Governors on 21 April. Organise maximum support for them. Messages of support to: NUT Rep, Garratt Green School, Burntwood Road, London SW17.

More than 400 teachers have received a warning letter from the ILEA's Dr Briault after coming out

on strike once, and could have disciplinary action taken against them if they strike again. Write to Briault at County Hall, London SE1, calling for the withdrawal of the warning.

Although the ILEA deny it, they must keep a record of teachers who have gone on strike. This information must be removed.

The NUT Executive refused to support its own members in these cases—of both official and unofficial strikes. Get your school or local association to pass a resolution condemning this disgraceful action.

STUDENT STRUGGLE



AFTER a lull over the past few months the student movement is again on the boil. Three colleges have been singled out by the authorities for an attempt to smash the students' opposition to the education cuts.

At LANCASTER UNIVERSITY up to 100 students are expected to be hauled before a disciplinary tribunal and expelled from the college.

At SURREY UNIVERSITY the bailiff has now issued summonses to all students on rent strike. The vice-chancellor has said he intends to cut the funds to the students' union for the start of the next session.

At ESSEX UNIVERSITY all students on rent strike are to be prevented from taking exams. Last week this led to a flare-up between the students and the authorities as exams were disrupted in protest.

The significance of these disputes cannot be overstated. It cannot be accounted for by thinking that three vice-chancellors have gone off their heads, as some students seem to think. It is a well worked-out strategy involving not just the vice-chancellors and principals of every college in the country but Reg Prentice, Labour's Minister of Education.

On the Sunday before action started against the students the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals met in secret. On the Friday before, Charles Carter, the Vice-Chancellor at Lancaster, met Reg Prentice.

The policy being followed is now clear. A concerted attempt is being made to defeat the students in three key universities and so set back national opposition to the education cuts.

For once the vice-chancellors at

Lancaster, Surrey and Essex do not seem to mind creating a total confrontation with their students. They have resorted to using the police and the courts, a policy certain to unite student opinion against them. It looks like they will be prepared to ride a stormy few months of militancy if the students unions can be broken at the end of it.

That is why Carter of Lancaster is talking about expelling up to 100 students and fining certain political societies. Legatt of Surrey wants to ensure that the students union does not have the money to operate next year and Sloman of Essex is trying to rid himself of all those on rent strike.

All students should be warned. A further round of 30 per cent price and rent rises are due in a few months time and this is likely to be only a 15 per cent increase in the main rate of grant. At the beginning of next term Lancaster, Surrey and Essex are going to need national support. The student movement will have to stand up to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals or else lose all hope of stopping the cuts in education.



THE National Student Committee of the International Socialists met over the weekend and discussed in full the events at Lancaster and how IS Societies in colleges should respond. It was decided to push for an emergency resolution at NUS Conference.

The date for the IS Student Conference has been fixed for 17-18 May. Agenda and conference documents will be circulated at the beginning of term and motions invited.

International Socialists

AUEW

NATIONAL FRACTION MEETING

All IS AUEW (Engineering Section) members to attend. Admission by IS membership card only.

Saturday 5 April, 11am
Digbeth Civic Hall, Deritend High Street, Birmingham.

NUS Conference. Meeting for all NOISS delegates and observers. Monday 7 April, 3pm, at Llandudno Conference Hall.

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

HOW WE
CAN USE
YOUR CASH

£5125

Dockers: We want jobs not promises

LONDON: 5,000 dockers voted on Monday by more than two to one to continue their three-week strike against the growth of unregistered container bases and ports.

This is in spite of attempts by the press and television to persuade dockers to accept Employment Secretary Michael Foot's vague proposals and return to work.

As soon as the dockers had democratically decided for the strike to continue a smear campaign was launched against them and their

by Eddie Prevost
TGWU shop steward,
London Royal Group of Docks

leaders. For weeks the press have played down the strike. Now they scream about 'fixed votes' at a meeting they did not even attend, in order to divide and split the magnificent unity of London dockers.

Michael Foot proposes to have a five-mile belt around the major docks where only registered dockers would be employed. But many dockers recognise the frailty of Foot's proposals. There is only a vague commitment to introducing the required

legislation 'some time in the autumn'. The dockers came out for a written guarantee on jobs to take effect immediately.

Dockers have been inundated with promises in the past. They remember only too well the Bristow Report, which was the original proposal for a five-mile corridor. This was accepted by a previous Labour government—but never implemented.

Since then we have had the 1972 strike on exactly the same issue—unregistered dockwork—which was sold out by false promises from the joint committee led by TGWU general secretary Jack Jones and port em-

ployer Lord Aldington. This led to the loss of another 10,000 jobs.

Now London's dockers learn that Scratton's Maltby, one of the largest stevedoring firms in London, is to close, taking many of the present jobs in London with it. Other port employers look decidedly shaky too.

In the worsening economic situation dockers need more than a few promises from Michael Foot. The strike is now for copper-bottomed guarantees for jobs.

Indeed, there was a widespread feeling at Monday's meeting at Tilbury that unless we win this fight now, there will be nothing to go back to in the future. Michael Foot cannot even guarantee 4500 steelworkers their jobs in his own constituency of Ebbw Vale.

In the past, parliament has rushed an Act on to the statute book when it thought the situation was sufficiently urgent. By continuing to stand firm we can force the same action now.

The dockers need your support. Send messages of solidarity and donations to Royal Docks Shop Stewards Committee, 51 Creighton Avenue, East Ham, London E6.

Social Contract robs engineers

THE 1975 non-event of the engineers' national wage claim is now over. At the special National Committee of the AUEW last November all teeth were extracted from the claim.

Despite rising unemployment it did not include the demand for a shorter working week. Despite rapid inflation, it did not demand a specific minimum target of £50 or £60 a week. It did not demand real across-the-board increases on top of existing wages, but instead focused on basic rates.

The offer made by the Engineering Employers' Federation on Monday on behalf of its 5000 member firms was for skilled engineers' basic rates to rise from the present £32 to £36 in June, then to £40 in December and finally to £42 in March 1976. Unskilled workers will move from the present £25.50 to £33.60 over the same period, and women workers will get an extra £1 in December to bring their minimum rate into line with the lowest male rate in the industry. The deal is a 15-month agreement to last from February 1975 until May 1976 at the earliest.

Action

Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, heads the negotiations for the 19 unions representing the 1½ million engineering workers covered by the claim. Right from the start he had indicated there would be no campaign to publicise the claim or to take action.

Most engineers will never know that their unions asked the EEF for an immediate £9 on the basic rates and for five days' extra holiday. So it comes as no surprise that Scanlon and the other union negotiators are now going through the formality of recommending acceptance.

Scanlon refused to fight for any real increase for engineers because he supports the government's Social Contract policy of keeping wages down. The EEF were happy with this: for once they even declined to estimate how much the settlement would cost. The reason: average engineering wages are over £48 a week and very few engineers will get anything in their pay packets as a result. A rise in basic rates can boost overtime rates and holiday pay, but right now

short-time is affecting 250,000 workers and hardly any overtime is being worked. And there are no extra holidays in the package.

Engineering workers should protest sharply at this settlement. Calls for the rejection of the deal should be made through union branches and shop stewards' committees. But more important still, engineering workers should demand that their employers pay them real across-the-board 30 per cent pay rises now.



On the picket line at Nettle Accessories, Stockport. Of 150 women who came out on strike for equal pay, all but nine are still out after two weeks. The women, in the AUEW, are well organised. Pickets are being assisted by local trade unionists in a dispute which will help the cause of equal pay throughout the area. Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

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WHY YOU SHOULD BE AT THIS CONFERENCE

by Norma Stevens (SEI, Eccles)

THE shop stewards at SEI decided to sponsor the Rank and File Conference on Equal Pay and Redundancies without hesitation. We had a hard and bitter battle for equal pay two years ago.

It was the first strike in history for equal pay and this was reflected in the support we received from trade unionists all over the country. We were lucky. Our dispute was something new. It got a lot of publicity both in the press and television. It attracted people's attention.

But that was two years ago. The struggle continues now, and it is getting harder to win, even though supposedly by the end of 1975

equal pay will be the law of the land.

We want to try to repay some of the support we received and see if we can make the fight for equal pay easier for other workers to win.

We believe this conference is a way of doing this—by passing on our experiences of the lessons we learnt during those eleven long weeks on the gates. This conference is also on redundancies. Now, like then, we know little about how to fight for the right to work. This time we want to know before the battle starts, not during it.

Part of the strength of the working class comes from exchanging experiences in struggle. This is one of the reasons why the conference is so important and that is why we will be there on 26 April.

IS MEMBERS in Glasgow have been stretched to the limit this week, organising support for the dustcart drivers.

But in many ways the simplest jobs facing them—producing thousands and thousands of leaflets and posters—are the hardest.

The reason is simple. Those leaflets and posters, cost money. And money unlike enthusiasm, energy and hard work, is one thing we're short of.

If you want to do your bit to help us with our efforts in Glasgow—and it's a struggle every socialist should support—send us what you can.

Help us to battle our way to our emergency fighting fund target of £10,000.

Send donations to: Mel Norris, IS Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

Last week you sent us £786.81, bringing the total to **£5125.98**

OUR THANKS TO:

SW readers March, Cambridge £2, Stirling reader £3, Birmingham IS £9, Hatfield Poly Staff SW readers £7, Reader, Lochgoilhead Argyll £3, High Wycombe IS £6, Exeter IS £12, Bristol IS £28.80, Leicester Curry Pot £10, Maidstone IS £6.30, Darlington IS £9, Gloucester IS £2.76, Walthamstow IS £15, Exeter IS Disco and SW Collection £15, Kirby IS £6, Architectural Association SW readers £4, High Peak IS £1.

Members special levy: Hackney teachers £6, Leeds £51.10, Coventry West £47.60, Cambridge £15, York £27, Coventry East £18, Harlesden £6, Central London Workers £5.20, Aberystwyth £12, Durham £27, Edinburgh £22, Kirkby £5, Moston £18, Worcester £3, Norwich £40, Barton £18, Huddersfield £9, Cambridge £15, Tower Hamlets £15, Lewisham IS £20, Leicester IS £14, Socialist Society, Dundee College of Technology £5, Bootle IS £12, Chesterfield IS £6.78, SW readers TGWU Mansfield £2, SW jumble sale £15, Beccles supporter £1, Arsenal supporter £10, Street sales Cwybran £1, Aberdeen IS £5.38, North East London Poly IS Society Livingstone House £9.50, SW Readers Monmouth £5.45, SW Readers College of Law, Chancery Lane £1.50, Oxford Collection at Crisis meeting £1.8, An individual £100, Kirby £10, City of London Poly £3, Hillingdon £13.50, LSE £33, Harlesden £13, Croydon £9, Central London Workers £46, Leicester Engineers £1, Aberdeen £12, Edinburgh £18, Finsbury Park £6, Teesside £9, London Airport £9, Hackney £6.50, Austin £2.70, Edmonton £7.00, Individual contributions £355.

ADVERTISEMENT

NATIONAL RANK AND FILE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Women workers are first in line to suffer under the current economic situation. 'Twilight' shifts are always first to go. Many men militants still feel that women aren't the main breadwinners and so their jobs aren't so important.

1975 is a key year for all workers, be they men or women. But it is important that we give special consideration to the problems of women workers. That is why the Rank and File Organising Committee has called this conference.

The shop floor fight—Equal Pay, No redundancies.
Saturday 26 April 1975
University of Manchester
Institute of Science and Technology

Jointly sponsored by:
SEI shop stewards' committee
ASTMS Leicester General branch
NUPE Withington Hospital, Manchester
NUPE United Manchester Hospitals

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