

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Socialist Worker picture by Jeff Pic

Last Sunday's anti-war march passing Downing St, centre of British support for imperialist butchery

LABOUR'S BLOOD MONEY

by Stephen Marks

UNDER PRESSURE from the growing anti-war movement, the US Army has announced that an officer is to stand trial on charges related to the mass murder of more than 500 Vietnamese villagers at My Lai last March. The flood of anger from the American people, who are now only beginning to discover the scale of the obscenity which the war involves, has forced even sections of the establishment there and in this country to express their horror.

But the way the question is being treated shows that the attempts at cover-up will continue. The killings will be deplored as an 'inexplicable exception' to the general rule of conduct, as an isolated atrocity which of course must be cleared up to keep the record clean.

But the truth was well put in the last issue of the Sunday Times: 'If Pinkville is an atrocity, atrocity has been woven into the fabric of the Vietnam war since its outset'. These atrocities are not an isolated exception, nor, as other sections of the press maintain, are they simply a part of the 'tragedy of war'. They are simply one facet of the daily butchery which is inherent in a special kind of war—a war against a people fighting for their freedom.

Murder of villages

Under the cover of expressions such as 'counter-insurgency', 'brushfire action', 'search and destroy missions', and 'rooting out the Vietcong infrastructure', the murder of whole villages without discrimination has been a part of American strategy for years. The 650 pages of the proceedings of Bertrand Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal, ignored or condemned at the time by the capitalist press, are now confirmed and added to each day.

Any village in an area suspected of harbouring sympathisers of the National Liberation Front, that is almost any village in south Vietnam, is liable to have an air strike called down on it. This means burning napalm jelly which clings to the skin and cannot be put out. It means metal fragmentation bombs, which burst and scatter metal shivers over a wide area and which are useless against military targets or any other objective except human flesh. And any ground attack means use of the



BROWN: approaches the truth

M-16 rifle, as at My Lai, whose 'tumbling bullets' which expand on impact are a refined and more dangerous version of the dum-dum.

Vietnam is the laboratory for the use of these new murder weapons, which are the only possible reply to a movement too deeply rooted in the people to be combated in any other way. Indiscriminate terror is the only possible answer to a stubbornly hostile nation in arms.

The National Liberation Front announced the My Lai massacres as long ago as last March, a few weeks after the event. It is only now that growing opposition to the war in America itself has created a mood in which the truth can get through. The My Lai murders are significant not as an exception but as an example of the rule.

And as this shaft of light cuts through the murk of distortion about the war, it illuminates the obscene figure of George Brown, prancing on the mass graves of the slaughtered peasants. A special brand of contempt should be reserved for this British Spiro Agnew and his unctuous discovery that we cannot be sure that 'our own hands' are clean in places such as Malaya where Britain 'performed the same duty'.

Here if nowhere else this 'tired' buffoon approaches the truth. The photographs of British troops holding the severed heads of Malayan freedom fighters are merely among the most recent of a line of atrocities going back to the thuggery of the Black and Tans and the massacre of hundreds of Indians by British troops at Amritsar. And Brown's claim that 'now we have a free Malaya and a free Singapore' is grimly given the lie by the recent state of emergency proclaimed last May, after left gains in the far from honest

elections. The emergency gives the government powers to hold special trials, to suspend or amend any law, to revoke citizenship, to enter and search premises, to impose any penalty including death, and to suspend any incomplete elections.

No doubt Barbara Castle, unable to force through her comparatively feeble repressive laws against the trade unions, was too lost in admiration of this panoply of repression to remind Brother George of the days when she exposed the atrocities of British imperialist troops in Cyprus. But that was in the heady days of the 1950s, when Labour was in opposition.

The moral of this morass of murder and repression is not the brutality of some American soldiers compared to others, of American soldiers as compared to British, or of 'war in general'. It is the barbaric nature of imperialism, which when its exploitation of subject peoples is threatened can have no other response than indiscriminate terror and blind repression. And the ordinary workers in uniform must be buttressed from a sense of what they do by an ideology of racialism: the Vietnamese are 'gooks' and 'scarcely human'. From there it is a short step to the end product, described by the mother of an American soldier involved in the massacre: 'I sent them a good boy and they made him a murderer.'

Against the system

But in spite of the enormity of US imperialism's crimes, we must never forget that for every soldier fighting in Vietnam there are hundreds demonstrating back home against the war and, increasingly, against the system that spawns such barbarity. We must take our stand with that movement, which by its size and potential is already dividing and weakening the American ruling class.

In Britain our target must be the traitorous Labour government that backs the American war in order to receive financial loans for the local capitalist system. Marches, protests, demonstrations are important, but in the long run the most telling contribution we can make towards ending the Vietnam war is to build a mass revolutionary working-class movement to overthrow the degenerate system of which Brown, Wilson and company are the hired mouthpieces.

At least the ball was coloured...
by Bob Light

ONCE AGAIN last Saturday at the Twickenham Springbok match, the police did a thoroughly ruthless job in protecting the representatives of apartheid on the rugby pitch.

Out of a total crowd of around 20,000, there must have been 1000 demonstrators in the ground. Every time a South African touched the ball he was barracked with 'Seig heil' and yells of 'Fascist'.

When 200 demonstrators got on the pitch and stopped the match for 10 minutes, it was the signal for the police to wade in with everything they had. Demonstrators were kicked, punched and generally roughed up.

From this time onwards the police showed us what nasty little thugs they can be. Reinforcements were called in until there were more than 800 uniformed men ringing the pitch.

At the slightest hint of anything more than chanting, the fearless men in blue lashed out with their fists or their boots. Any demonstrator, determined enough to break through the thin blue line, could look forward to being dragged out of the ground by his hair. One IS member saw a policeman charge a boy with 'refusing to answer questions' as the boy lay unconscious on the floor.

Jamboree

But none of this was enough for the rugby-lovers in the crowd. The sons and daughters of the semi-detached bourgeoisie had a jamboree, screaming out 'Let's have another Sharpeville' and 'Kill the long-haired bastards'.

I saw three men wearing National Front badges drink two full bottles of whisky and then set about one isolated anti-racist. There were many other punch-ups in the crowd — more likely the work of plain-clothes police than of the NF — and at least three young lads were thrown bodily down two flights of stone steps, with their faces bleeding.

Following the match 1000 demonstrators marched to Twickenham police station to free those who had been arrested but eight horses, ferocious dogs and 100 police drove them away.

It was an impressive demonstration, but it was not big enough and trade unionists, socialists and anti-racists in the London area should begin to plan a bigger demonstration for the Springbok's next game at Twickenham on 20 December.

* The Springboks' opponents on Saturday, the London Counties, played suitably in an all-white strip. But as one wag pointed out the ball at least would be classified as coloured.

FIXTURES

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Communist Party Congress

Militants abandoned as King Street woos union 'lefts'

by Jim Higgins

SOME YEARS AGO Malcolm Muggeridge, at an early stage in his rejection of the sins of the flesh of which he was no longer capable, wrote an article about the Roman Catholic church entitled 'Backward Christian Soldiers'. The article castigated the reforming zeal of the late Pope John on the grounds that once the mysteries of the church are seen as susceptible to reasoned argument then it is but a short step to questioning the church itself.

Some such doubts must occasionally disturb the peace of mind of John Gollan and his fellow apparatchiks in King Street. In maintaining and developing the post-war policy of the Communist Party, as outlined in successive versions of the British Road to Socialism, a policy originating in Stalinist Russia and with the approval if not the authorship of the great Stalin himself, they have removed the class content and the few remaining shreds of marxist analysis in exchange for an illusory respectability and a relationship, without influence, with a few 'left' elements in the trade union bureaucracy and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Bites the hand

The movement of millions of paper votes at the TUC and Labour Party conference are mistaken for the movement of millions of workers. In their desire to remain a part of this charade they must even deny the validity of Russian policy in Czechoslovakia. The Russian originators of the 'British Road' have conjured up a party that steadily declines in membership, without visible influence on events and finally bites the hand that has nourished it for so long.

The withering away of the Communist Party was seen most clearly at the recent 31st Congress. The surface expression of this decline was seen in the falling membership, the fall-off in dues payment (from 55.7 per cent to 51 per cent) the falling circulation of the Morning Star (57,000 in June 1967, 52,000 June 1969) and a drop of some 18 per cent in the sales of Comment at a time of controversy in the party.

The seriousness of the Morning Star situation is seen most clearly when it is recalled that a substantial part of the sales are in Eastern Europe and Russia (the executive were unable—or unwilling—to divulge the size of this foreign sale)

which indicates that the 30,000 members claimed are doing very little more with the paper than buying one copy each. Indeed if some of the claims for bumper sales made by a few of the delegates are true then several thousand party members are not buying the paper at all.

Of the 1,100 CP branches claimed by the leadership, only 180 are industrial branches and of this number only some 20 to 30 are actual factory branches. This means that only a minute portion of the membership are engaged in organisation in a direct class sense while the remainder are operating either on the outer fringes of the union bureaucracy or as an electoral machine.

The grotesque emphasis on local electoral activity is obviously the reverse of a desirable policy for an independent class party basing itself upon marxism. There is nevertheless a logical progression in this apparent blindness of the CP leadership. To operate, as they used to say, at the point of production, would require organisational forms and unofficial struggle against the 'left' trade union bureaucracy. It would bring the party into conflict with its parliamentary allies and it would, in short, signify a complete break with the CP tradition of class collaboration that began in the 1930s and reached its fullest expression in 1969.

The opposition to the party's electoral preoccupations, at the expense of industrial work, which was expressed by Sid French (the Surrey district secretary) would have been correct had it been accompanied by a thoroughgoing rejection of the policy that gave rise to it. But French (a prisoner of the myth of the 'good old days' under Stalin) accepts the 'British Road' and all that goes with it. His call for more grassroots industrial work is as stupid as it is illogical without a complete break with his and the party's Stalinist past.

The degeneration of the CP is now more apparent than in the keynote speech of General Secretary John Gollan. For sheer scraped-out emptiness the speech, entitled 'The monopolies, left unity and the Communist Party', wins a major prize. In a speech that took him some 30 minutes to read we were treated to such stupidities as:

'Some argue that we devote too much time to election struggle at the expense of the mass movement... The highest form of class struggle is not the economic but the political and in British conditions the latter must also express itself in the electoral fight with the ultimate aim of winning Communist representation.'

'Once in the EEC (Common Market) the main decision-making would be concentrated in the bureaucratic EEC bodies and the



The May Day strike against in Place of Strife: CP claims the initiative

sovereignty of the British parliament would be fatally undermined.'

In these two short quotations we get some flavour of the CP's complete retreat from the politics of marxism. The highest form of class struggle is effectively seen as Communist representation in a sovereign British parliament.

After some analysis on mergers and the interpenetration of capital in the metropolitan countries, Gollan goes on to claim this as bearing out 'Lenin's classic analysis of imperialism.' Anyone with the merest smattering of marxist scholarship would recognise that current movements of international capital are, if anything, a refutation of Lenin's classical analysis.

No mention of workers

In the final stages of his speech Gollan laid out the party's policy for the advance to socialism as follows: 'Against the Common Market — for European security and all European co-operation and the liquidation of blocs; the ending of the Vietnam war; the taking over of the monopolies; the slashing of military expenditure; the cutting of investment abroad; heavy taxation of the rich; new social expenditure and the defence and extension of democratic rights.'

No mention of the working class, no mention of workers' power, no mention of the repeal of immigration controls and, above all, an implicit acceptance of the continued existence of capitalism. The programme is no different from, and in many respects less than that enunciated by the most feeble Labour faker.

The political bankruptcy exemplified in the General Secretary's report was carried through to the discussion on Defence of the Unions, introduced by the Scots miners' leader, M. McGahey. He claimed the CP's initiative for the counter-attack on In Place of Strife, a large measure of responsibility for the leftward movement of the unions. The only surprise was the notion that the Portsmouth TUC 'registered a definite set-back for those who would purvey anti-Communism in the labour and trade union movement.'

The actual party programme for trade union advance, being more subject to check, was rather more modest:

1. A minimum wage of £17 (originally £16 10s but amended — to take account of the cost of living perhaps).
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. Guaranteed jobs for all.
4. Shorter week and longer holidays.

SOCIALISTS AND THE MARKET

MARTIN SHAW, in his letter on the Common Market (20 November), is quite wrong to suggest that I lack concern for British housewives. Not only do I live with one, but she sends me out to do the shopping.

It is obviously not enough to say we are against the Common Market because it is a 'ruling-class organisation'. IS members oppose the wages system, but they don't refuse their wage packets.

Again, how do we approach mergers and take-overs? Not by defending the independence of the small firm, but by

concrete opposition to redundancies, defence of working conditions, etc.

To suggest that for Britain to stay out of the Common Market is some kind of victory necessarily implies, as the Tribune left has shown, support for the Labour government.

However, Martin has got a real point. When IS refused to join the Communist Party, the Labour left and the Daily Express in opposing British entry seven years ago, we weren't in a position to do anything but clarify the theoretical points.

Now we must do more. What is needed when British entry comes up

It is a programme that falls short in most respects from that of nearly all trade unions and would undoubtedly be passed at a Labour Party conference. Such is the industrial leadership that the working class can expect from the CP. It is clear that their long, unconsummated love affair with the 'left' union leaders has rendered them impotent.

McGahey's speech contained only one passing reference to productivity bargaining, suggesting that 'more attention should be given' to the subject. It is true that a resolution from several branches was moved and carried which called for defence of shop-floor organisation and resistance to productivity deals and this was implicitly accepted by industrial organiser Bert Ramelson in his reply to the debate. But at no stage did anyone call in to question the attitude of Jones, Scanlon and Daly to productivity bargaining. To have done so would have exposed the whole 'left unity at the top' swindle.

Ramelson, in fact, went further than this in suggesting that the comrades should not accuse the union 'left' of selling out; their failures were due to the fact that they did not have a real marxist understanding, like members of the Communist Party. Now this may be a latter-day interpretation of the old Christian concept 'Forgive them Lord for they know not what they do', but it has nothing to do with class politics.

Throughout the congress I was assailed by a feeling that I had been there before. It was during one of the more extreme exclamations of reformist policy that I recognised the basis of this feeling.

Rejected class politics

The CP Congress is, both in form and content, a pale imitation of the Labour Party conference when that party is out of government. As the Labour government vacates the social democratic stage, the CP hastens to take its place. The CP has rejected any principled class politics it ever had for the chance of becoming the hand-maiden of a trade union bureaucracy that uses it electorally and despises it in its theory and its grovelling practice.

The CP will continue to decline and its too long delayed bid for independence from Russian tutelage will accelerate that process without gaining it the trust and support from British workers that is vital to the live existence of a socialist party.

Jim Higgins is a member of the Post Office Engineering Union.

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6 Cottons Gardens London E2

Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 1870 (business)

CAPITALISM has nothing to offer mankind but exploitation, crises and war. The ruling classes of the world—a tiny minority—subordinate the needs of the vast majority to the blind accumulation of capital in the interests of competitive survival.

Imperialism condemns two-thirds of mankind to famine and calls forth movements of national liberation which shake the system and expose its essential barbarism. The constant and mounting preparations for war and the development of weapons of mass destruction place the survival of humanity itself in the balance.

The increasing intensity of international competition between ever-larger units drives the ruling classes to new attacks on workers' living standards and conditions of work, to anti-trade union and anti-strike laws. All of these show capitalism in deepening crises from which it can only hope to escape at the cost of the working class and by the destruction of all its independent organisations.

The only alternative is workers' power — the democratic collective control of the working class over industry and society through constant struggle against the

WHERE WE STAND

state of workers' councils and workers' control of production.

Only thus can the transition be ensured to a communist society in which the unprecedented productive forces thrown up by capitalism can be used to assure an economy of abundance. Only the working class, itself the product of capitalism, has the ability to transform society in this way, and has shown its ability to do so in a series of revolutionary struggles unprecedented in the history of all previous exploited classes.

The working class gains the experience necessary to revolutionise society by constant struggle against the

ruling class through the mass organisations thrown up in the course of that struggle.

To overcome the unevenness with which this experience is gained, to draw and preserve the lessons of past struggles and transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to bond the fragmentary struggles against capitalism into a conscious and coherent offensive, a revolutionary Marxist party of socialist militants is required, embracing the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle to build such a party is only part of the wider struggle to create a World Revolutionary Socialist International, independent of all oppressors and exploiters of the working class, whether bureaucratic or bourgeois.

International Socialists therefore fight for:

Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations.

Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

Opposition to imperialism and support for all movements of national liberation.

Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racialism and to all migration controls.



Powell and the economic roots of racialism

by Paul Foot

ON 19 JUNE 1946 a fiery young Labour backbencher called James Callaghan rose in the House of Commons to attack his own front bench immigration policy.

'In a few years,' he said, 'we will be faced with a shortage of labour — not with a shortage of jobs. We ought now to become a country where immigrants are welcomed.'

'We should break away from this artificial segregation of nation from nation . . . who is going to pay for the old-age pensions and the social services unless we have an addition to our population, which only immigration can provide in the years to come?'

The young MP was taken aside by his elders and betters on the front bench, men like Cripps and Dalton, who understood capitalist economics. It was a fine speech, they assured him, but all the economic indicators pointed to a slump in 1948 or 1949.

It would be ridiculous, they pointed out, to encourage immigration when a slump would render the immigrant workers unemployed. Callaghan agreed and soon afterwards he joined the government.

No slump

Much to everyone's astonishment however there was no slump. Instead, the British economy, like every other economy in Europe, started an unprecedented, uninterrupted expansion. The immediate effect on the labour market was to drain the low-paid sectors of the economy of their workers. Cotton mills in Yorkshire and Lancashire; public services like hospitals and transport; fourth-class employment in laundries, bakeries and the like began to lose their workers.

To meet the situation, the government bypassed the reactionary aliens legislation, passed in Hang-The-Kaiser hysteria in the year after World War I, and still in force today, to allow a quarter of a million workers into the country from Europe. But soon the pool of stateless labour in Europe had been mopped up by Germany, France and Switzerland and the employers of low-paid industries had to look elsewhere.

They were saved from their predicament by a historical accident: the imperialist concept of equal citizenship as a prize to the most meekly exploited. The British offered citizenship to everyone — a doctrine which enabled the Palmerstons, the Disraelis and their supporters among the clergy to justify the robbery of Empire as 'a happy family of nations'.

Equal citizenship cost nothing and meant nothing — save only that everyone had the right to travel to Britain free of the Aliens Acts. In 1948 workers from the West Indies and later, from India and Pakistan, began to take advantage of this 'privilege'.

Throughout the 1950s, these workers came in at the rate of about 30,000 a year. Many of them were recruited by employers who had had 'connections' in the West Indies sugar industry or in the Indian army. They came to get work and they got work — almost always in the 'lower echelons' of industry vacated by the

indigenous population. The filling of this vacuum was a blessing for the employers who, true to the traditions of their class, accepted the movement of workers where it assisted profits and property, but did nothing whatever to assist the workers themselves.

The booming capitalism of the 1950s provided no solution for the deepening social service shortages, notably in housing. For the new workers from the Commonwealth the shortages were compounded by a high incidence of discrimination. The housing shortage was made more intolerable for coloured immigrants because of the widespread discrimination of landlords and local councils in letting accommodation.

From the mid-fifties, hard-line racials in the Tory Party, led by Cyril Osborne, launched a campaign in their party to keep out the blacks. They did not understand the subtleties of capitalist economics. They hated blacks because they were black and wanted them out. But the Conservative cabinet in 1955 and 1957 turned down demands for immigration control, because the employers still needed the labour.

By 1960, however, the political campaign for control had grown greater than anything the centrist leadership of the Tory Party could contain. The Tory government, against its better conscience and against the advice of the more intelligent representatives of the employing class, passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1961. The Act, which controlled the entry of Commonwealth workers was shot through with 'loopholes' such as an absolute right of the families of immigrants to join their heads of families in Britain (a right which was denied in the Aliens Acts).

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act indicated a trend in the thinking of employers and economists in relation to foreign labour which was to increase in influence throughout the 1960s. The fat years of the 1950s, the period of economic reconstruction of major competitors like Germany and Japan, were also coming to an end.

Exploit resentment

Competition sharpened; margins narrowed. More and more emphasis was placed on technology, efficiency, productivity and all the other synonyms for making workers work harder for the same money. No longer was it a question of filling the 'lower echelons' of labour to keep the economy expanding. Now it became necessary to 'rationalise', 'trim' and 'retrain' that labour to suit it for the hard technological battles of the 70s.

The demand for foreign workers, especially for permanent, settling, non-seasonal workers, was growing less. It became possible for employers' spokesmen and representatives to utilise and exploit increasing resentment against the new black immigrants.

Political campaigns could be mounted with employers' support for further control of the blacks and especially their families (who are useless because they do not work): campaigns which would not only produce for its leaders a large groundswell of middle-class support but which would also divide the workers and obstruct their campaigns for better conditions.

The cynicism, opportunism and hypocrisy of all this are personified by Enoch Powell. In the late 1950s Powell became a soft-line, 'wind of change' Tory, speaking against the massacre at Hola Camp, Kenya, in 1959, joining Macmillan's govern-



The Barbican Strike: militant workers united regardless of colour

ment in 1960 and becoming a 'progressive' Minister of Health.

From entering parliament in 1950 to the general election of 1964, Powell did not speak or write a word on the subject of immigration control. In 1964 he wrote that he had 'always set his face like flint against making any difference between one citizen of this country and another on grounds of his origin'. It was, he wrote, an 'inescapable obligation in humanity' to allow the families of immigrants to come here free of control. This was mainstream Christianity, strictly in line with what decent employers were saying everywhere.

With the election victory of Peter Griffiths in Smethwick in 1964, however, Powell's line began to change. Within five months he was shouting for control of immigrants' families. As Powell's political prospects and the economic situation changed, so did the 'inescapable obligation in humanity'. Throughout 1968 and 1969, Powell broke the political sound barrier with speeches which gave credence to racist gossip and which called with increasing vehemence for repatriation of coloured immigrants.

Gradually, Powell pulled the Tory leadership with him. Heath, having sacked Powell from the Shadow Cabinet, started to adopt his policies. He abandoned the Tory commitment to allow free entry of immigrants' families. Then he (and Hogg) advocated a 'labour-related' policy whereby immigrants would not be allowed to settle but only to work at a given job. If the job vanished, so would the worker. Under Powell's influence, and with the changing nature of British capital, the pledges of 1961 were rapidly discarded.

Similarly, more sluggishly, with the Labour government, whose first act on taking power in 1964 was to ban all unskilled Commonwealth immigrant workers from entry under any conditions. Nine months later, the White Paper on immigration cut the number of workers coming in down to a handful of doctors, teachers, scientists and Maltese.

Under pressure from Powell and Sandys, Labour introduced further controls, this time to keep out Kenyan Asians (allowed in through a deliberate loophole in the 1963 Kenya Independent Act). Only six weeks after that concession, Powell made his speech in Birmingham which pushed him to the top of the opinion polls. Race relations were shown in the opinion polls to have deteriorated very quickly in the month after Powell made his speech.

Before long the government were introducing control of immigrants' fiancées, and, in March this year, insisted on 'entry certificates' for all immigrants, including families. As another general election approaches the government's stampede away from liberalism gathers pace.

Rational action

The liberal solution to the problem of race relations is based on the concept that decent rational action by decent rational men will have its impact on the community. Multi-racial work and propaganda are kept away from the masses, reserved for the enlightened minority. This elitism springs from the central fallacy of the liberal solution: namely that racialism is a boil on the body of capitalism which can be lanced without harming the body. Most liberals argue that multi-racialism helps capitalism more than liberalism.

Liberals point to the 'logical inconsistency' between Powell's opposition to civil service bureaucracy and public expenditure, his demands for a Ministry of Repatriation and expenditure of £200m to send the blacks home. Capitalism, however, has no 'logic' save that of accumulating more capital and preserving the privileges of the employing class. To that end, any number of apparent contradictions become uncontradictory.

There is nothing sacrosanct for capitalism about the free market. The most rigid bureaucracy (nazi Germany) or the most bestial racialism (today's South Africa) may be required to bolster capitalism. Enoch Powell's demands for a

Ministry of Repatriation and the resulting expenditure of public money are just as 'logical' as his demands for freedom of the market in rents and council house building. Both divide and impoverish the workers.

The truth is that the cancerous, divisive doctrine of racialism is inextricably bound up with the cancerous, divisive system of capitalism. The liberal campaign to build a multi-racial capitalist society will prosper only as long as the economic interests of capitalism coincide with multi-racialism. The struggle against racialism cannot be divorced from the struggle against the capitalism system at large. The weakness and vacillation of liberals on the race issue makes it the more crucial for socialists to state the case against racialism without drifting into irrelevant slogans or into compromise.

Racialism in Britain today usually finds political expression in the demand for further immigration control or for repatriation.

'Fair quotas'

In 1961 and 1962, Commonwealth immigration control was opposed vigorously by the Labour Party. The retreat from that opposition has been conducted without explanation, discussion or justification, but it has carried almost everyone with it. Tribune, for instance, which in 1961-3 savagely denounced Commonwealth immigration control has now come to accept the case for 'fair quotas'.

The standard explanation for this change of mind is that immigration controls help to take the steam out of racialism; and that, in Powell's words 'numbers is of the essence' — the more the blacks the greater the prejudice.

The facts are different. Racialist demands, racialist support and the growth of fascist organisations, have all increased in the wake of further control. Victories for demands for control serve as inspiration for further demands.

As for prejudice, it does not correspond to numbers. In 1958, when the number of immigrants in the country was less than 700,000 Gallup took a poll of prejudice. Ten years later, when the number of immigrants had doubled Dr Mark Abrams took another poll of the same sort of sample with the same questions. The results were as follows:

	%	1958	1968
Tolerant		19.4	35
Tolerant-inclined		31.2	38
Prejudice-inclined		36.8	17
Prejudiced		12.6	10

The percentage of prejudiced remained constant, but the shift elsewhere was sharply towards greater tolerance. This shift was sharpest among the workers. All the numerous surveys done on the extent of prejudice show that Labour supporters are less prejudiced than Conservative supporters, that Labour working class voters are less prejudiced than Labour middle class voters and that there is a very strong relationship between contact with immigrants and tolerance of them.

Yet the argument which still prevails among wide sections of the British working class is the most pernicious of all: that the influx of immigrants into Britain has aggravated the shortage of social services from which so many working class people suffer. 'Why house the blacks when we cannot house our own?' is a familiar cry.

One answer comes from the Milner Holland Report on London housing in 1965:

'Immigrants come to London in search of work — and find it, for we have seen no evidence that they are more frequently unemployed or dependent on National Assistance than others in similar occupations. If they did not come, either their

PAUL FOOT's new book
The rise of Enoch Powell
was published last week:

Penguin 4s, Cornmarket 30s

Copies can be ordered from IS Book Service



Powell and the economic roots of racialism

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places would be taken by migrants from other parts of the country, or a large number of jobs would remain unfilled. The plight of the immigrant is the outcome, and too often an extreme example, of London's housing difficulties; it is not their cause.

In August, 1967, the Economic Review published an analysis of the expenditure per head on social services of the total population and of the immigrants.

	Nat. Insnce.	Nat. Assnce.	Health Educ. (mainly pens.)
1966			
Total pop.	18.6	12.1	31.7
Immigrants	17.4	13.9	17.4
1981 (projected)			
Total pop.	19.0	15.3	33.5
Immigrants	16.8	22.9	18.1

Only in education does the immigrant receive marginally higher benefits than the average for the rest of the population. In all the other services (in old age pensions

the gap is enormous) the immigrant receives less. On average, he receives some 20 per cent less in social services than the rest of the population, despite the fact that his contribution in taxes, rates and flat-rate national insurance contributions is equal. In other words the shortages in housing, schools, hospital beds, pensions, welfare benefits and so on are not aggravated by the immigrant. Without immigration, every one of these problems, locally and nationally, would have been more acute.

These are figures produced by liberals and bourgeois academics. Grand revolutionaries, who prefer slogans to propaganda and some comrades in the Black Power movement often prefer to sneer at such figures and denounce those who use them as Uncle Toms or opportunists.

Yet the difference between the liberal and the socialist attitude is not in the facts themselves but in the use of them. The liberal says to the worker: 'Your plight is not the fault of the immigrant. Endure it equally with him.' The socialist says: 'Your plight is not the fault

of the immigrant, struggle with him to end it.'

The liberal condemns Powell as an 'evil man'. The socialist explains that Powell is the architect of the Tory Rent Act, the sworn enemy of the militant docker, the rent striker, and for the same reasons and arising out of the same class attitudes, the black man.

The liberal offers a system of equal exploitation; the socialist offers no exploitation at all. The socialist can point to the greatest race leveller in capitalist society—the industrial struggle — and show how struggle of united workers, black and white, brings results for all, while struggle tainted by racial antagonism brings no results for anyone.

The heroic Barbican strike of 1966/67 for instance, in which more than half the strikers were coloured could never have lasted had it not been for the consistent unity between white and black. Similarly, the Fords strike earlier this year owed most of its successes to the unity of the workers, of whom the most militant were coloured. By contrast, the Courtaulds strike at Preston in 1965, and other such disputes where workers' struggle

has been side-tracked into safeguarding racial purity have resulted in nothing but humiliation and despair for everyone but the employer. The liberal uses his statistics to preserve the status quo in racial peace. The socialist can use the same ones to increase class consciousness and forge weapons for a meaningful struggle.

None of this is to ignore the different dimensions of exploitation which exist for black people nor to equate, as some blackboard socialists are inclined to do, white racialism with Black Power. White racialism is the doctrine of the oppressor, while the 'racialism' of Black Power is the cry of the oppressed.

Self-activity of black workers in the struggle against discrimination; self-organisation of black vigilante groups to stave off attacks from racist hooligans and Fascist gangs; even, in the factory, black organisations in gangs to conduct the struggle on the shop floor — all of these more often than not prove effective and powerful instruments of struggle. Many sections of the Black Peoples' Alliance and the Indian Workers' Associations,

notably in the Midlands, have practised such activity within the framework of the rank and file labour movement and with the co-operation of white militants.

Yet the socialist must guard and argue against the liberal self-indulgences of Black nationalism which offers a solution to the plight of the black worker not in the struggle against capitalism but in a vacuous colour-assertiveness, or in vague hopes for national or religious separation. In the twenties and thirties, millions of Jewish workers in despair at the enormity of their persecution, turned their back on the class struggle and raised the slogan 'Jewish Power'.

They sought security from discrimination in a Jewish separatist state. But the Jewish state which they manufactured by force of arms has served only to multiply reaction among Jewish people without providing any of the security which Zionists had promised.

The lesson is plain. If the struggle for Black Power is hitched firmly and irrevocably to the struggle for Workers' Power, both will be fortified and enriched.

1920: militant talk but no action defeated workers

by Raymond Challinor

FIFTY YEARS AGO, autumn 1919: Winston Churchill proclaims the grand anti-Soviet crusade of 14 countries; the white army of Yudenich menaces Petrograd; the capitalist press gleefully predicts the downfall of Lenin and Trotsky.

For British socialists the tantalising question was: How can we best help our hard-pressed Russian comrades? The precarious position of the Red Army, the extensive use of British troops and supplies, gave the problem an urgency and directness.

Like the Vietnam war today, it raised the question: Should we express our solidarity or limit ourselves to merely calling for an end to hostilities?

The Bolsheviks themselves had no doubt about the answer. Their appeals always used the language of international solidarity. Even when the Royal Navy sunk three Soviet vessels, killing 550 seamen, they were careful to show the crime was that of British capitalism, not the British working class. In his message of the day to the Red Army, Leon Trotsky made no attempt to whip up nationalist feelings:

'Red warriors! On all the fronts you meet the hostile plots of the English. The counter-revolutionary troops shoot you with English guns. In the depots of Shenkursk and Omega, on the southern and western fronts, you find supplies of English manufacture. The prisoners you have captured are dressed in uniforms made in England. The women and children of Archangel and Astrakhan are maimed and killed by English airmen with the aid of English explosives. English ships bomb our shores...

'But, even today, when we are engaged in a bitter struggle with Yudenich, the hireling of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Besides the England of profits, of violence, bribery, and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of labour, of spiritual power, of high ideals of



BEVIN: threatened strike against the government

international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the stock exchange manipulators that is fighting us. The England of labour and the people is with us.'

As Trotsky wrote these lines, 'the other England' was in the middle of a massive strike wave, a tremendous struggle to better its lot. Although sporadic, diffuse and unorganised, the widespread unrest was nevertheless a threat to the ruling class.

With the military and police unreliable, the government could not be certain it would defeat a challenge to its authority. What was lacking was not revolutionary spirit but revolutionary leadership. The small, disunited marxist organisations were confronted with an opportunity too immense for them to seize.

TRAGEDY

This was a tragedy for the Bolsheviks as well as for the British proletariat. The most effective help that could have been given to the Russian Revolution would have been a British Revolution. It would have radically altered the relationship of forces. 'If you are really sincere in sending greetings to Russia,' as Robert Williams told the famous Leeds conference of 1917, 'I say to you: go and do thou likewise.'

While British marxists did not lack the enthusiasm, they did not have the strength to copy their Russian comrades. They strived to

recruit more members and unify their forces. Meanwhile, they saw no contradiction between combining their advocacy of revolution with a 'Hands off Russia' campaign.

In my opinion, they were right to blend the two objectives. The critical military position of Russia, the widespread feeling of sympathy in this country for the Russian people, made it perfectly correct for them to mobilise public opinion against all forms of military assistance for the counter-revolutionaries.

Also, wherever possible, they translated their campaign into class terms, calling for strikes to stop the transporting of supplies, pickets in London's East India docks refused to load one of the Watford line boats, the Jolly George, and some railwaymen declined to handle goods bound for the front.

Throughout Britain demonstrations grew in volume and intensity. The Daily Herald ran a special edition, headlined 'Not a Man, Not a Gun, Not a Sou!' On 9 August 1920, the TUC, Labour Party and parliamentary Labour Party agreed to institute a nationwide campaign. Three hundred and fifty Councils of Action sprung up. Their main spokesman, Ernest Bevin, threatened the government: 'The whole industrial power of the organised workers will be used to defeat this war.'

The British government reversed its policy. Neither troops nor material would be provided for the anti-Soviet crusade. While Lloyd George argued that protesters were pushing at an open door — the government had intended anyway to end its intervention in Russia — many writers have attributed the about face to mass agitation.

Contemporary CP historians find their explanation fits in neatly with the Communist Party's present tactics, trying to unify the labour and trade union movement, from rank and file to leadership, in a concerted anti-capitalist campaign.

In his history of the British Communist Party, James Klugmann writes, 'The victory of the British working class in August 1920 was a momentous fact in British and international history... The right wing were impelled into action by



TROTSKY: no attempt to whip up nationalist feelings

the strength of the feeling of the movement... even the most right-wing Labour leaders under the pressure of events and of the militant working-class movement, saw, for a brief moment, the truth. For Klugmann, it was the 'most honourable moment of British labour struggle' (pp. 86-7).

Further examination, I think, leads to a different conclusion. Not merely was the Councils of Action's main leader Ernest Bevin, a committed right-winger, but also the resolution to set them up was moved at the inaugural meeting by J R Clynes and J H Thomas, two of the most right-wing trade union leaders. (It is now known that, roughly about this time, King George V was writing in his diary about Thomas, 'He is a good and loyal man.')

DENOUNCED

Moreover, while this Labour Party-led campaign frequently threatened to call a general strike it vigorously opposed formulating more definite plans. An amendment moved at the 1920 Labour Party conference called upon unions to 'support their members in refusing to do work indirectly or directly that assists hostilities against Russia.' Union leaders including Bevin denounced this suggestion and the amendment was heavily defeated.

To satisfy these union leaders, threats had to be vague, general and relate to the future; they had not to be precise, practical and to be applied now. Socialist phraseology and theatrical gestures were quite in order — they helped give union leaders a left-wing image and control their members more easily — but all protests had to remain verbal and not involve definite action.

Yet Klugmann is deceived by these posturings. Writing about the Daily Herald, he says it exerted a wide influence: 'In the summer of 1919 it roused the Triple Industrial Alliance to go and threaten Lloyd George with an immediate strike of miners, railwaymen and transport workers unless he persuaded his War Minister Winston Churchill to withdraw British troops from Archangel.'

For anybody to talk of the Triple Alliance 'threatening' Lloyd George is ludicrous. Far from threatening him, they capitulated to him. The leaders were not prepared to fight to defend their own members' wages, let alone to defend the Russian workers. When Klugmann suggests otherwise he is sowing illusions about the role of union bureaucrats.

The reason for the British government's withdrawal from the

anti-Bolshevik crusade must be sought in the quasi-revolutionary situation that existed in this country during 1919-1920. Discontent was so extensive, so deeply felt, that it could easily have erupted into an uprising. In the armed forces there were mutinies and strikes.

Winston Churchill later admitted that the 'discipline of every single separate unit throughout the whole of our army in all the theatres of war was swiftly rotted and undermined.' So it was important, from the government's standpoint, to bring the troops home from Russia. They might be required to deal with an emergency here in Britain. Moreover, keeping them in Russia would be likely to increase the anti-war feelings — and possibly Bolshevik sentiments — within their ranks.

It became imperative to preserve the precious few units whose reliability and loyalty seemed assured for another reason: trouble in the British Empire. In 1919, General Dyer fired on an unarmed demonstration at Amritsar, killing 750 people. As a result, the Indian masses became restive.

In these circumstances, it is easy to understand why Lloyd George took the decision. Opting out of the Russian conflict might be interpreted as a gesture of appeasement to British socialists, a sop to the less intransigent opponents on the home front. It would, furthermore, give kudos to the moderates among the Labour leaders, grappling to control the angry rank and file. For instance, Ramsay MacDonald boasted, 'It was Labour's action that saved us from war.'

Such politicians were regarded, by the politically unsophisticated, as genuine socialists. They had acquired, thanks to their line on British intervention in Russia, a left reputation. It made their subsequent betrayals — Black Friday, MacDonald's Labour governments and the General Strike — all that more easy to accomplish.

The revolutionary left in Britain had neither the size nor influence to stop this perfidy. It required a much stronger organisation and higher level of socialist consciousness than then existed. Nevertheless, the moral to be learnt from the conduct of Ernest Bevin applies with equal force to some union leaders today.

When militant talk is not combined with militant action — when you speak of having a general strike without the least intention of doing so — then your conduct does not constitute a threat to capitalism but to the working class movement itself.

BERT the socialist worker

by TJH





BURNTOLLET: the ambush by Specials and RUC of the civil rights march spotlighted the savagery of Ulster's police forces.

Orange reactionaries welcome new 'Specials in disguise' regiment

SW Correspondent

THE BRITISH government's attempts to pacify Protestant reaction in Northern Ireland with an Ulster Defence Regiment are meeting such fierce resistance that the regiment may well be shelved.

The proposals for the Ulster Defence Regiment are substantially different from the recommendations in the Hunt Report on the future of Northern Ireland's police and military services.

Hunt suggested a military force of 4000 men, commanded by British officers, chosen by educational qualification, with arms supplies kept in central arsenals. Defence Minister Dennis Healey's new regiment will be 6000 men commanded by Northern Ireland officers (only the high command will be in the hands of the British Army) chosen on the basis of first come, first recruited.

In some circumstances, says the White Paper, members of the new force will be allowed to keep their arms at home.

LOYALTY

The proposals have been welcomed by all sectarian reactionaries in Northern Ireland. Craig welcomes it; so did Brookeborough; so did the staff officers of the old B-Specials, one of whose officers summed up the proposals in a letter to his men: 'We,' he wrote, 'will become two forces, not one.'

The Northern Ireland government immediately set about making sure that the new regiment consists entirely of former Specials. Application forms for joining the new force were sent out



CRAIG: happy about the UDR

to all Specials. Advertisements appeared in local papers throughout the Six Counties asking for applications for recruitment to the new force and stressing the necessary oath of loyalty 'to Her Majesty the Queen and Northern Ireland'.

For a moment, it looked as though the new Specials would get through without opposition. Ivan Cooper, Civil Rights MP, for Mid-Derry, told Stormont that he was 'thrilled to bits' that the old Specials were being disbanded. 'This,' he said, 'is what we fought in the streets for' (Irish Times 13 November).

John Hume, MP for Foyle called on Catholics to volunteer for the new regiment. So did Nationalist leader Austin Currie.

In their eagerness to please the British government, Hume, Cooper and their sycophantic allies were singing out of tune with the mass of their supporters. Space in the

local Catholic press and popular support in the civil rights movement switched instantly to Bernadette Devlin and Eamonn McCann who uncompromisingly attacked the new force.

'It is', said Miss Devlin, 'the Specials in disguise'. Eamonn McCann, in a press statement, described Hume and his friends as 'recruiting sergeants for an adjunct of the British Army' (Derry Journal 15 November).

By Sunday 16 November, Hume and Cooper were wriggling on a pin.

The Sunday Press reported: Hume Hits New Force (three days previously the Belfast Telegraph headline had been: Opposition MPs Welcome New Force). Suddenly, Hume, Cooper and the others were opposing the UDR with all the vigour and enthusiasm with which they had previously supported it.

Despite the influence of the British government, the Protestant backlash in Northern Ireland is not beaten. It is growing in strength, and is being used in ways which do not bring it face to face with the British Army.

BOYCOTT

At the recent constituency Unionist Party annual meetings, for instance, the right wing have swept the board. The Irish Press of 21 November reported a ruthless boycott of Catholic shops throughout the Shankill Road Unity flats area which has resulted in multiple closures.

The opportunism of Hume and co over the Ulster Defence Regiment has not been lost on civil rights supporters, many more of whom now realise that unlike the Stormont opposition, the socialists around the People's Democracy can be relied on to carry forward the continuing struggle for civil rights.

Socialist scientists to hold conference

LAST MARCH a conference was held at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology for socialist scientists. The conference was attended by students of scientific subjects from many universities and technical colleges as well as scientific workers and teachers.

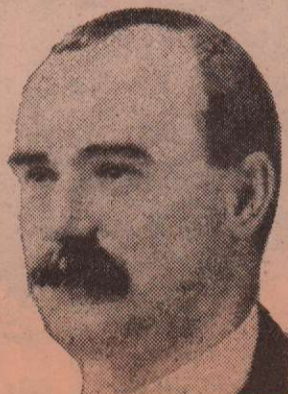
It was so successful that another conference is being held at the University of Warwick on 6 and 7 December. The theme will be 'The production of scientists for society' involving the relation between science, the universities and industry and the prospects for political action among scientists.

Full details are available from Socialist Society, University of Warwick Coventry.

Copies of the proceedings of the last conference (price 2s post free) are available from Dave Aron, 7 Wolseley Place, Manchester 20.

NEXT WEEK

JAMES CONNOLLY



First of two important articles by Sean Matgamna on the life and ideas of the great Irish revolutionary

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The American working class

Italy in crisis

Early history of the British Communist Party

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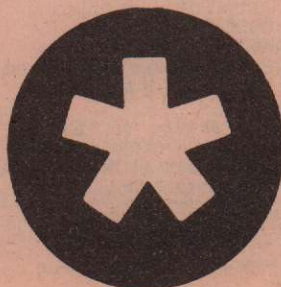
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Socialist Worker



WHAT WE THINK

DOCKERS VOTE AGAINST UNION-BOSS PROD DEAL

by Terry Barrett (TGWU)

LONDON DOCKERS last week voted in a secret ballot to reject a new pay deal designed to introduce work-study, shift work and grading.

The decision shocked both the employers and leaders of the Transport Workers Union. They had hoped that the workers, voting as individuals instead of as a collective at mass meetings, would accept their joint proposals.

The vote was 3090 against, 2442 for, with more than 1500 paid-up members refusing to return their ballot papers. It is possible that the 1500 resented having a secret ballot imposed upon them without discussion in their union branches.

Before the ballot, the union had said that a majority of one would be enough, but they called the 648 majority a 'narrow' one.

'VITAL'

There were some unusual events at the mass meetings which preceded the ballot. Mr H Battle, Tilbury TGWU delegate, after taking pains to explain that he did not want to influence the vote in any way, went on at great length to explain how vital it was that the agreement went through. Every clause opposed by questioners met the answer that the delegates opposed it too but that it was the employers' final offer and could not be altered.

At the Royal Group meeting, many men were surprised when Mr Buck Baker, formerly a member of the West India Dock unofficial liaison committee, bent over backwards to explain the 13-page package deal and seemed to agree with large parts of it. What confused the men was that Mr Baker, like his colleague, Jack Dash, is a member of the Communist Party and they know that Mr Dash is totally opposed to the deal.

Mr John Hovey of the port employers was dismayed by the result. He told the press that the deal was mainly in the dockers' interests.

Mr Peter Shea, full-time secretary of the TGWU London

Docks group, agreed with Mr Hovey and lamented that it was not a 100 per cent ballot. Perhaps if Mr Shea had taken the trouble to inform the members about the issues involved in the deal during the last two years of protracted negotiations, more of them might have taken part.

It is clear that the majority of dockers want a say in their affairs at union branches and regular mass meetings rather than through hastily concocted secret ballots.

After the rejection of the agreement, the TGWU had an emergency meeting with the Department of Employment and Productivity - no doubt with a view to figuring out their next move. It is highly probable that the union will attempt to make separate deals for each dock, a move that will divide the men.

The employers will leave no stone unturned to remove the 22-month old ban on the Overseas Containers Ltd. container berths at Tilbury. In the meantime, OCL have threatened to remove the berth, lock, stock and barrel and take their business to Amsterdam. Dockers should not allow themselves to be blackmailed by such threats. Employers often use such tactics rather than improve on agreements.

SPLIT

If Tilbury men attempt at any time to 'go it alone' by lifting the TGWU ban on container berths and divorcing themselves from the London Docks group, two things would happen:
1. It would irreparably split the trade union in the docks.
2. It would open the flood gates for any number of package deals to be agreed on container berths, resulting in mass unemployment at the Royal Group.

Six berths on the container peninsular at Tilbury will be able to do the whole Australian trade with a labour force of approximately 200 men. It is vital both for Tilbury and London dockers that such sweeping redundancies are not allowed.



Engineers strike over employers' pay rise fiddle

by Vince Hall

LEEDS:- 500 workers at Vickers Crabtree printing machinery works went on strike on Monday over non-payment of the second stage of the national engineering agreement. At a mass meeting last week the men agreed unanimously to strike until they received some satisfaction over the rise due on 1 December.

Under the second stage of the three-year national agreement negotiated by the Engineering Union last year, the men should receive a 25s increase on the £15 basic minimum weekly wage. Instead they have been offered six shillings, with the other 19 shillings to come from bonus payments. As one incensed worker commented, it is like taking it out of one pocket to put it in the other.

More than 100 pickets were outside the gates on Monday morning and only the apprentices and staff went in. Three police cars were in attendance and the men were made to keep moving. The men expect the strike to be made official this week but no decision was taken at the last AEF district meeting.

There was a nasty incident on Monday morning when one of the pickets was carried for several yards on the bonnet of a car entering the work. The man was unhurt but the pickets were angry. The management denied any knowledge of the incident.

Terry Jaques, an AEF shop steward, explained that the men were on strike because the management had failed

to honour a pledge made earlier in the year to negotiate a piecework productivity agreement. As a member of the AEF district committee, he hoped to get the union to make the strike official this week. Other unions in the factory, including Clerical Workers and Draughtsmen, have said that they will not cross an official picket line.

Mr George Cumming another shop steward at the factory, said: 'The management offer is ridiculous. The men unanimously rejected the proposal for six bob. When we asked for those voting against at the meeting not a single hand was raised. Our chaps are the first in the field on this in Leeds but I don't think we'll be the last.'

by Norah Carlin

ON WEDNESDAY 19 November a policeman died in a battle with demonstrators in Milan. This was one of the few violent incidents in a massive one-day general strike which paralysed the major Italian cities and is said to have involved 15 million workers.

The Italian ruling class and their press reacted strongly to the policeman's death. President Saragat (the former Social Democrat leader) in a public message dwelt on the victim's youth and Southern peasant origin.

THE SCANDALOUS STATE of the educational system in Britain underlies the present teachers' revolt. The union's demand for £135 a year more is modest, enough only to restore teachers' standards of living to what they were in July 1967. The wages campaign reveals the government's total disregard for the social content of education and its reduction of all aspects of education to the crude one of ensuring enough manpower of the kind which British capitalism needs to make it competitive in the world market.

The main feature of educational policy for more than a hundred years has been its close link with the needs of the labour market. The semi-skilled or unskilled worker does not require much education, so he does not need adequate teaching or good conditions. The system operates to select out those who will enter the ruling class or perform major managerial or controlling functions on its behalf.

The annual expenditure on education increased by more than 300 per cent between 1954-5 and 1964-5 (from £560 million to £1784 million). Since the Robbins Report of 1963 there has been a vast expansion in the number of students in higher education - likely to be 380,000 in 1971 rather than the 312,000 envisaged by Robbins himself.

Slum schools survive

But the priorities are completely distorted. The expansion of numbers in higher education has not been matched by an adequate expansion of facilities and the further down the scale one goes, the worse the provisions are. Almost nothing is done about the squalor of many of the school buildings - slum survivals of the last century - except to cut back on the school building programme. Expenditure is concentrated in those sectors that will benefit advanced capitalism. It is tough if the mass of pupils, destined to be the working class of tomorrow have to put up with a stunted education.

Despite the gross overcrowding in schools (the Department of Education and science estimates that 40,000 additional teachers are required to reduce the number of over-40 primary and over-30 secondary classes to under 5 per cent of the whole) many thousands of part-time teachers have been dismissed already during the current academic year. Many more will follow in the general effort to economise even further on educational spending.

Perhaps the most iniquitous cut-back was of free school milk, now followed by the raising of school meal prices by 3d to 1s 9d. And in case anyone should think that an adequate food supply is something they are entitled to, children at many schools who have their meals subsidised have to queue up separately or have different coloured meal-tickets so their sin of being poor is clear for all to see.

Service workers bear brunt

One of the inspirations for the present militancy among teachers was the dustmen's strike, in part appealing to the reactionary consciousness of those who see themselves as 'professionals', a cut above manual workers, but much more importantly and generally, seen as an example of how working-class militancy and organisation pay. For teachers, like dustmen, firemen and nurses, the service workers of our society, are made to bear the brunt of any government economies in its frenzied attempt to rationalise capitalism. Yet it is precisely upon these sectors of society that the quality of all our lives depends. In particular the transformation of education is central to the meaning of socialism.

The student movement began to challenge the capitalist stranglehold on education from 1967 onwards. The present teachers' revolt can be the beginning of the spread of this challenge throughout the realm of education and into the organised labour movement. A higher level of pay for teachers is a pre-condition for doing anything about the mess which successive capitalist governments have made.

Above all, the revolt is against the attempt to keep teachers thinking of themselves as 'professional' people whose interests are different from those of the common worker. From the present campaign a genuine movement of all workers, by hand or by brain, can be forged.

Italy death rate: one policeman, four strikers

The policeman, was, however, the fifth Southerner to die on a demonstration in the last 12 months - the other four were killed by police at Avola and Battipaglia.

During this autumn's wave of strikes, the police have been fairly cautious. Marshalling of demonstrations has usually been left to stewards of the trade union federations who are anxious to regain the control of factory struggles which seemed to be slipping out of their grasp earlier this year.

At Turin on 19 November,

union stewards manhandled left-wing demonstrators who wanted to lead a protest against the American consulate. In Milan, the violence actually occurred when the police tried to keep workers away from a Maoist meeting.

A one-day general strike, especially on an issue such as housing, can be contained by the Italian state so long as it is controlled by 'safe' leaders such as the Communist Party and trade unions. What it fears is any threat of a link-up between revolutionary groups and the rank and file workers.

Strike hits shipyard

ABERDEEN:- a strike over victimisation at J. Lewis and Sons involves 400 engineers in all Aberdeen ship repair shops and in the Hall-Russell shipyard.

The victimisation took the form of 'redundancy' for two men despite overtime working and the existence of a flexibility agreement. It follows attempts to revive effective shop-floor organisation in the works 17 years after it was destroyed by similar victimisation.

One of the sacked men, Mr J. McConnachie, a member of the AEF District and National Committees, was an active shop steward in the works.

A mass meeting on 17 November, the day after the redundancy notices were issued, demanded strike action unless management

returned to the 'status quo' for negotiations. This demand has formed the basis of the continued dispute and the mobilisation of solidarity strikes among engineers in other works.

NOTICES

LONDON REGION IS: 29 Nov. Africa Centre, King St. 3 pm. Moshe Machover: the Middle East. **MANCHESTER IS:** weekend school at University Union. 'The politics of IS', spkrs John Palmer, Jim Higgins, Chris Harman starts 1pm Sat 30 Nov - Sun 1 December.

TEESSIDE IS and Indian Assoc. Paul Foot and Rafi Irtizaali on the Rise of Enoch Powell. Middle-sbrough Town Hall Crypt Thurs 4 Dec 7.30 pm.

NEWCASTLE IS: Tony Cliff on Productivity Deals 8pm Sun 30 Nov. Bridge Htl, High Level Bridge.

IS lecturers and teachers in Further Education mtg 7 pm Sun 30 Nov Crown & Sugar Loaf Garlick Hill EC4nrst tube Mansion Hse.

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