

# Socialist Worker

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## PORTUGUESE WORKERS RESIST ATTACK

BEHIND the fighting in Lisbon on Tuesday lies an attempt to wrest back from Portugal's workers their gains since the overthrow of fascism eleven months ago. Right wing officers inside the armed forces aim to crush the workers' movement as it was in Chile 18 months ago.

The British press have been painting the men behind the coup, such as General Spínola, as moderates. But Spínola has fled for safety to Spain's fascists.

The British press is attempting to show Portugal as in chaos, just as they did with Chile during the last months of Allende's government. The aim is the same—to justify the manoeuvres of big business, the CIA and NATO. Trade unionists in Britain must expose their campaign of lies and argue for active solidarity with Portugal's workers.

FULL STORY—page 5.

London dockers vote overwhelmingly to stay out

# Docks: This is how to fight for jobs

THE DOCKERS' CASE—page 2

10,000 LONDON dockers are on strike to defend their jobs. Over the past seven years, dockers have lost 35,000 jobs. Trade union officials in London are talking of a further 1500 redundancies this year.

The dockers' frustration and bitterness at this treatment has exploded in a wave of anger, redoubled now that they have proof that the Road Haulage Association, the transport bosses, organisation, made an agreement to pay lorry drivers to picket the docks.

Jack Jones, the general secretary of the TGWU, has called the dockers 'gangsters'. Instead of mobilising the whole union behind a fight against closures and redundancies, he calls on the dockers to rely on another inquiry and the Labour government.

## Inquiry

The last inquiry, conducted by Jones and Lord Aldington, lost the dockers 12,000 jobs.

Michael Foot, the Minister of Employment, has called on the dockers to return to work. Foot is MP for Ebbw Vale where 4500 steelworkers are to lose their jobs, despite a ton of promises to the contrary.

And he asks dockers to sit back and wait for him to do something!

The outcome of this strike is of vital importance to trade unionists everywhere. If the dockers win, they will have shown that militant action can halt the tide of redundancies.

That will offer a lead to workers wherever they are faced with unemployment.

That is why dockers in other ports must strike in support of their brothers in London now.

Dockers have a fine record of solidarity with other trade unionists in blacking and collecting money. Now they need support in return.

Money must be collected to finance the organisation of the strike NOW.

Send to: Royal Docks Stewards Committee, 51 Creighton Avenue, East Ham, London E6.

‘I'm in here for defending the trade union movement. It's up to the trade union movement to get me out.’

Des Warren, wrapped in a towel, because he refuses to wear prison uniform, gave this message to all his fellow workers through Labour MPs Martin Flannery and Sid Bidwell who saw him in Lincoln jail (left) last Friday.

On Saturday, 400 trade unionists responded to the call of the Rank and File Organising Committee to demonstrate for the first time outside Lincoln Jail. There were delegations from the Grimsby docks, several AUEW branches, Lincoln UCATT, Lincoln Trades Council and scores of the International Socialist branches, from as far away as Dundee.

Police tried to stop the demonstration from going to the prison, but were brushed aside. Outside the prison, the demonstrators chanted: Prentice out of office, Warren out of jail!

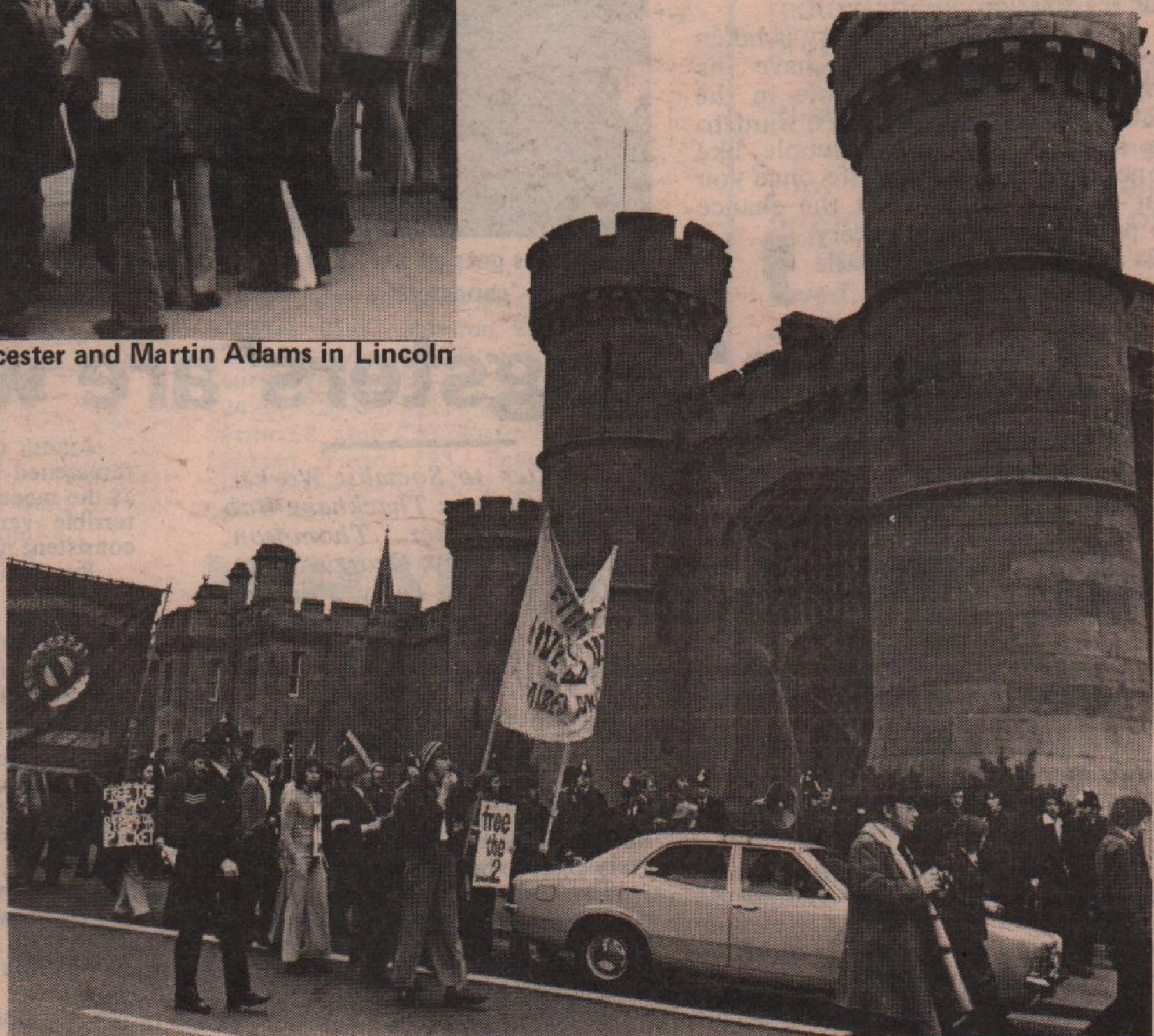


Pictures by John Sturrock (Report) in Leicester and Martin Adams in Lincoln

Marlene Tomlinson, wife of jailed picket Ricky Tomlinson, visited her husband in Leicester jail (right) on Saturday for the first time for three months. She came out of the jail greatly moved and spoke to 1500 trade unionists who had answered the call of Leicester Trades Council to demonstrate at the prison gates.

‘I'd like to thank you all for the tremendous work which you've put into this demonstration to help free our husbands, Ricky and Des. I know that one day I'll have my husband back—this is what keeps me going and helps me fight on.’

‘Many thanks for all the wonderful work and support you have given to colleagues Des and myself, and our families. I look forward to seeing you all soon’



# The docker who put steel into a jobs fight



PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

Shop steward John Fitzgerald: he and his mates seized this steel—worth £125,000—and saved their jobs

TWENTY-TWO dockers at Innstone's Wharf Bow Creek on London's Riverside have a message for every worker in the country:

'Your employer may insist on giving you a one way ticket to the scrapheap of redundancy and unemployment. He may offer you a small or even large financial inducement to take it. But if you stand firm, organise imaginatively and use your industrial strength you can compel him to change his mind and keep you in work.'

The wharf is one of the main steel and iron terminals in the port of London. Dockers there started to suspect that their employers, the big Lovell's Transport and Shipping Group, were up to something last October. Innstone's stopped bringing in long iron.

## DROWNING

Nevertheless they were told that everything was all right.

But, in January, shop steward John Fitzgerald again insisted on interviewing the boss about job security. He was told, off the record, that there were some problems about re-negotiating the lease with British Rail.

John Fitzgerald refused to be bound

by the confidentiality trick and told the members. From then, the men united to defend their right to work.

Throughout January, it became clearer and clearer that the jobs they were handling were coming to an end.

On 5 February they seized £125,000 of steel the employer had loaded on railway wagons. They unloaded it, covered it over and refused to let it go until their jobs were secure.

The boss, infuriated that workers should interfere with his property rights, said they either handle it or they would be off pay. The men refused to handle it, saying 'We think that you're trying to shut up shop and you're not on.'

At this, the boss shifted his tactics. He started trying to buy the 22 jobs. At first he offered £5000 between the 22.

But, for once, the dock employers' favourite tactic of buying the right to destroy a job was destined to fail. The men said he could stuff his money.

They stuck firm, withdrawing their labour and going out to picket their bosses' other major London depot. They got full co-operation from the dockers there.

80 moved out to chase the ships that normally came to their wharf. They tracked one down to Clark's at Erith. They got support there.

The boss responded by offering a bigger bribe to sell the jobs. He offered each long service man £500 and less for the others. Then finally he offered £1000 a man.

But the dockers stuck firm and, with the support of their brothers on the other riverside wharves, forced the employer to change his mind.

On 3 March after four weeks strike action, the boss finally agreed to withdraw the notices of dismissal. For the first time in the history of the Port of London, a wharf destined for closure was forced to stay open.

It was no thanks to the union officials. They said 'It can't be done' and 'Once an employer decides to close, that's it'.

As John Fitzgerald (a member of the NASD) told Socialist Worker: 'Under no circumstances should any worker accept cash for jobs. Anyone who does should be prevented from working in our industry again.'

## INSISTED

'What has happened in the docks is a terrible thing. Wharves have been closed one by one. Men have gone back into the enclosed dock for work, just like drowning men clambering on a life raft.'

'The problem is that the more men clamber on the raft the more likely the whole thing is to go down. That's why this bit-by-bit closure of the docks had to stop somewhere.'

'To further our struggle at Innstone's, we helped to call a meeting of shop stewards representing all the 1800 men in the 36 remaining wharves on London's riverside. Now we've formed a riverside committee, again with nothing but opposition from the union officials.'

'As a committee, we are opposed to all closures. And, make no mistakes, we're going to continue this campaign.'

'When any individual wharf comes under attack, we're all going to defend their jobs. Right now we're fighting for the six men at Odessa Wharf.'

'We don't intend to let the employers pick anyone else off on their own. This is the end of it.'

# THE DOCKERS' CASE

What do you say when you hear someone say it's an inter-union dispute, a fight between workers?

Graham Thackham, TGWU: The port employers have worked overtime to make it look like that. But it's not the case. Woodrow Wyatt, writing in the Mirror, explained what it was all about—docks' employers getting the same work done cheaper than by registered dockers. Hays Wharf sacked 1200 of our men some years ago. Then they opened up Dagenham Storage doing that work but without the restrictions of our registration scheme. That's why we're picketing the place.

Dockers are well-organised. We can't just be sacked when it suits the employers' whim because of our registration scheme. We have sick pay and holiday agreements. So the employers resort to conniving, spiriting our jobs away. In this the performance of the unions has been disgusting. They have done a lot to make it look like an inter union battle. The TGWU has recruited members in these scab container bases, while we were claiming the jobs. That's what the TGWU did at Midland Cold Storage.

Johnnie Piner, NASD: It's a filthy lie that we want to see other trade unionists out of work. We won Chobham Farm and that led to shorter hours and wage increases for the men.

But every trade unionist must realise that we are being taken to the cleaners. Our employers are out to get rid of us and in that situation we have to fight to defend our scheme.

So it's in the interests of all workers that dockers win?

Johnnie Piner: Yes, it is in the interest of every worker that we maintain and extend our scheme. Strong trade unionism in the docks can help other workers. It can help other dockers, too.

At Dover, we have had men after registration for years because they want the security, the extra control, that it gives us. But the port employers won't concede. Registration means more work too.

Of course, there's other places like Colchester where they don't have either manning or wages. There it's the 50p an hour touch to students and soldiers. We want to put a stop to that so that the whole industry can be run on the best conditions.

David Wood, TGWU: This is most definitely not just a dockers' fight. If the docks flourish round here, then the whole area flourishes. If the docks die... We are fighting unemployment the only way we know how. Other workers have exactly the same problems. So it's a matter of a fight of all working people.

What about legislation? Why not wait for that?

Jimmy Clark, TGWU: It's all happened before. We've had this committee, that committee, this inquiry, that inquiry. All we've ever done is wait for someone else to solve our problems.

If they really want to legislate our problems away let them do it right now, in a hurry.

They've done this 'leave it to us' business once too often. We need to win now. We need concrete gains or

## Interviews by LAURIE FLYNN

we're in trouble.

Just say we take Jones' advice and sit back and wait. The Tories might get back in. Even if they don't, the legislation might get mangled in their silly committees. That's why we need guarantees now.

What about nationalisation?

Johnnie Piner: It would be a great step forward if this whole industry was taken out of the hands of those who run it now. But we have to be very careful. Look at what nationalisation meant for the miners. They were cut to pieces. That's why we need nationalisation but with full maintenance of our registration.

And if the docks industry is taken over, we would have to have the chance to recall the people in the leading positions. We don't want to be saddled with more people like Jones who're there for life once you put them in. You want the chance to put them out again every 12 months if they go the other way.



Jack Jones gets an earful from an indignant docker. Later he claimed such men were 'gangsters'.

PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

# So we're 'gangsters' are we, Brother Jones?

THE DAY after Transport Union general secretary Jack Jones spoke at a meeting of dockers in Poplar the press was full of the most violent anti-docker propaganda.

The Daily Mail, in the proud tradition of reasoned debate, ran the headline 'Gangsters invade Jack Jones dock talk'. The Evening News went one better. It said: 'We have in our midst a small but poisonous band of men.'

At Jones' request, no press were allowed into the meeting. The basis of all these stories came from the one and only Press informant at the meeting—Jack Jones.

May we as some of the 300 'gangsters' who attended that meeting now tell the truth?

Jones issued a statement in which he made a number of allegations:

1: 'The meeting was invaded by people who had no right whatever to be there.'

It is true that the meeting was originally

A letter to Socialist Worker from Graham Thackham, Bob Light, Jazzer Thompson, Tony Delaney, Georgie Scott, Dave Wood, Patsy Johnson, Eddie Prevost (all TGWU) and Johnnie Piner and Michael Fenn (NASD).

called for shop stewards and lay officials only. 'Other ranks were not welcome.'

But early in the meeting some rank and file dockers insisted they be allowed in. But let's have it right. These men had every right to be there.

These are the very men whose future is at stake, who stand to lose their livelihood. That gives them more right to be in the meeting than any full-time bureaucrat.

2: 'They began to threaten us immediately but I decided to proceed despite the very real fear of fisticuffs.'

Jones' claim that he was physically threatened is an out-and-out lie. Tempers at the meeting ran very high. Jones took a terrible verbal battering because of his consistent non-support for our cause.

But at no time was he threatened with violence.

3: 'I am certain many of them were not members of my union—some were not members of any union'. Jones also accused the men in the meeting of being 'the gangster element'.

It is true that some men were not TGWU members. There are, after all, two unions in the dock—the T&G and the blue union, the NASD. But every single man in that room was a member of some union.

As stewards and delegates entered the hall, their cards were checked. And even after other dockers, rank and file dockers had come into the meeting. ALL trade union cards were checked. A SECOND TIME because of a rumour that the press had somehow managed to sneak in.

Jones thinks the men or some of the men at the meeting were 'gangsters'. As dockers, we know that the men were among the best in our port.

They were the men who care enough about our industry to attend meetings like this. They are the men who are stewards, lay delegates or just plain active lay members who take their job conscientiously.

They are the men who attend their branches and keep the union functioning, in short the very men who ensure that Jack Jones gets his wages every week.

For 30 years Jack Jones has been a full-time official. He's nice and comfortable on his £5000-a-year plus expenses. He's in office until he retires. He doesn't face election before then and when he goes he knows he can retire into the House of Lords or some City Boardroom alongside his friends Greene and Feather.

And now it seems that Jones has taken another job—unpaid grass for the capitalist press.

# You're Irish, you're fired

IF YOU think Roy Jenkins' anti-terrorist law is aimed solely at 'men of violence', consider the case of Lila Nic Oireachtaigh.

She left Dublin last October and got a job as a typist in Swansea University's registration department.

Two weeks ago, she was arrested and held for seven days without charge or even explanation under Jenkins' Act.

Two days after her arrest, while she was still in a prison cell, the Bursar of the University, Mr D W Boorman, sacked her without explanation.

## Contact

Lila was arrested on 24 February, taken to Swansea Central police station and asked about her politics. She told the police she had been a member of the Official Sinn Fein in Dublin for six years and, since coming to Wales, had been loosely associated with Cymru Goch, a small Welsh socialist group.

She had never been associated with the IRA in either country.

The interrogation lasted only a few minutes. She was told she was being held for 48 hours under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. She had no right to see a lawyer or contact anyone.

Two days later, she was told she was being held for seven days under the Act. Once again, no explanation.

After the seven days—the maximum for which a suspect can be detained under the Act—she was released. No charge. No explanation. No job.

Lila has reported her dismissal to officers of NALGO on campus. Mrs Thomas, the branch secretary, explained to Socialist Worker that the full facts were not yet available to the union.

She emphasised that Lila had been sacked 'within the probationary period' during which, apparently, the college authorities don't have to give notice—or explanation—for dismissals.

Mr J Peel, from the personnel department of Swansea University, told Socialist Worker: 'We have no comment to make on this case'.

Many trade unionists are arguing for a mass meeting called by all trade unions on campus to demand Lila's reinstatement.

A member of Swansea International Socialists' District Committee says: 'We are urging all trade unionists in the area to raise this scandalous sacking in their union branch—and organise for reinstatement'.

## Decision

● The Transport and General Workers' Union Executive voted unanimously last week to campaign for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. They also voted to instruct their sponsored MPs (who include a certain Rt Hon Reg Prentice) to vote against the Act.

This is the best decision to have come out of the executive in years. It is the result of agitation from trade unionists in Ireland, who submitted the resolution. All trade unionists must fight to get similar decisions—and actions to support them—from their unions.

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## WHAT WE THINK

# Co-operatives: Who gains?

THE MERIDEN co-operative has started production at long last, so now is a good time to look back at the whole NVT experience.

The workforce in September 1973, when Dennis Poore announced his intention to close NVT Meriden, was about 1750. Under 300 are now working, although it is intended to increase this. The 18-month occupation has certainly saved some jobs which would otherwise have gone.

That is the positive side of the matter. Once again, it proves that militant action pays. Without the occupation, nothing at all would have been saved. But the cost of the 'co-operative' solution is high.

First of all, the long drawn-out negotiations without pay. Leaving aside the earlier talks with Tory minister Chataway, it has taken more than a year of negotiations since Wedgwood Benn took over. The remaining workers have shown remarkable determination but it is hardly surprising that the majority have left.

More important still, the co-operative is a captive of Dennis Poore's organisation, totally dependent on him for its marketing arrangements. And instead of having to face a united workforce, Poore can exploit the suspicions and fears that have been built up between the Meriden workers and those at NVT Small Heath.

No-one doubts that a new range of models is needed. The cost of development is estimated at £3½ to £4 million. Thus far, the co-operative has got £¼ million from the government, a grant hedged around with restrictions. For example, there can be no wage increase, whatever the rate of inflation, without government permission. And a lot more money is needed.

The truth is that to revive it the Meriden workers are going to have to drive themselves vastly harder than any boss could drive them. Last year, planned output figures were leaked to the press which showed a proposed increase in output per head of 85 per cent! And, of course, Meriden will be used to undercut Small Heath and Wolverhampton. Worker competing with worker to push up output and drive down conditions.

It is harsh but true to say that islands of co-operative production in a sea of competitive, profit-directed production, are doomed to super-intensive exploitation—or to collapse.

There is one man who can look with complete satisfaction on the outcome: Dennis Poore. He was paid £4.9 million by the Tory government to take over the BSA plants at Meriden and Small Heath. When he announced that he would close Meriden, the Tory government considered lending the workers £1.9 million to buy him out. Not enough, said Poore.

Labour proved a softer touch. Benn upped the offer to £4.2 million! And if both the co-operative (for which he has monopoly selling rights) and the Small Heath plant stopped production tomorrow, Poore's own company would be completely protected. That's in the agreements too. Win, lose or draw, Dennis Poore has become much richer.

The lesson of NVT Meriden is that nationalisation, with the shop floor organisation strong and ready to fight redundancies, is what has to be fought for when closures are proposed.

The 'co-operative solution' may look easier. In fact it is impossibly hard in the longer term.

Nationalise to save the jobs. No 'compensation' for bankrupt capitalists. Maintain and strengthen the shop-floor organisation. No selling of conditions, no redundancies.

These are the only realistic objectives if jobs are to be saved. The courage and staying-power of the Meriden workers is what needs to be imitated, not the road they were led to take.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS  
Phones 01-739 0185/6361

# Why your paper

IMAGINE your food bills being trebled and your rent going through the roof. Maybe you'd rather not.

Socialist Worker doesn't need to imagine—and we can't dream it away. For us, it's a fact.

Our 'food' bill—the price of newsprint—has gone up by nearly three times in two years. Yet another increase was announced last week.

And the cost of printing ink, again a major outlay is chasing it fast. It's costing more and more to put Socialist Worker into readers' hands.

Few socialists, plagued with price rises of their own would doubt it. Specially if those socialists are print-workers. They know better than most the fiddles of what we politely call the millionaire press.

The fiddles by which big newspaper monopolies, owned by such as Reed International, pay endless price increases to big newsprint monopolies, owned by such as Reed International, so they can force their readers to pay more and their workers to demand less.

Of course, capitalism is to blame. Of course, the price of newsprint and ink is going up even though there are surpluses of both. Of course, the workers at big newsprint suppliers such as Bowaters are paying their own price with a three-day week.

## Readers

But that doesn't help Socialist Worker. Diatribes against capitalism may convince some people but they have a remarkably poor effect on capitalists.

And while they're handing out the bills, we've got to sign the cheques. Or go under.

## So what do we do?

We could put up the price of Socialist Worker. But we're trying to win readers, not bankrupt them.

We could cut the number of pages. Except that we think 16 pages a week are already far too few to counter the daily dossiers of distortion excreted by Britain's free and impartial press.

No. We can only pay our ever-mounting bills, we can only turn Socialist Worker into the beginnings of a mass-selling workers' paper by one means and one means alone.

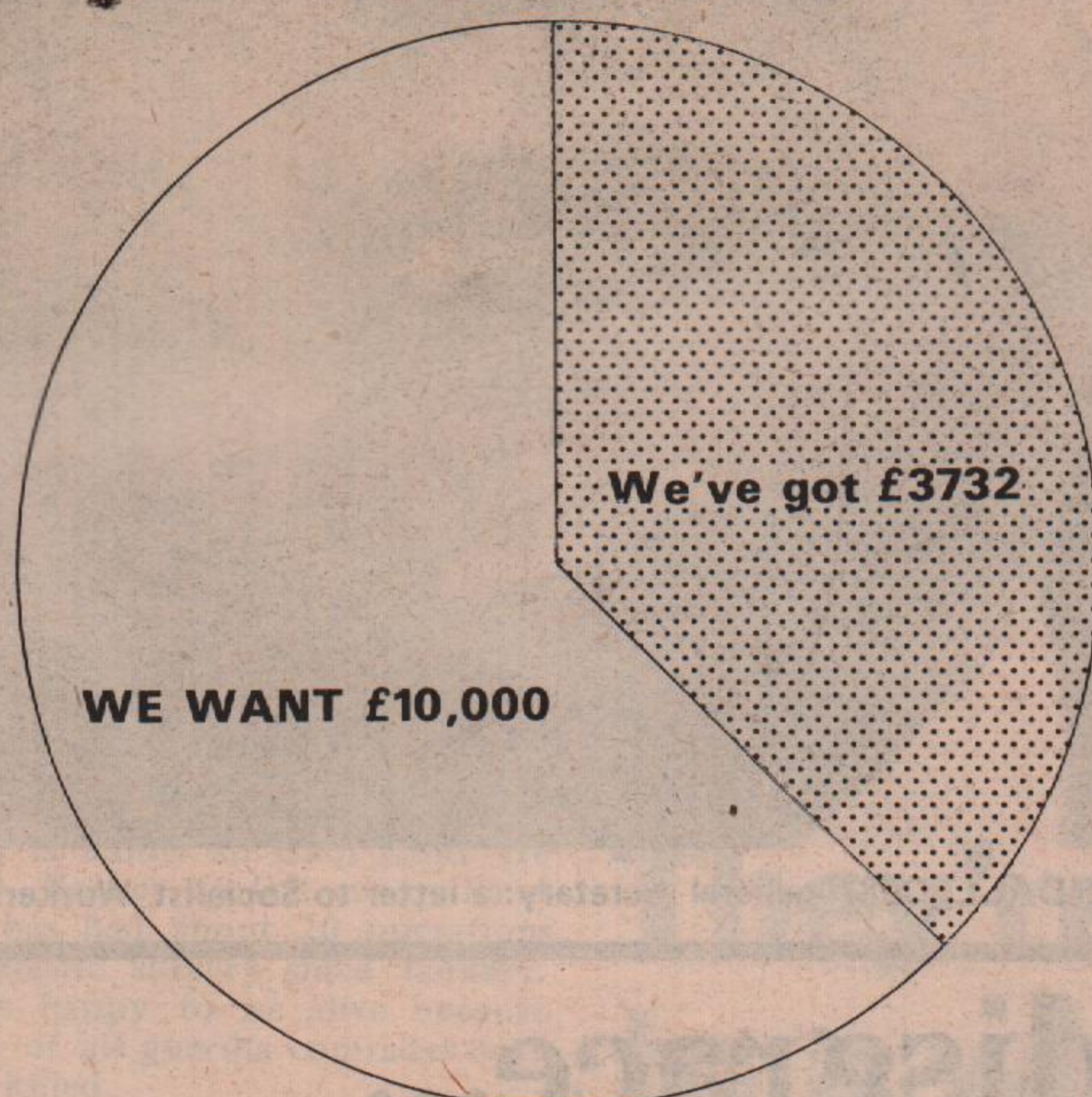
Already, after three weeks of our emergency £10,000 fund drive, our readers supporters and members have dug deep. £3732.81 has been sent in.

This won't be our last fund, nor our last appeal. If you value a paper that is serious about socialism, you'll understand why.

You'll also, we hope, do your bit by sending us what you can afford today. You'll have a whip round with your mates at work or on the estate or in the pub. You'll give a bit extra when you see your Socialist Worker seller in the town centre.

Socialist Worker, lives only be-

# needs your cash



Please send donations to: Mel Norris,  
IS National Treasurer, 8 Cottons  
Gardens, London E2.

cause people like you want it to. It will grow for the same reason, when the advertisement-stuffed rags of Fleet Street have withered and died.

It's your paper. It's your socialism. We need the one to help get the other. A donation to Socialist Worker is the best investment for the future any socialist can make.

This week's mail brought in  
£1111.55

Our thanks to:  
Edmonton IS £10, Darlington IS £9, Luton SW readers Vauxhall £3, Anchor Press SW supporters £2.50, London Hospital Workers IS £6.95, City of London Poly IS £9, Burnley IS £1.65, SW readers Nelson £1.26, Southwark IS £6, SW readers Canterbury £1.50, Nottingham reader £2, Woolwich IS £25, Woolwich reader £2, Newcastle reader £2, a hospital worker £1, Pontefract and Knottingley IS £5.30 SW reader Monmouth £5.55, Manchester Local Government SW readers group £15, Woolwich IS £3, Cardiff IS £10, Birmingham IS Books £1, Lampeter IS Society £1, Loughborough IS £1, Camborne IS 65p, Watford IS £8, Portsmouth IS £6.40, Paddington IS £5.34, Luton IS £5.  
Members' Special Levy: Edmonton £26, Tottenham £13, Romford Teachers £3,

Ipswich £5, Grays £3, Croydon £12, Swansea £6.60, Wigston £24, Harlesden £38, Hackney £53.50, Southwark £12, Southampton £21, Imperial College £24.50, Cardiff £21, Finsbury Park £21, Sustin £2, Hull £30, Portsmouth £40.85, Camden Town £23, Paddington £31, Stretford and Salford £18. Individual members £181.

# WHAT WAS THAT ABOUT WAGES?

TWO 'facts' are produced every day by the national press to 'prove' the need for wage restraint. First, we are told that 'wages are going up faster than prices'. Second, that 'profits are not going up fast enough to allow for investment.'

Last week, in an internal bulletin, top city stockbrokers Wood Mackenzie produced facts and figures which prove the exact opposite.

The two main conclusions of their Economic Analysis are: 'Personal disposable income was expected to fall by three per cent in real terms, despite a 26 per cent increase in higher wage rates.'

'This reflects a lower rise in earnings than wage rates (as a result of rising unemployment and short-time working), the impact of the progressive income tax system and a 20 per cent lift-in retail prices.'

And again: 'Industrial profitability is expected to improve by ten per cent at the trading level, while a substantial cut-back in industrial investment is anticipated.'

What does that mean? The value of wages is going down because of high prices, redundancy, short-time, taxes and loss of overtime.

Profits are going up—and investment is going rapidly down. At the same time (and the bulletin does not point this out) even where profits are lower, more money is being shelled out to shareholders in dividends.

Everyone in the City wept when the Big Four Banks declared total profits down by £150 million—from £599 million to £449 million. Dividends, however, were UP from £46 million to £50 million.

# IS: 'A menace to trade unionism'



IN THE EDITIONS of the Socialist Worker dated 8 and 15 February I am the target for attack because of observations in the February issue of my union journal Red Tape.

It is not my aim to divide the CPSA membership. My job is to unite it behind a practical programme and your recent articles are further evidence of how difficult an extremist minority can make the task of the membership who—as you must admit—have not yet generally embraced the politics of the International Socialists.

## Assail

The first point I must make is that in the February Red Tape article I did not assail the IS alone. I condemned unconstitutional practices from whatever quarter they come.

Secondly, I agree entirely that the IS and Redder Tape sponsors did not start the

practice of electioneering by methods contrary to the CPSA Constitution. But they have continued it so energetically and with such bitterness as to produce the sharpest of reactions.

Thirdly, I will make it clear why I mentioned the IS in particular in what I wrote in Red Tape. It was not because I am so naive as to think that they are the only unofficial group which has ever been active in the CPSA. It was because, in my sincere opinion, the IS are quite extraordinarily careless of the damage which their tactics are liable to do to the CPSA and to the movement generally.

They seem to me to set little or no store by

unity. Perhaps this does their intentions an injustice but I can only judge by their actions. Only a handful of people believe that the route to radical social change of a progressive kind lies by way of destroying trade unions as we know them. The IS are reckless on this score, and their blatant disregard of the CPSA Constitution is evidence of it.

## Pretence

Mr McGrath's last paragraph in his contribution on 8 February is, I think, characteristic of the pretence that if it were not for the IS the real issues would not get proper priority.

He defines the real issues as 'the fight for open and accountable democracy, the fight against management by objectives (productivity deals), against redundancies, against the secrecy of pay negotiations and against the stifling atmosphere of Whitleyism'.

I invite Mr McGrath to say whether the CPSA as a whole—or its leadership—have neglected these issues. I assert that we have a good record in respect of all of them and have made creditable advances along the right road. If challenged and accorded the space I am prepared to demonstrate the essential truth of my statement.

If the real issues are such as Mike McGrath lists them there is no need for the machinations of unofficial groups within the CPSA.

One gets rather weary of the self-righteous gospel that only the IS are accountable. If we are to replace capitalism by a better state of society we shall need to cooperate instead of assailing each other's integrity, and I am perfectly genuine in my conviction that as they are at present operating the IS are a destructive rather than a constructive force from a working class point of view.

## Abide

But this does not mean that I want to single them out for persecution. I only ask all CPSA members to abide by the Rules and Constitution, or alter them, in the manner in which they have freely agreed to do in the past.

Your stupid 13 February page headed 'Witch Hunt' leaves me cold. I am on the record over a lifetime of trade union work as supporting tolerance, the freest clashes of opinion, the fullest membership involvement and a militant policy.

The evidence is available in the columns of Red Tape, in letters to newspapers, in circulars and in the minutes. You yourself admit on the 13 February that I have refrained for three years from responding to what I can only view as the provocative libels upon which Redder Tape so heavily relies.

Amongst a number of distortions, typical of IS publications, is your 15 February assertion in the Socialist Worker, that the CPSA National Executive Committee has 'not even bothered to let the membership know what wage claim they are currently negotiating for.'

I say, in reply, that when the IS bureaucracy churn out this sort of stuff they have no right to complain if they are regarded as a menace to responsible trade unionism.

Can you truthfully say that whoever wrote that stricture upon our National Executive Committee was not well aware that the pay of Civil Servants of all grades is based upon payments for corresponding grades of workers outside the Service, and that pay research analysis is essential before it can be estimated what increases are justifiable?

## Jibe

I don't wish to suggest we in CPSA have democratised the processes of pay determination as much as we want to do. With the best will in the world it is difficult for 200,000 members to participate in all the processes, but I do say that your jibe was unworthy of an organisation pretending to the title and the motives which you assume.

Like much of your propaganda it appears to be based upon arousing hatreds by reliance on Dr Goebbels' axiom that the bigger the lie the better the chance of its being believed.

Fortunately, the great majority of CPSA members do give us credit for trying to keep them informed—we must issue an almost record amount of detailed reports—and I shall depend upon it that they won't think the worse of anyone for being included in your list of enemies of the working class.—W. KENDALL, General Secretary, Civil and Public Services Association.

PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

## MIKE McGRATH REPLIES

BROTHER Kendall makes three major points:

1 On unconstitutional practices, he spends 90 per cent of his article in February's Red Tape attacking Redder Tape (the rank and file journal of civil servants); ten per cent attacking the right-wing 'moderates' and 0 per cent attacking the secretive and unconstitutional methods by which the union leadership has always been elected...

Some branches acted in flagrant violation of the constitution in the recent election for Vice President. Why no action on these, Bro Kendall?

2 On electioneering, his audacity is astounding. Redder Tape is the only group that has had the honesty and courage publicly to expose this practice.

## Lists

We have always exposed the present system of circulating lists. We believe that candidates for election should stand on a programme of demands or send their own election addresses.

This is the normal practice in many unions, for example, ASTMS and the AUEW. We are standing four candidates this year, for the National Executive Committee on a Redder Tape platform (sorry, Bro Kendall, they are not all in IS—two are, two aren't).

They are standing openly, not vote-catching, back-scratching or relying on personalised gossip.

3 Bro Kendall writes: 'Only a handful of people believe that the route to radical social change of a progressive kind lies by way of destroying trade unions as we know them'.

This means, I suppose, that we want to advance towards socialism. IS members are active in CPSA and in Redder Tape because we are ordinary

workers and socialists.

Socialism, for us, means workers' power and the destruction of capitalism which can only come about if a strong class-conscious and democratic trade union movement exists.

We don't want to destroy trade unions, but we do want to change them 'as we know them'—bureaucratic, wedded to the status quo, incapable of mobilising over the most elementary attacks on workers' rights. We are in the business of construction, not destruction.

Bro Kendall goes on to say that they have 'more creditable advances along the right road'—referring to Whitleyism, productivity deals, democracy.

What does he mean by the 'right road'? We still have pay research—improved but fundamentally unchanged—still secretive, still parasitic on other workers.

Whitleyism is still very much with us, productivity deals are alive and kicking. 600 jobs lost in the Post Office to give those that remain 85p a week. Some deal!

On democracy, an atmosphere of poisoned gossip and slander exists in the union. Many branches do not even discuss elections—the branch committee takes the decisions.

The vast bulk of the membership are oblivious of the conflicts. Is it any wonder that apathy reigns?

Finally, how is it that we, a small bunch of wreckers with no roots in the union, are attacked so virulently? Because, of course, we may be small but our ideas are finding more and more ears in this time of large-scale redundancies and rip-roaring inflation.



BILL KENDALL, CPSA general secretary: a letter to Socialist Worker.

LAURIE FLYNN on the North Wales Defence Committee's decision to disband.

## A revealing disgrace...

'AFTER careful consideration the North Wales Charter Defence Committee have decided that this bulletin will be the last issued by the Committee.'

That bulletin was sent out two weeks ago. It must have needed careful consideration.

After all, two of the men the committee was set up to defend are still languishing in jail. The conspiracy laws used to jail them and tyrannise 22 other trade unionists are still intact. There is still a campaign to be fought.

Nevertheless, the leading elements in the North Wales Defence Committee, members of the Communist Party, have finally decided to put the wraps over it.

Not that it was ever the most interventionist of committees. It confined itself largely to the very necessary (but not the only necessary) task of raising funds. It should also have been a focus for organising industrial action to free the two. But it was never allowed to be that.

The Communist Party put all the emphasis on winning declarations of support from the official movement.

Some declarations were won when the men were first jailed. Many more have been won since.

But declarations do not spring people from jails. And, in any case, the TUC is doing little or nothing even by way of declarations. That it is doing nothing is not surprising.

The majority on the TGWU executive appears, at long last, to have discovered the Shrewsbury Two, though they haven't let their discovery run away with them. They're only calling on someone else to call a one-day strike.

It is a disgrace that in this situation the wraps have been put on the defence campaign, with a pathetic appeal for a public inquiry as an obituary notice. But it is a revealing disgrace.

The conduct of the campaign and the close of the campaign reflects the collapse of the Commu-

nist Party into the respectable, official machine of the labour movement on its terms. Ken Gill on the TUC General Council reflects it.

The on and off the ice Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions reflects it. Even as the Defence Committee is buried, so the Liaison Committee has been revived.

But it is clear from the tiny amount of effort being put in by the Communist Party that it's mainly designed to hold others back in their attempts to build something genuine.

The chauvinist Common Market campaign reflects the process most accurately, with ads for employers and anyone short of being a declared fascist to join in the patriotic jamboree.

The many genuine militants and socialists within the CP's sway—now have no choice but to look elsewhere for the sorts of leads and initiatives that will genuinely advance the interests of our class

**BALANCE SHEET**



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# PORTUGAL: DEFEND THE REVOLUTION

THE exact outcome of the fighting between different sections of the armed forces in Portugal on Tuesday is still uncertain as we go to press.

But one thing is clear. An attempt was made to destroy the strength which the working class has built up since the overthrow of fascism last year.

Right-wing politicians in Portugal have been calling on the armed forces to 'restore order'. Their statements have been given enormous publicity by the British press.

Coverage of events in the town of Setubal last weekend gave prominence to the few bruises received by a British pressman. There was hardly a mention of the shooting dead by the police of a left-wing demonstrator and the wounding of a dozen more.

Nor of the way thousands of local workers besieged the police station,

## Bosses panic, workers' struggle grows

remembering how the police had been the staunchest support of the fascist regime.

When these people talk about a 'breakdown of order', what really worries them is the massive upsurge of working-class militancy in recent weeks. It is estimated that there have been about 300 industrial disputes in Portugal in the past month, many of them over redundancies, with workers occupying the plants and locking out the managers.

The slogans raised by workers from the Eurofil factory who demonstrated last week were typical of many such struggles: 'Nationalisation

yes, redundancy no', 'Down with capitalist exploitation', 'The working class will win', 'One solution—control over production', 'Those who created the crisis must pay for it', 'Nationalisation yes, negotiations no'.

The Portuguese workers are giving a lead in the fight against redundancy that workers everywhere would do well to follow.

But not only the factories are involved in struggle. Most newspapers in the major cities are still run by the journalists who write them, with the power of the newspaper proprietors reduced to virtually nil. The attempt of the Catholic bishops,

who control one of the most popular radio stations, Radio Rinasca, to impose their views on the staff working there and sack some of them, has led to a long strike.

Many of the secondary schools have been closed down by a national pupils strike, despite an ultimatum to the pupils from the Minister of Education. Troops were stationed outside one Lisbon school in an attempt to keep it open last week.

In the South, farmworkers have been taking over the land of the great estates, often ignoring instructions to touch 'uncultivated' land only.

It is no wonder that the Portuguese ruling class is getting panicky. The weekly paper Expresso reports: 'There are a proliferation of cases of managers going abroad, under the pretext of consulting medical specialists.'

But other sections of the ruling class have no intention of running away. They intend to stay in Portugal and fight back, even if it involves the methods used against Allende in Chile.

They are making a great deal of noise about the elections to be held in three weeks' time. They expect these to give a victory to right-wing and social democratic parties that favour big business rule.

But a victory in the elections will not by itself provide big business with a means of recapturing control of the factories and the press.

So big business is also looking to sections of the army to act for it.

Immediately after the overthrow of Caetano last year, the majority of army officers were willing to allow a few left-wing officers to take the initiative—especially as this seemed the only way to end the extremely unpopular wars in Africa. But in elections for some positions in the Armed Forces Movement last week, the officers in the army and airforce voted for right-wing candidates and only the navy supported the left.

## VICTORY

Fortunately, the move to the right of the officers is being matched by a move to the left among the rank and file. In recent demonstrations, soldiers have shown sympathy with the left and even fought with them against the police.

No doubt more officers would have supported Tuesday's coup but for fear that the rank and file might not obey their orders.

Many will hope to strangle the workers' movement by less obvious means in the weeks ahead. It is worth remembering that in Chile officers used 'restoring order' after an unsuccessful right-wing coup as an excuse to attack the workers' movement and to prepare the ground for successful coup a couple of months later.

The Portuguese working class has the power to crush all such moves, providing that an organisation of rank and file soldiers is formed to watch every step of the officers and to link up with the workers' committees in the factories.

The danger is that, as in Chile, the biggest workers' parties argue against such moves and urge the workers and soldiers to put their faith in a government that compromises with the majority of right-wing officers. Portuguese big business may also try to bolster up its own weak position by calling its NATO allies to intervene to 'defend democracy'.

Trade unionists in Britain have to be prepared to show solidarity if any such eventuality develops. The press and the TV are already trying to soften up public opinion for a Chile-type operation, with talk of 'mob violence' and 'a breakdown of order', just as they did in Chile in the last months of Allende's government.

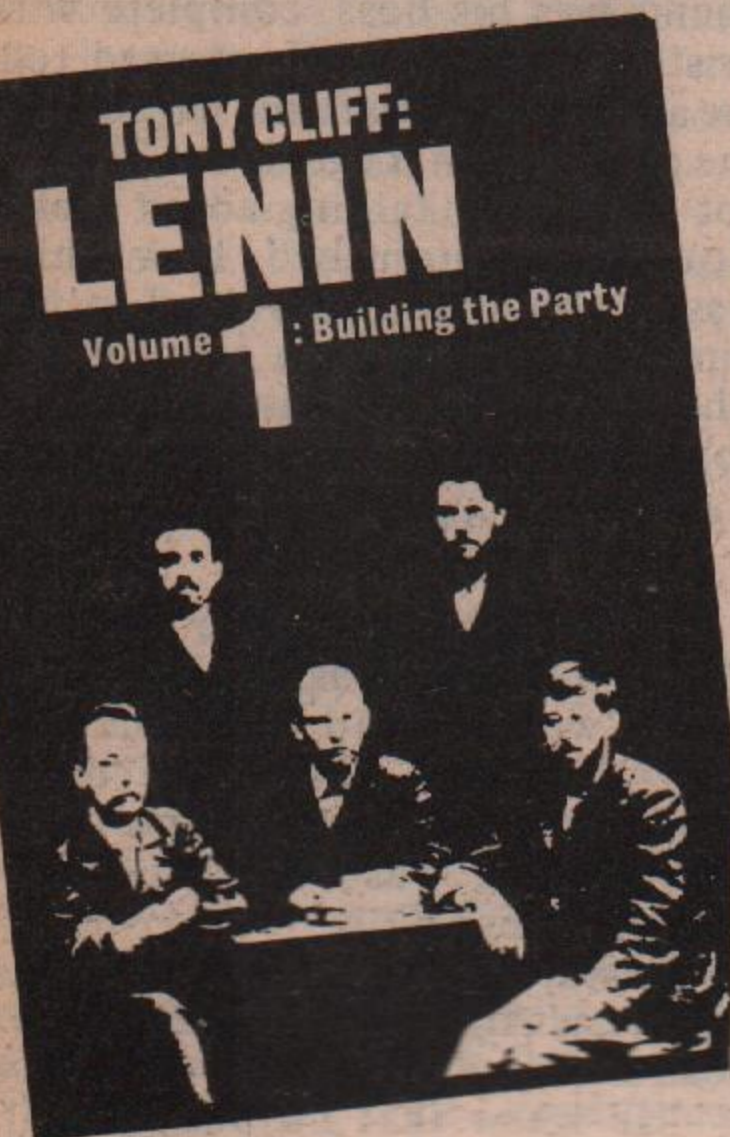
Socialists have to point out what is really at stake—the ability of those who create the wealth to defend themselves against unemployment, to occupy their factories and to fight for a better society.

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THIS is Zahir, an Iraqi Kurd. He is 19. He has no left ear or hand and has had about 20 operations for plastic surgery since January. He is happy to be alive because many of his guerilla comrades have been killed.

Zahir was hit by a phosphorous bomb on 23 October last year when he was in the front line against the Iraqi army.

The bomb burned away all the skin and much of the flesh on his limbs and left side.

He is now just under half his normal weight but in the seven days that the phosphorous burned on his body it blew up to twice normal size and glowed in the dark.

Zahir was fighting for the autonomy of his people, the Kurds, within a democratic Iraqi state. Iraq is not a democratic state, but is ruled today by a 'National Front' of Ba'athists and Moscow-line Communists. There have been five coups and nine governments since 1961 and no elections since 1958. Each of these have resulted in the changing of the whip from the hand of one colonel to another.

The Russian government and the Communist Parties in the West are saying that the Kurds are 'agents of imperialism' because they have accepted arms from 'reactionary'

## They're doing this to a whole people

Iran and sent refugees to relative safety there. They do not mention that the Iraqi regime too is reactionary, being based on mass repression of the majority section of the Iraqi Communist Party. The minority, under Russian orders, joined the government.

### Kissed

Last week the Shah of Iran and Iraqi vice-president embraced and kissed in Algiers. This new-found affection arose from a four-point agreement they had just signed, which closed the Iranian border to the Kurds. Maybe Iran has become a patriotic anti-imperialist state now?

Zahir is not an isolated case of Russian-backed Iraqi barbarity. On 14 April last year 11 Kurds were hanged, several after having their hands cut off and their eyes gouged out. Many thousands have been killed or injured in the napalming and incendiary bombings by the Iraqi airforce. The methods used

by the Russian-trained Iraqi forces are virtually identical to those used by the US in Vietnam.

Following the agreement in Algiers the Kurds are now surrounded by the armed might of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. When the winter ends the Iraqi army will push on into the Kurdish area, murdering and maiming on a scale that will amount to genocide.

The Kurds may not be fighting a socialist struggle to establish a workers' state, but they are fighting against a vicious and repressive regime for national and democratic rights. The Kurds make up a quarter of Iraq's 10 million population. They deserve the support of all socialists.

It will not be long before the 'final solution' for the Kurds of Iraq is attempted. All socialists must take up this issue.

For more information, offers of solidarity, and money please contact KSSE, c/o 44 Earls Court Road, London W8.

# And in the beginning was the USA...

IN THE LATE 1940s the cold war was getting underway and the USA's rulers had a problem. They wanted to mobilise German industry and manpower behind their war machine.

Without German troops and steel, they told us, the red Russian hordes could not be stopped from sweeping right through to the Channel coast.

The snag was that their European allies, above all France, were terrified of a revival of German power. The allies had defeated Hitler and imposed their own military rule on Germany and had repeatedly declared that 'never again' would a German army of any kind be tolerated and 'never again' would Germany be allowed to re-create the economic power that had fed the German war machine.

German heavy industry was still being dismantled by the Russian, British and French occupiers and the valuable bits shipped off to the conqueror's homelands. Steel out-

**International Socialists say NO to bosses common market YES to workers' unity all over Europe**

put—then even more than now the key to arms—was kept down to a fraction of pre-war levels.

All this Washington now wanted to put into reverse in the interests of the new crusade against 'communism'. And so the 'Community' idea was born. There were two important schemes, the European Defence Community (EDC) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

The EDC was a device to raise a German Army under a nominal 'European' control. The ECSC was

a device for rebuilding the German steel (therefore arms) industry also under 'European' control. German power under, ultimately, American control was the essence.

This explains the puzzling fact that 'going into Europe' means joining an entity which excludes most Europeans. Naturally the Russians are excluded—the whole enterprise was directed against them, likewise Poles, Hungarians and all the 'Eastern bloc'.

The Swedes, Swiss, Spaniards and other 'neutrals' were likewise

ruled out of this strange 'Europe'; they were not members of the US military pact system.

In the event the EDC was still-born, the French Assembly could not be induced to endorse it, but the ECSC came into being in 1952. It was based on a complex, bureaucratic system of regulation but on a strictly capitalist basis.

The British didn't participate, though they urged the others on, because their rulers still had aspirations to be a great power with a 'special relationship' with the USA.

In 1957 the ECSC was expanded into the European Economic Community, the EEC or Common Market. This too, was a move strongly supported by the US government for basically military reasons. A strong West European Bloc was part of its plan for 'rolling back' (and later 'containing') Russia.

But the EEC, which added the notorious Common Agricultural policy and moves towards inter-EEC

free trade to the ECSC, differed from its predecessor. It was increasingly an instrument of the French and German capitalist classes rather than a mere expedient of US foreign policy.

It was and is an economic bloc with high external tariffs, a 'rich man's club' attempting (not too successfully in practice) to create a joint West European capitalism, united to compete with the rest of the world.

The famous Treaty of Rome, is an attempt to establish a legal framework for such a joint capitalist enterprise. It is a set of 'articles of association' for Europe Ltd.

It should hardly be necessary to add that the establishment of a socialist Europe is impossible without smashing the whole set-up. Born of the cold war and nurtured by the boom years of the permanent arms economy, the EEC is reactionary through and through.

## 5 FIFTH COLUMN looks at Britain's secret police



### MI5—a story of growth...

BECAUSE OUR RULERS, and the rulers of every country in the world intrigue, manoeuvre and conspire to retain their power, their money, their control over the rest of the population they tend to view any opposition to their power in a similar way. They are haunted by communist conspiracies, Jewish conspiracies,

So they set up further conspiracies to search for the threat to their power. They get organised into the CIA, the KGB, the FBI. In between murdering, bribing and conspiring across the globe we are told of what a grand job they are doing in protecting us from ourselves.

But while the operations of the CIA receive justifiably increasing publicity our home grown operations remain shrouded in secrecy. 'One doesn't acknowledge these organisations specifically' the Prime Minister's office said to Socialist Worker. 'We don't do things like that over here.'

Most workers who come up against the undercover agents of the state will meet the Special Branch. But behind the SB is MI 5 and MI 6.

MI 6 is concerned with overseas operations—which includes liaison with groups like the South African secret police and the CIA. MI 5 is the internal secret police. That agency was responsible for example for bugging the leaders of the National Union of Miners during the 1972 miners' strike. ASLEF got similar treatment, which came as 'no surprise' to general secretary Ray Buckton when Socialist Worker informed him.

Tony Bunyan, a former Time Out journalist is writing a history of Britain's political police which will be published this summer by Julian Friedmann Ltd.

'The SB exists to keep an eye on movements that may be considered an immediate threat to our rulers—so they can move in, arrest people and so on,' he said.

'It's different with MI 5 and MI 6. They exist to watch and observe. They aren't there to act on the information they gather, but to pass it on, to let the government know what is going on. In the event of any major eruption, they should be there with the information and the agents planted in the places that matter.'

'They were set up in 1911, as part of the general war scare. They began to change after the First World War. But they didn't have the files or the information until after the Second World War.'

'In the early 1950s they reached



agreement with the USA and France on the need for 'positive vetting'. This meant scrutinising anyone who came into state employment for left wing sympathies. It came out of the Cold War hysteria and from the activities of people like Burgess and McClean.

'It was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament that really got them worried. People on the left may have regarded the CND as a completely innocuous organisation—but not the authorities. It was a mass movement complete with teachers, priests, civil servants—all sorts of people that they couldn't keep track of, who might be coming into state employment. So after that they really started getting organised. A similar kind of scare hit them when the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign grew up in the late 1960s.'

'In fact, that was worse. CND, and particularly VSC weren't movements that could be easily pigeon-holed into the traditional left. People had much more informal communication, so it was much more difficult to keep an eye on them.'

'That's why information which left-wingers wouldn't think important was vital to them. Who knew who, where people were. Of course they could build up the most amazing conspiracy theories if they wanted to. Now they take it really seriously. If the Special Branch is a dogsbody for MI 5 so the ordinary police are dogsbodies for the Special Branch.'

'Political intelligence gathering is now part of police training. That means all over the country material can find its way back to files in London.'

### MI5's London HQs

WHERE IS MI5 based? In the USA the CIA and FBI operate from huge, well publicised centres. In Britain even the location of the security services is concealed. Apart from the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall there are at least three centres for MI5 in London.

Leconfield House in Curzon Street in Mayfair is believed to be the MI5 filing centre. The files are known to run into millions, and cover socialists, trade unionists—and for a bonus every MP.

Inside the windows are elaborate iron grills. To give that bit of melodrama to the proceedings are neat square machine gun emplacements at ground floor/first floor level!

The operations centre is in Barnard Road, Battersea a quiet suburban street—but there, at the bottom of the street is a ramshackle three storey building.

It is an anonymous place, and could pass for one of the many small garages in the neighbourhood. Raise your eyes and you'll see its special feature, a 15 foot radio mast complete with interesting little aerials.

The mast should be high enough to give great reception at the third centre, the sixteenth floor of Euston Tower at the top of Tottenham Court Road. Officially this new skyscraper is shared between the Department of Health and Social Security, who are listed as occupying the first 19 floors and the Post Office who have the remaining 15.

Floor 16 has blinds on every window. The main lift doesn't stop there and the doors to the fire staircases are kept locked. This claims a retired MI5 officer, is the main HQ.

THE British Intelligence agencies provided the model for a whole string of operations around the world, in Israel, Ireland, South Africa—and Australia.

In the case of South Africa Sir Percy Sillitoe ex-head of MI5 went back to that country to help them out after his retirement. And the British secret services connections with the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) have stood that gang of fascists in good stead in their surveillance of exiles: Britain.

In Australia the Labour Attorney General was so exasperated by the blocking tactics of the local Special Branch that he had their offices raided. Needless to say he was on the files...

WORRIED about your rights being violated? Thinking about complaining to the Human Rights Commission at Strasbourg?

Well, you'll be pleased to know that the Secretary to the Commission is a Mr Anthony B McNulty, and he's British. He is also an agent of British military intelligence. Which is very handy for the government when all those embarrassing Irish cases come in...

### Narking—a family affair...

JAMES BOND is for the movies, not the real world. The best kind of agent for MI5 is one who can just melt into the background—who is part of the background. Kenneth Lennon fitted the bill. He was a socialist and an Irish republican. Through blackmail and money he was sucked into working for the security services—dumped, and murdered.

Fifth Column talked to a girl who was approached to spy for MI5. She is from an upper class family and is a socialist. One of her parents' 'old family friends' turned out to be an administrator with MI5.

The approach was made at the time of the Angry Brigade trials, for which she had been asked to put up bail money by a friend of one of the defendants.

'Originally he asked me out to tea in a West End store. He told me that he had a friend who wanted some advice about a university his son was thinking of going to', she explained.

'Well that was all untrue. The friend was his boss, complete with a bristly moustache. He started telling me all about his wartime exploits with the partisans in Yugoslavia. Then they got round to talking about politics. You'd be astonished how thick I was, I was already involved in telling him things—without even noticing. The family friend insisted that I must come to tea at his place.'

### crime

'I thought his wife would be there—but she wasn't. He told me how "we" all had the same end in view and how there was no such thing as a political crime in this country. He was sure I didn't "believe in violence".'

'I started talking about violence in South Africa—which shut him up, because I knew he supported Vorster.'

'He knew that I'd put up bail for this girl and told me that I could get to know "certain things". That I could get to know certain people—people I didn't know then, but whom I've met since.'

'He told me that he could understand my scruples—that I felt I would be spying on friends. But that I wouldn't really—we all believed in the same thing etc and that I needed a 'job and direction in life'.'

The 'family friend' left MI5 shortly afterwards. Attempting to turn the girl into a nark for the service was his parting gift to the organisation. 'I didn't find out a thing about MI5' she explained. 'He was far better at getting information out of me.'

## THE WEEK IN IRELAND



NEWS THE BRITISH PRESS DOESN'T PRINT

# 'We called off a war for 7 phone numbers'

AS THE IRA ceasefire enters its seventh week, the detailed lines of current British strategy are beginning to emerge.

The short-term strategy is aimed at preserving the peace, at almost any cost, at least until the Convention elections scheduled for late April. But if this fails another, more ominous, long-term strategy is being prepared.

Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees calculates that a minimum of violence between now and the election will yield a maximum vote for the 'centre' parties—Faulkner—Unionists, the SDLP and the Alliance Party—thus opening the way for a new version of the power-sharing experiment.

This explains Rees' willingness to nego-

From Eamonn McCann in Belfast

tiating directly with the Provisionals and to risk alienating the Protestant right-wing by allowing the Provos to operate their 'seven advice centres', each with a hot line to the Northern Ireland office.

On examination, however, it is clear that formal status is all the Provos have got in return for laying down their arms. As one

disenchanted member observed last week: 'We called off a war for seven telephone numbers'. A formidable guerrilla army the Provos may be but, lacking socialist politics, they are non-starters as a revolutionary leadership.

The setting up of the advice centres was sufficient to enrage the more hysterical elements on the ultra-right. The UDA concludes that the Provos had, in effect, been given 'policing powers' and threatened to send out its own 'police-patrols' in protest.

Rees dealt with them much as he had dealt with the Provos—by making a great show of meeting their leaders, giving 'assurances' and commenting on local television on their 'good sense'. In other words, he accorded them, too, some status in the community.

Rees' ploy is to buy off 'extremists on both sides' by giving them, if necessary, the shadow of power: but the substance he is reserving for the safe men in the centre. He knows, however, that it may not be possible to pull this off.

The Catholic working class, with no revolutionary leadership and now further demoralised by the IRSP—Official IRA feud, will almost certainly vote massively for the SDLP.

But, overwhelmingly, the Protestant workers are still imprisoned within Orangeism and will support the Craig-Paisley-West coalition, which is committed to a restoration of the Protestant Ascendancy. If they win around a half of the Convention seats—they will probably get more—the Executive Mark II will never get off the ground.

Asked last week what the British government would do in that situation, Rees replied that the Convention would be abandoned and Direct Rule continued as at present. Hardly anyone here believed him.

## Civil war

If the Loyalists, having 'won' the Convention elections, are frustrated in their sectarian designs they will launch a full-scale civil war. They are preparing for that now.

But perhaps they will not be frustrated. The likelihood is that the Labour government would do a deal with the Loyalists, abandoning power sharing and the 'Irish Dimension'.

Anyone who doubts Labour's willingness to do that has not witnessed right-wing rural squire Lord Brookeborough on Ulster Television congratulating Stan 'Tribune' Orme and contrasting Labour's 'firm' attitude to terrorists with the weak-kneed performances of the Tories.

Moreover, as the capitalist crisis deepens and the centre of gravity of British bourgeois politics moves steadily to the right, the anti-working class ideas and attitudes of the Loyalist leadership will be increasingly attractive to a growing section of the establishment.

The British know that the collaborationist Dublin government would do no more than express 'concern' at such a sell-out, and that even a section of the SDLP would accept Protestant Ascendancy in return for a couple of parliamentary committee chairmanships.

## Grim

Thus the prospects for the Catholic community and for the future of working-class politics are grim. In an attempt to overcome division and open the way for the introduction of socialist politics, the Socialist Workers' Movement is campaigning for a united front of working class and anti-imperialist organisations to fight repression and organise the self-defence of the Catholic working class communities.

Over the next few months we also desperately need an effective movement in Britain for the withdrawal of the troops.

As Labour progressively sells out to the Loyalists, the troops will, even more openly, be used not to 'keep the peace', but to smash any organisation which holds out against a return to sectarian rule.



Ebbw Vale steelworkers giving a rough reception last month to Michael Foot, 'Unemployment Minister'. His betrayal is not the first . .

# The Massacre of Pontardawe

By GARETH WILLIAMS

AUEW shop steward, Ford's Dagenham

still see the same men unable to find work. Out on the scrap heap since 1961. Fourteen years unemployed. These men were in their forties when the works closed. They were considered too old to get new jobs—and, anyway, there were none to be had locally.

Michael Foot is keeping his word. The workers of Ebbw Vale are to have a marshmallow factory. How many men does he hope to employ here?

The other industry he mentions is car components. He states there will be 700 jobs. He must be joking! The car industry is on its arse. The bulk of the car industry is working short time. There have been massive lay offs already.

We did not get a marshmallow factory. But we did get a ladies' underwear factory! Work for women, of course—at women's rates. The men stayed home while their women worked.

Will Ebbw Vale end up like the Swansea Valley, with the only industry being light industry? We finally got the 'industrial estate' promised us—ten years after the steelworks closed.

It was, however, all light industry, especially geared to employing women on a part-time shift system. Profits are higher for the bosses this way.

Until 1961, we were a prosperous village, the most central in the valley. After the closure all that changed.

With the end of the steelworks

we lost our social amenities. We had once been the central meeting point for other villages. All this finished. The dance hall closed, and the cinemas became a warehouse and a supermarket.

When people talk about Wales they often say 'you can always go down the mines'. The coal industry, too, is suffering in Wales. There are regular closures of pits. Now, without the steel industry, thousands of tons of coal will not be used.

Michael Foot promises Industry before Redundancies. What about all the people already made redundant? As the weeks go by, still more are being laid off.

What I learnt from our defeat was not to trust union officials. We were without any leadership. We had no experience of struggle. In the 80 or so years the works had existed, there had always been a paternalistic attitude towards us from the firm.

## First name

It was a pint after work with management, first name terms. The older workers used to say quite proudly that there had never been a strike or official dispute. They could not understand the young workers' more militant attitude.

When we were handed our notices, they realised it was too late to make a stand.

Not only the jobs are at stake at Ebbw Vale. It is the future of the families as well as their village.

PONTARDAWE, a village in the Swansea valley, became a dead valley overnight when the steelworks was closed down in 1961. During this period, the whole of the West Wales section of Richard Thomas and Baldwins was closed.

As a steelworker in Pontardawe, I was in the same situation now facing the Ebbw Vale workers.

I worked in one of the steelworks owned by Richard Thomas and Baldwins, one of the nationalised industries. I was forced to leave home and look for work elsewhere. I saw my father broken at 51 because he knew he would never find work again.

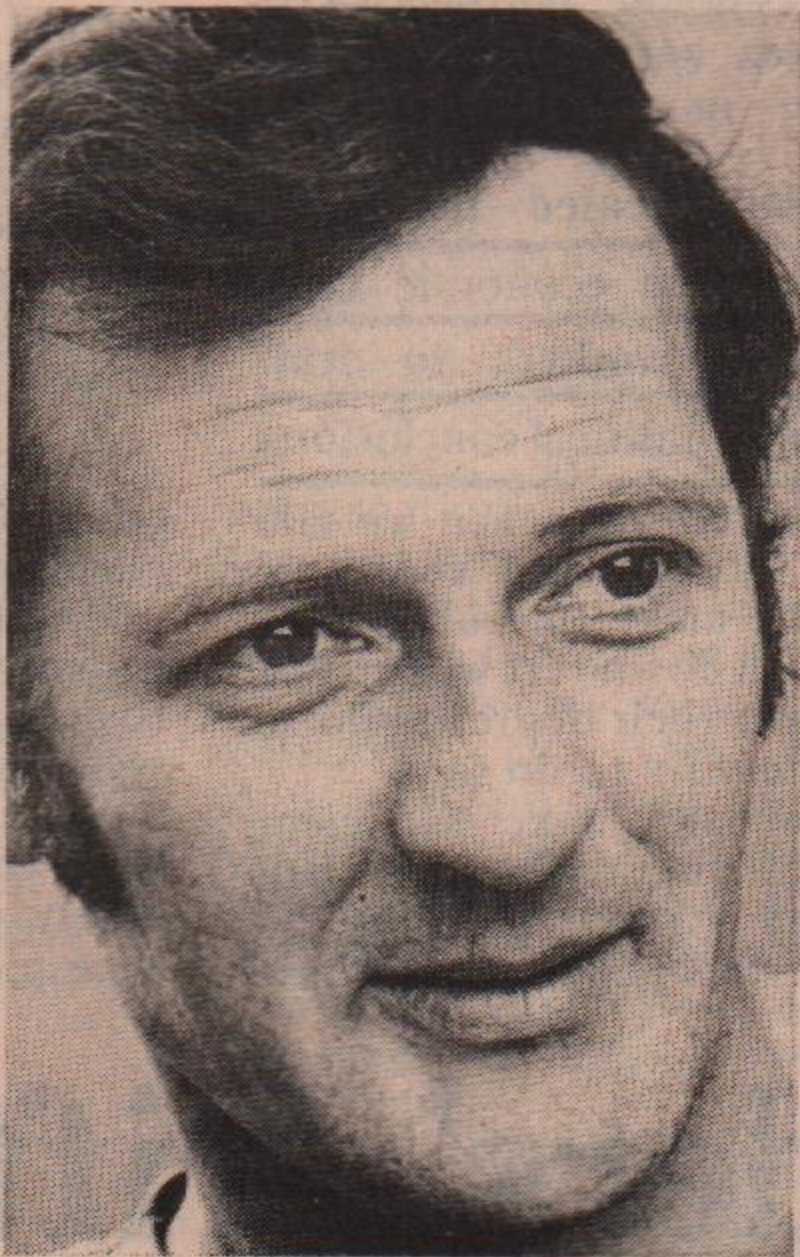
Michael Foot, now frantically trying to persuade the steelworkers to give up their jobs without too much fuss or embarrassment to the Labour government, is only doing what Hugh Gaitskell did to us in 1961.

## Respectfully

Gaitskell gave us the same promises of alternative work, and new industries to follow the closures. I'll always remember him coming to talk to us. Some of the older men listened respectfully. It was difficult for them not to trust him.

They were all traditionally Labour supporters and didn't think 'our' party would let us down. Gaitskell laughed and shook our hands, he had his photo taken with the workers, all nice and friendly.

He assured us that a new steel plant was opening in Llanwern and



PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

we were all to go there for work. What he forgot to tell us was that the decent jobs had already gone to workers who were not even in the steel industry.

The lads who did go to Llanwern found that there was no housing for them and were parted from their families for up to 18 months.

When I go home each year, I



International Socialists say:

**STOP THE CUTS!**

**STOP THE SACKINGS!**

## The Crisis: Social Contract or Socialism

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

**HACKNEY, East London:** Tuesday 25 March, 8pm. The Britannia pub, Mare Street, (near Hackney Town Hall).

**LEEDS:** Thursday 13 March, 8pm, Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, off Chapeltown Road, Leeds 8. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

**TYNESIDE:** Thursday 13 March, 8pm, Bridge Hotel, Castle Square, Newcastle (end of High Level Bridge). Speaker: Duncan Hallas (editor, International Socialism journal).

**BRADFORD:** Thursday 13 March, 7.30pm. Star Hotel, Westgate (opposite Morrisons). Speakers: Chris Harman (political editor, Socialist Worker) and Frank Logan (Manchester AUEW).

**PETERBOROUGH:** Monday 17 March, 7.30pm, The Greyhound, Cathedral Square. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

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

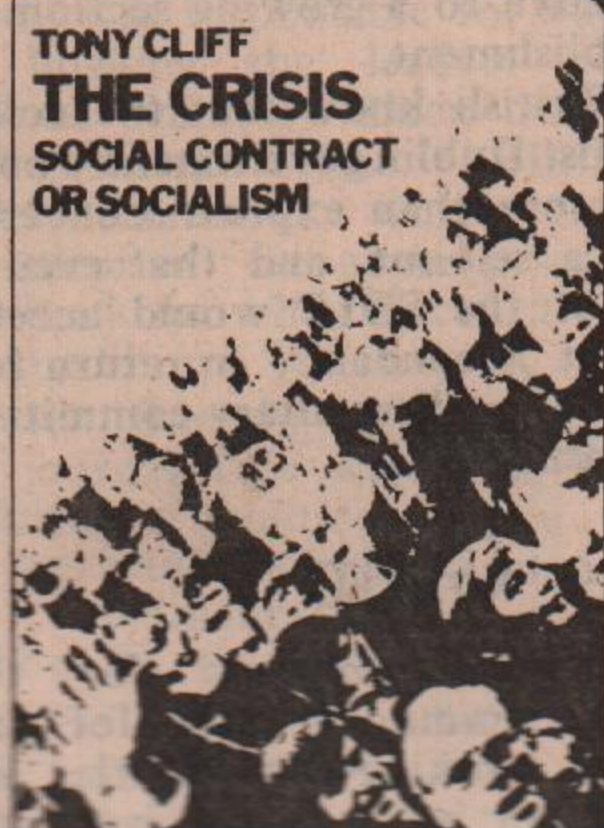
**DERBY:** Wednesday 19 March, 8pm, Trent Social Club, Charnwood Street. Speaker: Tony Cliff.

**CHELMSFORD:** Friday 21 March, 8pm, Shire Hall (near Chelmsford station). Speakers: Tony Cliff and prominent local trade unionists. Plus showing of the new film *The Miners*.

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

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

**EDMONTON, North London:** Tuesday 18 March, 8pm, The Golden Fleece, corner of Park Road and Fore Street, N9. Speaker: Tony Cliff.



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.

# The struggle

*THIS is a very much shortened version of the 'Political perspectives' document which has been approved by the executive committee of the International Socialists for discussion in IS branches before this year's conference in May. The full document will appear in the next issue of the Internal Bulletin.*

*Readers of Socialist Worker, whether or not they are members of IS, are encouraged to write to us with their comments on the ideas and strategy outlined here. The fullest debate is crucial if conference is to find the answers for the coming year.*

## WHERE DO WE FROM HERE?



September: the TUC votes for the Social Contract, 'voluntary' wage controls.

## 1974: TUC said yes to social contract

THE past year has seen the development of the most serious economic crisis of capitalism since the 1930s. All the major economies are in a state of stagnation or decline.

In the US output fell by 5 per cent during 1974 and unemployment reached seven and a half million (8.2 per cent) early this year, with at least another four million on short time. In Japan output is down by a staggering 18 per cent over 12 months, and officially admitted unemployment has topped the million mark.

In West Germany it stands at nearly one and a quarter million plus nearly a million on short time. In France unemployment has doubled. Italy has a million unemployed, and so on.

The indications are that the recession has not yet touched the bottom. It is still deepening.

At the same time inflation continues. In 1974 it ranged from 8 per cent in West Germany, through 20 per cent in Britain, to 27 per cent in Japan. This is the unique feature of the present crisis. Instead of the normal 'stabilisation' which takes place in a recession, with some decline in prices, we have 'stagflation' turning into 'slump-flation'.

This means that even if there is some recovery from the recession next year, the outcome can only be a still more massive burst of inflation followed by a still deeper slump. As the OECD officials see it: 'The risk is of a much more severe slump than expected, followed by a stronger than anticipated recovery. This might lead straight back to a new inflationary surge.' (Financial Times, 7 March).

The world crisis has been paralleled almost everywhere by a growth of working-class resistance: the railway and dock strike in India, the strike waves in Burma and Thailand, the miners' strike in the US, the strikes in Paris before Christmas, the revolt against the migratory labour system in South Africa, and perhaps most important of all the upsurge in workers' struggles in Spain and Portugal.

### Weaker

The long-term position of British capitalism is weaker than that of any other advanced capitalism, with the possible exception of Italy.

But the immediate impact of the crisis on Britain has been much less severe than its impact on the US, Japan and Germany. Thus output was down by only 2 per cent over 1974 and unemployment in February was still well below the million mark. Above all, the huge £3700 million balance of payments deficit of 1974 did not

produce the anticipated downward pressure on the pound.

This was mainly due to the inflow of 'oil money' from the OPEC countries. A combination of this 'oil cushion', with the smaller effect of the world economic downturn on the 'sluggish' British economy than on the more dynamic economies such as Japan and West Germany has considerably moderated the British crisis.

## Our mistake last year

WE PREDICTED, in our perspectives for last September's IS conference that the rising level of unemployment and the acceleration of prices would put the Social Contract under pressure from two opposed directions—from workers

inspired by the success of the miners in breaking the Tories' Phase Three, and from the ruling class intent on pushing down workers' living standards.

Our economic perspective in general was correct. But it was mistaken in one important respect.

We overestimated the speed with which the economic crisis would drive workers to draw revolutionary political conclusions.

We were correct when we said that the international economic crisis would make the ruling class want to push down real wages. But we confused their desires to do so with their ability to do so.

We did not take sufficient account of the fright they had received as a result of being defeated by the miners over Phase

Three. That defeat and the election of the Tories that followed has made the ruling class wary about confronting directly any powerful group of workers. Rather than take the risk, it prefers to borrow money abroad, hoping somehow to survive to the end of the crisis, while it makes concessions to those workers who fight hard enough.

### Fragmented

The relative mildness of the crisis in Britain so far has made it easier to follow this course.

Under such conditions, economic militancy did not need to become political militancy. Key sections of workers could win more than they had in the previous two years through fragmented, purely economic struggles. There were plenty of such struggles, but

the preparedness to give ground was not the same as in the last year's government.

Instead of the and against the that we predicted a 'phony war' which neither side to attack the other.

This explains neither the men sales of Socialism grown as much as our last conference explain these failures our own mistakes in the past IS great much bigger mistakes error was in tele of political developments months ago and setting unrealistic So where do we go

## The trade union leaders' drift to right

THE shift from the compulsory incomes policies of the Tories to the 'voluntary' restraint of the Social Contract means that the immediate clash of any workers in dispute is with their own trade union leaders, not with the government.

The main aim of the union leaders—left as well as right—has been to maintain the 'phony war'. Their whole position is based upon working within the system. When the system enters into crisis, they do their utmost to maintain the conditions under which they have flourished in the past. So they throw their weight behind restraint of their members' wages.

That is why, in 1974 the Transport Workers Union (TGWU) hardly made a single strike official. That is why the Engineering Union (AUEW) has ducked away from any real fight over its wage claim and refuse to make strikes like that at Hoovers in Camberlang last autumn official. That is why, when it came to it, Communist Party union leaders such as Ken Gill of TASS, the technical section of the AUEW, and Eddie Marsden of its

construction section abstained from the vote on the Social Contract at the TUC.

In virtually every union the 'lefts', including the Communist Party leaders have drifted to the right during the past year. They have rarely translated their verbal militancy into action.

In such a situation the urgent need for independent rank and file organisation becomes clearer and clearer to large numbers of militants. The need to draw such people into activity around the work of the Rank and File Organising Committee is central to any revolutionary socialist activity on the shop floor.

There are, however, certain limitations on the trade union leaders' room to manoeuvre. Their position within the system depends on their ability to control workers' organisations and they cannot indefinitely put up with conditions which

lead either to rank and file organisations undercutting their base or to a loss of members.

That is why they will try to resist, halfheartedly, government attempts to 'put more teeth' into the Social Contract. That is why their overall drift to the right can be interspersed with occasional lunges in the opposite direction.

The fact that the trade union leaders are forced to issue calls for certain limited mobilisations can be taken advantage of by rank and file militants to get a greater hearing than would otherwise be the case. For instance, the TUC call for a lobby over Shrewsbury was important because it cut the ground from under those right-wing elements in the movement who argued that Ricky Tomlinson and Des Warren deserved to be in prison.

Such opportunities will recur in the future and can be of great significance in building up the rank and file organisation.



# for socialism

GO



...but the  
workers  
said  
**NO!**

October: Rolls-Royce workers in Glasgow give their answer—a vote to strike for a £10 increase.

Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

## Benn's left image

THE organisations of the Labour Party have continued to decline over the past year, as in the years of the Tory government. The number of individual members has continued to drop, as has the activity of ward and constituency parties. The vote for Labour in both elections last year was lower than at any time since the 1930s.

The direct links between Labour Party and the working class in the localities are weaker than ever before. That means that any future left swing by workers is unlikely to be reflected in terms of

a real movement of rank and file workers within the Labour Party as such.

However, we should not be blind to the attempts by sections of the parliamentary left to create a certain sort of base of their left—and not so left—reformist politics which does not depend upon the local Labour Parties.

Wedgwood Benn, in particular, has attempted to give himself a left image. His proposals for 'participation' and 'co-operatives' have two aims.

Firstly, they knit in with the need of the ruling class to seem to make concessions so as to defuse militancy. The idea of 'co-operatives' has served to confuse and demoralise workers in a number of redundancy struggles. Participation proposals could lead to workers agreeing to sack their colleagues in the interests of efficiency.

The public opposition expressed by the press to these ideas is designed more to keep them in check, to place close limitations on their sphere of operation, than to do away with them altogether.

Secondly, Benn's proposals make him seem like a leftist and have enabled him to make a certain degree of contact with a layer of convenors and senior stewards, independently both of the Labour Party organisations and of the national trade union bureaucracies. In the event of a serious conflict at some point in the future within the government, those contacts could advance his career admirably.

Revolutionaries have to be irreconcilably opposed to the class collaboration, complete with talk of 'three-sided partnership', that is built into Benn's ideas. But that should not blind us to the fact that these policies sometimes represent a pole of attraction for workers

who move into opposition to the government, particularly in redundancy situations, but are not yet prepared to commit themselves to revolutionary politics.

**We have to be prepared to fight alongside such workers, pointing out in a fraternal manner the faults of Bennism, so as to draw them away from Benn and towards revolutionary politics.**

## What is to be done?

THE ruling class will not be able to tolerate the present stalemate indefinitely. The low rate of investment, the massive balance of payments deficit, the scale of overseas borrowing, the upsurge in wages in the aftermath of the miners' settlement, all put British capitalism in an extremely precarious position.

All the economic forecasts made on its behalf stress the need to cut out 'non-essential' public spending—welfare, schools, the Health Service, and 'private consumption'—in other words real wages.

The government will try to interpret the Social Contract so as to fit in such cutbacks. The trade union bureaucracy will want to go along with these cutbacks, but will be inhibited from going too far for fear of the reaction of rank and file activists.

The outcome could well be the development, at some point, of an open clash between the government and the unions, perhaps on

the Common Market, perhaps on wage freeze. The result then would be to change completely the political environment in which we operate, leading to the possibility of winning large sections of workers to the revolutionary ideas.

**An external crisis of confidence could produce such a transformation very quickly indeed. But it would be wrong for us to wait for such a 'big bang'. It is our present activity that will determine how much we, as opposed to the reformists and centrists, benefit from such an occurrence.**

The combination of unemployment and inflation is producing an alternation of militancy and weakness within the working class, from section to section and over time within the same section. Unemployment can sap the fighting spirit of the best organised sections—especially when, as at present, the employers use long periods of short-time working as a prelude to redundancies.

But the high level of prices forces even the least militant sections of workers into wages struggles—especially in industries which are protected in one way or another from the worst effects of unemployment.

The result is a high level of volatility in the class struggle. Workers are moving from the defensive to the offensive and back again at great speed, with one section advancing while another retreats.

The volatility is increased by the role which leadership plays in the struggle—especially in the struggle against redundancy and against the cutbacks in the public

sector.

**Two or three revolutionaries on the shop floor can often determine whether sackings and cuts are accepted fatalistically—or met with vigorous resistance which can radicalise even the most backward sections of workers.**

But it is precisely the volatility of the struggle that produces the greatest dangers for our supporters. A spell of demoralisation and retreat by the best organised workers in a locality can produce a general decline in confidence that affects IS members as well as other militants, closing their eyes to the real opportunities for intervention thrown up by the latest turn of the struggle.

In an area where successive redundancies have weakened traditional centres of militancy, one successful fightback could reverse the trend and give a new credibility to our politics.

Some people interpret the mood of demoralisation among some sections of workers, and the lack of interest in generalised politics among a wider layer, as being a drift to the right, or even a 'regrowth of reformism'. This is misleading.

There are no real signs that workers are being more attracted to right-wing or reformist ideas than in the past. There are even fewer indications of any rebirth of the traditional reformist political organisations, the local Labour and Communist Parties.

What is true is that workers who do not get a fighting lead from their factory organisations over redundancies and lay-offs will then look upon other things as the 'lesser evil'—whether what attracts them is Benn's 'co-ops', import controls, demands that women be laid off before men, or whatever. Redundancy necessarily pushes political and ideological questions to the fore. That is why we have to step up our political propaganda, arguing against Bennism, against nationalism, against the idea of discrimination against women.

## Minority

Under such circumstances, there will always be a minority of workers who are attracted to the more militant, political approach that we argue for. If we can organise them to take the right sort of initiatives, they can in struggle draw behind them much wider layers of workers.

Out of such interventions we can build up:

**ONE:** Rank and file organisations that bring together activists and working-class organisations around a minimal programme of resisting redundancies and cuts in living standards, and fighting for rank and file control of the unions. Many of the participants in such movements will disagree with our more general political ideas.

**TWO:** Political periphery to our organisation, groups of supporters who accept many of the ideas we argue in our paper, but who, because of the 'phoney war' climate, do not yet feel impelled to join a revolutionary organisation. In every workplace, we have to do our utmost to bring these workers closer to us, by encouraging them to sell the paper as well as read it, by attempting to form discussion groups and action groups with them, by seeing if they will give regular financial contributions to the paper.

In these ways we can continue to increase our influence, right now. That can have an immense effect on the influence we can exert when the class struggle becomes much sharper, whether this be in weeks or in months.

of the employers meant that there political focus to there had been of the Heath

all-out battle for Social Contract, there has been a stalemate in head-on.

the fact that membership nor the Worker have as we predicted at ce. We cannot ure in terms of at certain times y quickly despite takes. Our real coping the speed elopment eight consequently in targets for IS. o from here?



Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

...of the Communist Party—abstained

# The law may soon

# be calling men like these 'criminals'

# LETTERS

THE RAPID growth of redundancies and short-time working has shown the trade union bureaucracy for what it is, nothing more than a police force for the government's Social Contract.

Not once have they recommended occupation for workers thrown on the scrap heap. Not once have they recommended strike action. It becomes plainer as the crisis increases that rank and file action is the key to the struggle to protect jobs, united with the slogan, an injury to one is an injury to all.

The last Labour government took the strength out of the fight against redundancies with its Redundancies Payment Act. Now

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

the present government is not going to buy off the fight back against redundancies but bludgeon it with the bill likely to go through parliament soon on trespass.

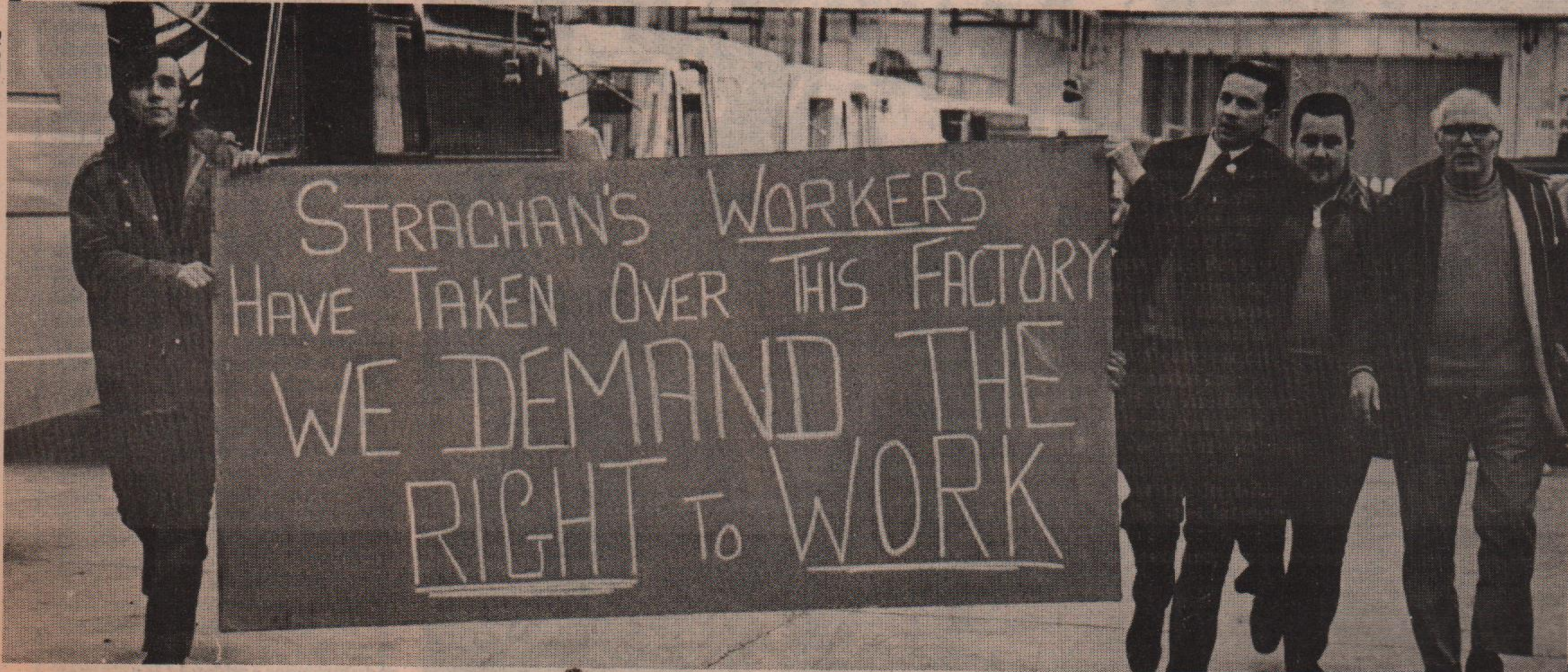
This will make it a criminal act to occupy a factory, punishable by six months in prison if workers refuse to end a sit-in. Homeless families who squatted would also face imprisonment.

Every trade unionist needs to argue about the political aims of this bill, and needs to organise against it.

As more and more companies threaten redundancies, the problems they are presenting and the tactics to fight them are becoming more confused. Management's first attempts to split the workers are by sacking part-time women workers first and so dividing the workforce.

The tactics used by the workers to prevent this will in the end determine who wins. Occupation will attract many workers. In some, a total strike is the answer. In continuous process plant, guerrilla tactics might win the day.

But one thing is certain. Unless militants organise against redundancies, the stark realities of the dole queues await them. Unlike the last three-day week—under the Tories—there are just no jobs about. TOMMY HEALY, Merseyside.



PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

## PARADISE-FOR THE QE2

### PARASITES

I WONDER if the people on the luxury cruise got the same look at South Africa that I did.

I was young and completely unaware that apartheid existed. I had joined the Merchant Navy at 16½ and my first trip turned out to be to South Africa. Looking back I wonder at the non-reaction of the other crew members.

They seemed to think the situation was quite novel and that was about it. No doubt it was because the majority of them just went by taxi to a club and came back the same way. Anyway, when we docked in Capetown I decided to spend my shoreleave exploring.

At once I began to see strange things—very hostile looks from coloured people which I couldn't at first understand. Old black women having to struggle up to the top deck of a bus with their shopping.

At that age my joy was football and I decided to go and see a game if the chance came up. Nice grounds. Large stands for Blacks behind one goal and the rest, plus seats, for the Whites. I was learning.

When someone told me it was unwise to return to the ship at night alone I decided to find a person who could tell me what the hell was going on. I think the best way to describe my feelings was that I aged and changed very quickly. Before getting all the facts I had one harassing moment.

In the Port Elizabeth shopping area I saw an old coloured man pushing a small barrow of fruit. Somehow he managed to tip it over and the fruit scattered across the road. Immediately some coloured

children clamoured around and ran off with their prizes. Being very near I had knelt down and was gathering up the fruit and trying to put it back in the barrow.

The old man looked scared and made me feel unwanted. Next minute there's a hand on my shoulder and a fifteen minute dress-down on how to behave when visiting South Africa. Apparently helping people pick up dropped goods was not a good way to behave. Anyway the South African policeman took a few of my details and suggested I walk back to the ship.

So it seems to me that I saw South Africa in one of the two ways in which it is possible. I know I witnessed the stark true side.—READER, Southampton.

### Where higher rates mean comfort for the few

FAMILIES IN CROYDON are threatened with an 80 per cent rate increase. In recent years we have had a new fly-over and a new under-pass, and a new carriageway is being built.

Could it possibly be that my rates are going towards their cost? These amenities keep the Croydon streets freer of traffic so that the tea, sugar and chocolate barons can get about more easily.

extra hours just for luxuries.

Is this true? Or do more people work overtime because if they didn't they couldn't afford necessities?—GARY SMART, Kent.

E.L.M.  
FOR USE BY WHITE  
PERSONS  
THIS BEACH AND AMENITIES  
THEREOF RESERVED FOR  
EXCLUSIVE USE OF  
WHITE PERSONS  
BY ORDER J.J. HUMAN  
TOWN CLERK

The 'human' face of South Africa

For, in the fashionable area of Croydon, we find such imposing buildings as Leon House (Tate and Lyle, exploiters of the West Indies and East Africa) and St George's House (Cadbury and Fry, exploiters of West Africa).

You look at these tall, striking glass and concrete structures and you wonder how many hours of underpaid black labour and how many thousands of tons of under-priced tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa, it costs to build them.

And I wonder how much more of my sweat, how much more of my wages, it's going to take to keep them churning out their millions of pounds of profit each year.—JOE MAGUIRE, Croydon.

AUT and ASTMS . . . Kincaid and Sedgwick (22 February) are wrong if they think the affiliation of the AUT to the TUC would be a step towards increasing the strength of trade unionism throughout the universities.

The proposed move is not a result of significant rank and file pressure, but is a manoeuvre being considered by the AUT executive to head off the growth of membership of ASTMS among academics . . . socialists who are academic employees in the Universities rightly see ASTMS as the main vehicle for extending trade union organisation . . . now and for the foreseeable future.—ERIC CAMERON, ASTMS, IS fraction executive.

THE CRISIS . . . J Parke (1 March) says the recession is caused by the gap between the purchasing power of the masses and the total price of goods on the market . . . What is so special about capitalism is not that it squeezes surplus out of the masses but that the surplus is in the shape of capital goods, and what causes the crisis is the over-accumulation of these goods (not just any goods). This forces down the amount of surplus extracted relative to the amount of capital goods invested, i.e. the rate of profit falls.—DAVE PAENSON, Ilford.

For the best and most readable explanation of capitalism read *Marxist Economics and the World Today*, by Chris Harman in the latest *IS Journal*.

EVERY PRICE HAS HIS MAN . . . ONE: Steve Waldie's review of Alan Price's record was diabolical in its narrowness and lack of sensitivity . . . Just because Alan Price is making a bit of money it doesn't automatically follow that his music stinks and that he's lost his soul. Would his music be any better if he was to run round in a hair vest?—ROB SILVERSTONE, Portsmouth.

TWO: . . . only music that is rooted in working class society can be relevant to a socialist . . . folk music . . . the only trouble is that nowadays we have to elbow our way through the Alan Prices and Steve Waldies of the world to find true working class art.—IAN PARR, Runcorn.

THREE: . . . the review smacks of a Tory or Labour Party mentality of pre-war years which says that you must come up from nothing and stay there to be a good socialist.—IVAN BEAVIS, London.

THE BUSMEN . . . I fully sympathise with the busmen and appreciate actions of sorts had to be taken . . . But I believe that the 24-hour strike decision was ineffective because it tends to antagonise workers whose support they should be seeking . . . Let the buses be taken out, but refuse to collect any fares: should it become necessary to counter any action by management, the TUC should be urged to instruct all members, whatever union, to withdraw their labour.—GEOFF MUNSON, London.

REED'S UNDER THE . . . Your article on Reed's International was of great interest to me. Before my marriage, I worked there. I fully agree that the workers should hold out for more money as, from my experience, the work was intense by anybody's standards. We women slaved for a mere pittance. No trade union should attempt to cajole their members into accepting a reduction in their living standards . . . MRS DAWN PARKER, Monmouth.

BABY-SNATCHING . . . It would be impossible to improve on Mary Lerner's perceptive and sympathetic statement on the case of Paulette Whitfield, jailed for two years for baby snatching. The Portia Trust is organising a petition for Paulette. Forms can be obtained from Ken Norman, The Portia Trust, 14 Richmond Avenue, London N1.—THEO SAUNDERS, Accrington.

MORE . . . Pete Marsden's recent series *The Politics of Inequality* could prove to be the finest asset to selling *Socialist Worker* . . . Shop-floor arguments can be backed with quotes and present a proper picture of what socialism means . . . SW doesn't explain fully what we're fighting for . . . There should be weekly articles explaining what's meant by terms like 'industry for social needs not for profits' . . . It would serve recruitment to the International Socialists more than the lengthy reports of strikes and disputes.—D GREEN, Liverpool.

### WHAT ABOUT OVERTIME?

SURELY socialists must have an attitude to overtime and yet I can't remember reading anything on the subject in *Socialist Worker*. According to the prevailing myth, people work

# Why are these men rejoicing?

ANSWER:  
WITH U.S.  
BACKING,  
THEY HAVE  
BUTCHERED  
THEIR WAY  
TO POWER

## Can you afford to miss these films?

By George Kelly

**FEAR EATS The Soul**, a film shown at one of the popular cinema complexes in Sheffield, will probably end up in an art film theatre or at a specialist showing with a rather pretentious atmosphere.

Which is a great pity, because obscure venues combined with workers' general reluctance to watch 'artistic' films will close off a good film from the audience it deserves.

It is about a young Moroccan 'guest worker' who falls in love with and marries an elderly German widow. She cleans and sweeps for a living, he is a car worker.

His life has all the misery of the single migrant worker, whose only way of relaxing is alcohol and prostitution. She lives comfortably but her life is empty.

### Rejected

They sleep with each other, set up home and eventually marry. She is rejected by her kids, the neighbours gossip and plot, the shopkeepers sneer behind her back.

He gets terrified that she is only interested in him for sexual relief and runs back to the bar-girls. In the end of the film, he goes down with a stomach ulcer, the international shiftworker's ailment.

The simple story is wonderfully acted, particularly by El Hedi Ben Salem and Brigitte Mira as the unfortunate lovers. The film's great strength is showing how racialism is not confined to Britain and how it takes such subtle and complicated forms.

Don't let the sub-titles or the generally middle-class aura of the film theatre put you off. If *Fear Eats the Soul* comes your way, go and see it. You won't be disappointed.

*Fear Eats the Soul* is distributed by CineGate, 70 Portobello Rd, London W11. (01-727 2651).

All SW readers in London should see *Black Holiday* at the Academy Two cinema—and readers outside London should try to get the film shown in their area.

The film explains better than any slogans what the State machine is, and which side it is on.

## ON THE BOX

**SUNDAY**  
BBC-2: 10.15pm. Alain Delon stars in *PLEIN SOLEIL* in the *MURDER* at the MOVIES series. Earlier on ITV (London area only) is the odd but interesting thriller *HARD CONTRACT* at 7.55pm.

**TUESDAY**  
BBC-1: 9.25pm. The blurb for *TUESDAY'S DOCUMENTARY* makes several chilling points. 'What the Arabs did with oil—the Americans have done with food—and world grain prices have quadrupled in the last three years. Prices fixed by dealers on the Chicago Grain Exchange also control the world price of meat, poultry, eggs, butter and cheese... If nothing is done more than 300 million people will die.' The programme is *THE FACE OF FAMINE*. *WHICKER'S WORLD* at 9pm on ITV visits Formosa, where the Chinese Nationalists bolted after the triumph of Mao.

**WEDNESDAY**  
BBC-2: 9.25pm. *THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY* is a six part dramatised documentary on the history of the abolitionists.

**THURSDAY**  
BBC-2: 9.45pm. One of this system's great institutions is the family, wreckage from which is scattered around the country. *THE FIRST THREE DAYS* in *MAN ALIVE* series looks at Clifford House a new London children's home for 'rejected' adolescents. On BBC-2 at 10.55pm is *EARLY TO BED* a play about a miner/ageing teddy boy/MC at a working men's club in Lancashire. On ITV (Birmingham area only) is Stanley Kubrick's H-bomb comedy, *DR STRANGELOVE* at 10.30pm.

**FRIDAY**  
BBC-2: 10.15pm. *THE GLASS HOUSE* is a look at how Hungary is avoiding/suffering from inflation in *THE MONEY PROGRAMME*.



The first birthday of the Chilean junta—and General Pinochet (left) and his fellow butchers embrace military chaplains at an outdoor Catholic mass to commemorate the coup

TWO MYTHS surround the role of the United States in the coup in Chile.

One suggests everything was Allende's fault. He brought the country to bankruptcy, and the Junta seized power to prevent economic disaster.

The other overplays the US role. It claims Chilean socialism, although of sound health, was murdered by external forces beyond Chilean control.

According to the first myth, socialism leads to economic disaster. According to the second, the

## By PETER BINNS

a member of the Chile Solidarity Campaign executive

Allende alliance was too progressive—it should have moved more slowly, it should have made greater concessions to the Chilean bourgeoisie. This would have been less provocative to US imperialism.

The strength of this book\* is in providing some useful information to counter the first myth. It shows the depth of US commitment well before Allende's election to office in 1970.

Bank, the World Bank (IBRD), and the Inter-American Development (IBD).

The US also controlled short-term credit, its private banks having provided four-fifths of Chile's credit before 1970. During Allende's period of office, this declined to a sixth of its former level, creating chaos in industry.

At the same time as it cut off all aid and credit to Chile, the US increased its demands for the immediate repayment of all debts extended to the reactionary Chilean regimes in the 1960s.

Allende now had to foot the bill for money which the US had lavished on his opponents. The only US money which Chile received between 1970 and the coup in 1973 went to the two universities which were serving as centres for right-wing opposition to Allende, and to the military which carried out the coup.

### Flooded

The US extended 1.3 billion dollars to Chile in the 1960s through Alliance for Progress loans—more for each person than anywhere else in Latin America. And the CIA gave 20 million dollars to Christian Democrat Frei to finance his successful 1964 election campaign against Allende.

US firms more flooded in at the same time from other US sources, such as the IMF, the US Treasury, and the US Export-Import bank, so that (in the words of the CIA) 'financial deterioration and unemployment would not occur in an election year.'

The projects continued even though the US legislature's subcommittee found they 'provided little foundation for decisions in the way of objective research and analysis'.

### Reversed

As soon as Allende came to power in 1970 the situation was instantly reversed. All aid ceased immediately. It was controlled completely by the US through the Agency for International Development (AID), the US Export-Import

### Worsened

American firms with big stakes in Chile—firms such as Kennecott, ITT and Anaconda—also played an important role in the sabotage. Working hand-in-glove with the US Treasury and the CIA, they succeeded in virtually cutting off Chile from US sources of supply.

Before 1970, nearly half of Chile's imports came from the US, much of it in the form of machinery. By 1972 the lack of US spare parts had become urgent, and progressively worsened.

All these facts and more are to be got from this book. However it provides no real analysis or understanding of the class struggle in Chile itself.

Nor does it explain how or why Allende's politics permitted and encouraged the junta to seize power. For this you would have to read Prieto's book, *Chile: The Gorillas are amongst Us*.

Perhaps this is not surprising. After all, the book is really about the techniques of American Imperialism. But in that case, why restrict it to Chile?

### Multinational

One gets a much better idea of the US multinational firms from Anthony Sampson's *The Sovereign State*. And for that matter one can get a much more authentic account of the CIA's role from Philip Agee's new Penguin, *Inside the Company*.

Even so it is certainly worth getting your library to order a copy.

\*How Allende Fell, J F Petras & M H Morley (Spokesman Books, £2.50)

### DEFEND CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS

Not a penny, not a gun for the junta!

Demonstration: Saturday 15  
March in Liverpool

IS members and Socialist Worker readers in the North West and West Yorkshire should work to make this a big turn-out. A poster with the above slogans and details of the demonstration is available, £1 for 50, including postage, for local Chile Solidarity Committees and trade union bodies, from Sue Baytell, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 (phone 01-739 2639).

The Chile Solidarity Campaign is organising a special train from London for the demonstration. Details from CSC, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7.

## Chile: The gorillas are amongst us

HELIOS PRIETO  
CHILE: THE GORILLAS  
ARE AMONGST US



In this implacable attack on Allende's government of Popular Unity, Prieto shows clearly the dangers of not preparing the people for successful resistance to counter-revolution.

In bookshops 50p or direct (add top post and packing) from

Pluto Press, Unit 10 Spencer Court  
7 Chalcut Road, London NW1 8LH

# CHINGARI: WE'RE ORGANISING

SIX IS members in Sheffield have formed an anti-race work group and started organising the sales of Chingari. We have sold 150 copies of the second issue and are becoming a part of the scenery in the immigrant areas.

We have sold door to door, extending the round every week, around the Asian shops and cafes, and outside the Asian cinema, where a large number of young workers buy the paper and Socialist Worker.

For every shopkeeper or cinema manager, there are relatives sweating their guts out in factories up the road.

## Urdu

Chingari is easy to sell because it is the only Urdu paper dealing with the Asian struggle in Britain. We take care to point out the political connection with IS and keep well stocked with Socialist Worker.

By aiming to get ourselves well known and accepted, we have managed to get extra cash for

Urdu Chingari No 9 is now out. Branches should collect their copies. Orders for extra copies should be sent to Urdu Chingari, 8 Cottons Gardens, London, E2 8DN.

Chingari by taking advertisements, and will start to push the Chingari fighting fund with the next issue.

Familiarity with Chingari meant that we were able to collect money for the Intex strikers using a Rank and File collection sheet in Urdu.

Language never seems to be a great problem as the paper identifies its own audience well and, on many occasions, we have found Asian workers eager to discuss disputes and discrimination on the shopfloor.

The last edition made a tremendous impact with its coverage of the dependants issue. One Pakistani worker read it and said: 'That's me, case No 3'. The one drawback of Chingari is that it is bi-monthly and some enthusiastic new readers buy

the same edition twice.

We organised a public meeting in Urdu on Asian workers and the struggle for socialism. An Asian comrade came up to Sheffield to talk to the contacts before the meeting. Twelve contacts came along, and then we were able to bring four to the demonstration in London on 2 March.

## Recruitment

We know all the work is yet to be done and that, increasingly, we will have to be on our toes to make our politics felt. We can only achieve this by finding out the live issues and organising around them, using Chingari with the perspective of recruitment.

We also realise that the struggle for socialism and against racialism has to be fought and won on the shopfloor. So it's vital that all comrades and SW supporters take Chingari to fellow Asian workers and discuss the issues with them. It is up to us to push our politics.

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.



## WHAT'S ON

## IS public meetings

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

**CAMBRIDGE IS public meeting:** The Problem in Ireland. Speaker: Mike Heym. Monday 17 March, 8pm, Duke of Argyle, Argyle Street (off Mill Road), Cambridge.

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

**ILFORD IS public meeting:** Redundancy—workers' co-operatives or nationalisation under workers' control? Speaker: Colin Sparks. Monday 17 March, 8pm, Labour Hall, Green Lane, Dagenham (near Fiddlers roundabout).

**YORK IS public meeting:** Women—no redundancies! Fight for Equal Pay! Speaker: Hester Blewitt. Thursday 20 March, 8pm, Lowther Hotel, Kings Staith, York. All welcome.

**NEWHAM IS public meeting:** Socialism and the Struggle for Women's Equality. Speakers: Linda Pfeffer (Hackney NUPE steward) and Gill Anciano (Newham NUT). Wednesday 19 March, 8pm, Railway Tavern, opposite Forest Gate Station. All welcome.

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

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

**WIGAN IS public meeting:** Crisis in textile—who's to blame? Speaker: Dave Hallsworth (victims of former shop steward at Intex yarns). Thursday 20 March, 8pm, Wheat-sheaf Hotel, Wallgate, Wigan.

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

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

**COALVILLE IS public meeting:** Why Labour cuts our living standards. Speakers: Roger Kline (shop steward, Massey Ferguson) and an IS national committee member. Thursday 20 March, 8pm, Half-way House Inn, Belvoir Street, Coalville.

**TWICKENHAM IS public meeting:** Common Market—NO. Socialist Europe—YES. Speaker: Peter Smith. Thursday 13 March, 8pm, The Albany Hotel, Station Yard, Twickenham.

## Meetings for IS members

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

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

**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.

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

**MANCHESTER IS school:** Lessons of the Intex strike. Sunday 16 March, 2pm, for further details phone Glossop 61870. All comrades welcome. Relevant literature on view at IS Books, Manchester. Organised by Oldham District IS.

## IS notices

**CENTRAL LONDON WORKERS IS open workshop** to discuss further action against the Abortion Bill, Thursday 12 March, 6.30pm, The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road.

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

**NEWHAM DISTRICT IS Social:** Saturday 15 March, 8pm-midnight. The Railway Tavern, Woodgrange Road/Forest Gate, (opposite Forest Gate Station). Proceeds to Socialist Worker Fighting Fund.

**HACKNEY IS & HACKNEY TEACHERS IS Social** featuring Cheap 'n Nasty and Night Train Disco. Friday 14 March, Ladbroke House Polytechnic of North London, 66 Highbury Grove, N4 (nearest tube Highbury and Islington: buses 4, 19, 236) admission 40p.

**WEST MANCHESTER District IS social:** Friday 21 March, Hulme Labour Club. Group and disco. Admission 35p.

**SOUTH EAST LONDON District IS jumble sale:** Saturday 15 March, 2pm, The Albany, Creek Road, Deptford. All proceeds to Socialist Worker Fighting Fund.

**CAST Theatre Group is looking for a part-time actress** to take a part in Sam the Man, their latest play. Phone 01-402 6087. To book the play, or for details of the theatre workshop to start soon, phone the same number.

**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.

**DISTRICT IS Day Schools:** The Theory of Rank and File Movements/The Fight against redundancies, Short-time and Victimization. **GLASGOW:** Sunday 9 March. **NEWCASTLE:** Saturday 12 April. **YORKSHIRE:** Sunday 13 April. **MANCHESTER:** Saturday 5 April. **COVENTRY:** Sunday 16 March. **NORTH LONDON:** Thursday 13 March (8pm-onwards). **NORTH WEST LONDON:** Saturday 12 April. **SOUTH WEST LONDON:** Saturday 22 March. **SOUTH WALES:** Saturday 5 April. **EDINBURGH:** Sunday 9 March. **DUNDEE:** Friday 7 March. **BLACKBURN:** Sunday 6 April. **HITCHIN:** Saturday 12 April. Dates not yet fixed for Bristol, West London, East Anglia, Liverpool, Birmingham and Teesside. Details from district/branch secretaries.

# Another ban on Socialist Worker

LABOUR councillors in Sunderland have joined the growing band of democrats intent on suppressing Socialist Worker. The Labour-dominated health committee last week refused an application by Sunderland IS to sell the paper in the main shopping precinct.

The committee, which six months ago gave the go-ahead for local students to sell 'Rag' literature in the streets, lined up with the Northumbria police who said the sale of Socialist Worker in the town would 'cause obstruction' and 'lead to similar applications from organisations with similar financial problems'.

Committee chairman, Mr Joe McGrath, despite hearing that the Director of Engineering had 'no objection on highways grounds', told the local press: 'If we granted this application we will be snowed under by other people wanting to sell things in the town centre'.

The action of him and his colleagues is an act of outright political censorship, inspired by the police.

The editor of Socialist Worker has written to the leader of the council protesting bitterly at the decision. And Sunderland IS has started a campaign of agitation to get the decision reversed.

**IN WEST LONDON,** sales of Socialist Worker outside a public meeting in Southall came to an abrupt halt last week when a police sergeant demanded that the 30ft wide pavement be cleared.

One seller was arrested and charged with wilful obstruction.

The meeting, organised by the London Co-operative Society against the Common Market, was so incensed that a petition was drawn up complaining at this blatant disregard for civil liberty.

Despite this, and despite the number of witnesses, the seller was found guilty, fined £25 and bound over to keep the peace for two years with an immediate penalty of £50 should the 'peace' be broken again.

*SOCIALIST WORKER must take every opportunity to increase sales—and that means using initiative and imagination. Sally Seal, a housewife in Doncaster used both:*

It all began the day my baker knocked to deliver my bread and informed me that, along with numerous other items, there was yet another price rise.

At the end of the discussion, he left armed with a copy of Socialist Worker.

We discussed rising prices and the political situation over the next few weeks, during which time he took a copy each week. I then asked him if he would deliver Socialist Worker to two people who live in the same village as himself, which for me en-

## USING YOUR LOAF

tailed a 20 mile round trip on public transport.

I asked him to take an extra copy himself, which he willingly agreed to do. We felt real gains were made when he took the paper into the bakery, and during the bakers' strike he took in extra copies to sell.

A couple of weeks ago, an article in Women's Voice on the differential rates of pay for men and women doing the same job in bakeries, which has increased since the pay settlement, attracted his attention. So he now takes several copies of Women's Voice.

Getting him to take the paper is an excellent way for someone like myself, often tied at home with four children,

Socialist Worker NEWS

but in a position to talk to tradesman, to expand the sales of Socialist Worker.

At the same time, groups of people like myself must make the most of other outlets. A couple of mine are sales at school gates and welfare clinics. There must be many more which I have not even thought of yet.

## 70 AT IRISH DAY SCHOOL

**MORE THAN 70 IS members,** from from as far as Glasgow, attended last Sunday's Irish day school in London. The aim was to arm members with the arguments to raise the issues of Troops Out in the trade union movement, an essential task in the run-up to the 6 April demonstration and the important labour conference on Ireland in May.

The morning session dealt with the present situation in Ireland—the truce and the policing of the Nationalist ghettos by the Provisional IRA. Jimmy Grealy emphasised that since the Ulster Workers Council strikes, the loyalists had remained confident. The Convention elections are

expected in April—with the British trying a form of power-sharing again. A large loyalist majority, this time with hard-liners, is inevitable.

Paddy Prendeville spoke of the growing possibility of civil war. Since there is no chance of reform within the North, because of its inbuilt sectarianism, continual polarisation is certain.

A civil war in slow motion is already going on. The 1200 already dead is, in terms of the size of the population, equivalent to 60,000 dead in Britain. The presence of the British army gives the loyalists hopes that Stormont will be given back to them, and thus the war goes on.

Chris Harman spoke in the afternoon

on IS perspectives. The organisation is committed to mobilising not just members but trade union and student union branches for the April march and May conference.

The lull could not last long before the Convention elections, when the question of Ireland will again be at the centre of British politics. Members must educate themselves and their trade union brothers and sisters now.

Attempts should be made to affiliate union branches to the Troops Out Movement nationally. Such affiliations could be used in organising local conferences when the situation blows up again.

Another school will be held soon in the Manchester District.

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

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

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

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

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

### WE ARE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

For unconditional support to all genuine national liberation movements.

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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



## 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

# A QUESTION OF SOCIALISM

**'SOCIALISM is all right in theory but it never works out in practice. Look at Russia, where one elite was just replaced by another.'**

ANY serious discussion of socialism will sooner or later come round to the question of Russia. Many people think Russia today represents what a future socialist state in Britain would be like. Not surprisingly such a prospect makes many people hostile to socialism itself.

## WHY RUSSIA ISN'T SOCIALIST

Some might reply to this by saying: Hasn't Russia become what it is today because of the Revolution of October 1917?

For socialists, the October revolution was the most important event in the history of the working class anywhere in the world. For the first time the working class had gained control of a major country.

For a while after the revolution there was a flourishing democracy. Although there is no doubt that the Bolshevik Party had the overwhelming support of both the workers and the peasants in the 'soviets', other parties continued to exist and publish their own papers.

But the new workers' government faced terrible odds. Fourteen capitalist armies—including one from Britain—invaded and devastated industry and agriculture. In a country already brought to an economic standstill by the world war the effects of the civil war were appalling.

Many of the workers who had made the revolution in 1918 were either killed or driven to the countryside by the starvation in the towns. Out of every five workers in Russia in 1918 only two were left by 1920. Workers' control through workers' councils in these circumstances became impossible.

In addition, the working-class revolutions in other European countries failed, leaving the socialist Russia isolated and alone.


Against this background, a new state capitalist ruling class rose, led by Stalin. They turned what had been thrust upon the workers' state by necessity into a virtue. Instead of trying to recreate a workers' democracy by building up industry and supporting the revolutionary movement internationally they blocked any development along these lines.

When Stalin was finally forced to industrialise he did it at the expense of the working class, with labour camps and brutal repression. Rather than seeking a socialist solution to the immense problem facing Russia he chose to copy capitalism's own methods.

The socialist ideals of October were buried and a new ruling class—which still exists in Russia today—had been created.

**Paul Holborow**

**BOSSES IN CRISIS  
WOMEN ON THE SCRAPHEAP**



**DEFEND OUR RIGHT TO WORK**

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**Womens Voice  
OUT NOW**

Articles on **redundancies and layoffs, equal pay, maternity leave, and wife beating**, 6p plus postage from **Womens Voice**, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

**Subscriptions** 75p for six months or £1.50 a year, including postage.



**EAST LONDON:** 'Equal rights, equal pay, end discrimination, women's liberation now!' 4000 women (and some men) marched through the rainy streets of Whitechapel last Saturday on the International Women's Day March. There were health workers, women's groups from all over the South and Midlands, plus marchers from the Communist Party, the Labour Party, the International Marxist Group—and these representatives of the International Socialists. Despite the weather this was one of the biggest women's demonstrations for years. Other demonstrations took place in Wales, Scotland and the Midlands.

# Rank and File calls Equal Pay Conference

**THE Rank and File Organising Committee has called a conference on the struggle for equal pay for women and against redundancies among women workers.**

It is to be held in Manchester on Saturday 26 April and will be open to delegates, both men and women, from trade union bodies—branches, shop stewards committees, trades councils, district committees.

1975 is International Women's Year, it is also international economic crisis year—and that's what working women are going to feel most in their pay packets and on the dole.

Last year women fought back against lousy pay and

conditions at Salford Electrical Instruments, Wingrove and Rogers on Merseyside, Imperial Typewriters in Hull and Leicester and countless others. Women bakers, nurses, hospital technicians and radiographers went on strike for the first time ever.

Now there are large scale redundancies among women at Joseph Lucas in Birmingham, at Walls in London. Other women workers are laid off. In Leicester hosiery factories, for example, they have taken a wage cut.

Women workers are often the first to be sacked, the first to be laid off, the first to be on short time. But it doesn't just affect women. The standard of living of thousands of working people depends on the wages brought home by women as well as men. Every trade

unionist, should support the fight of women for equal pay with men for doing the same job, and their fight for the same rights and conditions. This affects all trade unionists.

Judith Jones, a nurse at Salford Royal Infirmary and chairman of her NUPE branch, helped set up the rank and file Manchester and District Nurses Action Group during the nurses' strike last year.

She told Women's Voice, the paper produced by the International Socialists for women workers and housewives: 'I want to emphasise how important this conference is. Everyone knows that the majority of workers in hospitals are women, and most people think hospital workers have equal pay . . . but in the case of women ancillary workers they are almost all on the two lowest grades of pay. The last pay claim called for equal pay for women but as usual, like in many union claims, it was the first to be dropped.'

## Delegacies

'If we want equal pay for the work we do we must realise that we're going to have to fight for it . . . Let's see women taking a stand for themselves, pushing for delegacies to this conference in their union branches and coming prepared to get something done. By swapping experiences we can get some concrete ideas which can be taken back and fought for at work.'

Already Salford Electrical Instruments shop stewards' committee, the ASTMS general branch in Leicester the Progressive Metals, Glasgow, shop stewards' committee and the NUPE Withington Hospital branch in Manchester have agreed to sponsor the conference, along with the Rank and File Organising Committee.

Every trade unionist—man and woman—should ask the secretary of his or her trade union body to send for an application form for delegates' credentials. Every trade unionist should fight to be delegated.

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

## Rent strikes in danger

IN the next two weeks most colleges will be closing for Easter and pressure is building up to end the 24 student rent strikes. If they go on into next term the costs to the college authorities will be high. Many already have large loans and if they have to borrow more cash their financial situation could be critical.

At SURREY UNIVERSITY summonses are expected any day. The vice-chancellor has said he is going to cut the students union finance next year.

At LANCASTER 400 students are occupying the university administration to try to stop any victimisation of students on rent strike and to get guarantees that there will be no further cuts. The senate has voted to evict all students involved in the occupation.

Many student union executives would like to get out of the hot seat and end the disputes. At WARWICK UNIVERSITY the union executive has made countless attempts to weaken the strong rent strike. Last week they succeeded in getting a meeting to agree that some rent rise would be acceptable. Now they have an excuse to agree an increased rent with the college.

The actions of the executive have played straight into the hands of the college. It will now be difficult to keep the rent strike together and get students to pay next term's rent into the union fund.

Student rents are due to rise again in the autumn. If the rent strikes are defeated this year it will be much harder work next year to stop massive rent rises.

## STUDENT RIGHT

A GROUP of right-wingers, now parading under the name of moderates, are attempting to take over the National Union of Students. They will make little impact on the coming NUS conference despite the rather odd name for their organisation—

the Radical Action Group—and the many friendly articles in the Times Higher Education Supplement.

A few months ago the group was claiming a significant victory at BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY when Vallence-Owen, their candidate for the NUS presidency, won the election for president of the university. Last week this super democrat, who claims he represents what students in Birmingham really think, tried to lay off staff employed by the students union. The response was immediate: hundreds of students occupied the college administration demanding an increased catering grant. Vallence-Owen opposed the occupation.

Last week a large union meeting rejected the lay-offs, set up a joint union committee, and backed the occupation, which continues.

Vallence-Owen has resigned, although he will still contest the NUS elections. The RAG is going to attempt to win other positions but we now have a clear sign of what they represent. Rather than being champions of student unrest, they are in favour of education cuts, sacking workers, and passive student unions which hide under the authorities' coat tails.

## NEW BULLETIN

THE national committee of the National Organisation of International Socialist Societies (NOISS) met last weekend. It was decided to produce a regular bulletin which contained local reports. The first issue will contain a full report of the meeting.

## BE WARNED!

TWELVE months ago, when police were used to arrest 105 students at ESSEX UNIVERSITY, Socialist Worker warned that Essex was being closely watched by other vice-chancellors as a test case of how student militancy might be broken. We have now received a document written in BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY exactly at that time.

It contains a discussion of different methods to be used to defeat students and which tactics are most harmful to the college authorities. The document reveals that the colleges fear occupations and picketing of entrances to the college most of all.

He says: 'Security staff should be encouraged to gain the confidence of occupiers and to be allowed to enter the occupied buildings. In this way we shall receive situation reports from inside the building.' So make sure that any security staff entering the occupation are members of a trade union, which has been consulted.

Picture: Andrew Ward (Report)

# GLASGOW:

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# LABOUR COUNCIL CALLS FOR SCAB TROOPS

THE GLASGOW Labour council leader has made a frantic call on the government to bring in troops to break the nine-week old unofficial strike of dustcart drivers. He wants troops and private hauliers to move the 60,000 tons of rubbish which has piled up in working class areas in the city.

This outrageous appeal came as the climax to a long saga of treachery by the Glasgow council. The drivers were promised more money when they agreed to return to work last summer. In the interests of the Social Contract, the Labour council broke its pledges.

Their whining about a 'health hazard' is pathetic. If they had an ounce of the courage shown by the Labour councillors at Clay Cross in the fight against the Tory Rent Act, they could have paid the dustmen in full nine weeks ago and the 'health hazard' need never have happened.

The 'bring in the troops' campaign by the Glasgow councillors seems to have snapped some of the workers' resistance. As we go to press, the dustmen's leaders are negotiating with the council for an orderly return to work.

The dustmen no doubt recalled that the Glasgow Labour councillors called in the troops to break the firemen's strike in the city in 1972. The firemen managed to hold out despite the troops' intervention, largely because their work was specialised, and the troops were not up to it.

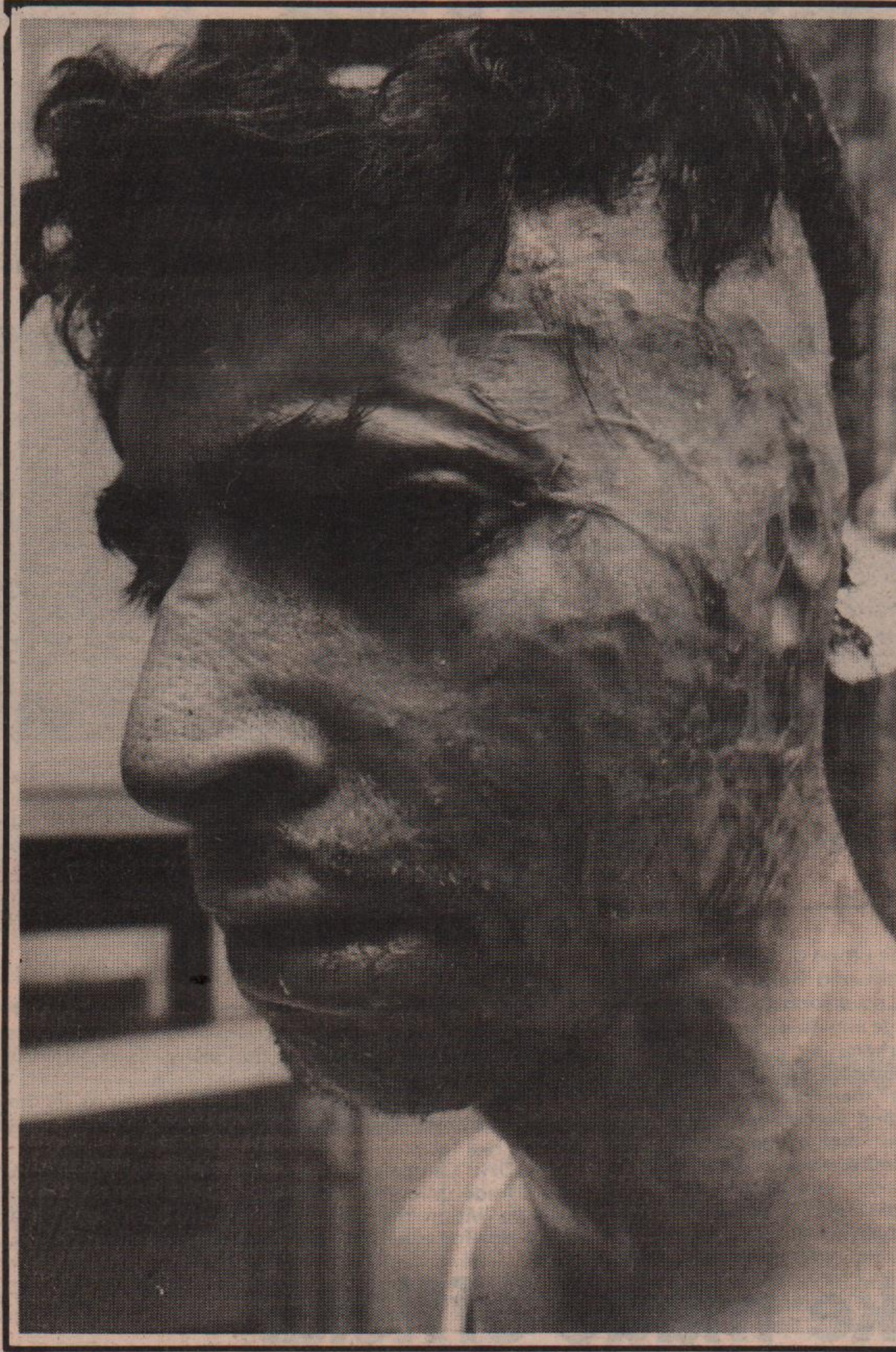
## Massive

The dustmen's work is not specialised. Their picket lines could only have been held against troops by massive solidarity action in the city. Although many Glasgow workers—notably the firemen's, railwaymen's and electricians' spokesmen—promised such solidarity, the dustmen may have felt that enough support was unlikely.

Negotiations go on as we go to press. The outcome will be reported next week. In the meantime two lessons stand out from this disgraceful affair.

One of the largest Labour councils in the country is prepared to defend the social contract by resorting to strike-breaking tactics worthy of the most unscrupulous 19th century boss.

Secondly we must build a rank and file movement, free from trade union officials, council bureaucrats, and employers, which can give confidence to isolated, courageous groups of workers like the Glasgow dustcart drivers, and strengthen their hands against their oppressors.



## THIS MAN WAS LUCKY...

HE WAS hit by a phosphate bomb. He is still alive. Most of his countrymen who fought with him are dead. They have been killed in one of the most vicious wars in the world: the war conducted by the Iraqi government against the Kurdish minority.

This week, the Iraq government, backed at last by that other dictatorship—of the Shah of Persia—sent six divisions on a simple mission: to wipe out the entire Kurdish population about a million people.

You won't read much about this genocide in the British Press. But you can find out about it on Page 5.

## Now scaffolders' pickets face trial

HUNDREDS of demonstrators, including London dockers, workers from Fords and many North East factories and building sites, marched through Newcastle on Monday to picket the magistrates court where ten scaffolders faced committal charges.

The scaffolders are on trial for picketing the McAlpines site at Eldon Square after the victimisation of 14 men, McAlpines, who helped put the Shrewsbury pickets in jail, hired scabs from London. And on 29 January, the police, who had given the scabs every assistance, arrested ten pickets under the notorious Public Order Act.

At the same time, TGWU regional secretary Dave Shenton, UCATT officials and the Building Trades Employers' Federation were having secret talks on how to rubber stamp the victimisation of the 14 scaffolders.

Shenton has been pushing the idea of an 'arbitration tribunal', and has got the agreement of all but the scaffolders themselves, who have already had experience of 'independent investigations'.

*This strike is about the right to organise on McAlpine's sites. Money is urgently needed. Please send donations to B Alderson, 13 Bamborough Towers, Killingworth, Newcastle 12.*

## SHREWSBURY: 'FIGHT FOR ONE-DAY STRIKE'

ON MONDAY, the Rank and File Organising Committee issued the following important statement on the fight to free the Shrewsbury Two:

The demonstrations at Lincoln and Leicester prisons last weekend were well attended, despite the short notice. But it is clear that the pressure must be increased if we are to free our two brothers.

As part of our campaign we wrote to the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, suggesting that their 22 March Conference on Shrewsbury and the Social Contract should be a joint arrangement, with shared responsibilities to ensure the maximum possible support within the trade union movement.

The Organising Committee is dismayed by the only reply received, which simply stated that the contents of our letter had been 'noted'. Despite this rebuff to our attempted united action, we still urge all our supporters to attend this Conference.

We must be clear, however, exactly what should come out of this Conference welcomes the call on the TUC, from the T&GWU, for a one-day national stoppage. Demands should now be put on all union ECs for them to do likewise.

But this in itself is not enough. We must prepare for independent action should the TUC fail to give a lead.

The Rank and File Organising Committee calls upon the LCDTU Conference to clearly demand all out strike action from May, whether or not the TUC do so.

We cannot allow the disgraceful imprisonment of the Shrewsbury Two to continue to stain the record of the Trade Union Movement. We know exactly what action freed the Pentonville Five. That action is needed again.

ALL OUT 1 MAY,  
FREE THE TWO.

## Miners aid Junta victims

FROM THE miners of South Wales, practical solidarity has gone out to their imprisoned brothers in Chile. An agreement has been reached with the National Coal Board to employ Chileans. Miners in Kent and Yorkshire are being urged to follow the Welsh example.

In London, jobs for 30 teachers are coming through. In Lambeth the local government officers union,

NALGO, has secured a promise from the council to employ and house an imprisoned electrician.

These moves follow the Rank and File Organising Committee's campaign to adopt Chilean prisoners. It means immediate and practical help to prisoners rotting in Chilean jails and to their families.

This isn't just a humanitarian campaign. Supporting them is supporting ourselves. In union branches, in factories, we can learn from them, help them and build a mass movement against the Chilean junta.

*Part of that mass movement is this Saturday's march in Liverpool against the Junta. The Rank and*

## AUEW: SUPPORT THESE SIX

THE popular press are campaigning for a vote for the right wing candidates in the AUEW elections. We urge readers of Socialist Worker to vote against the right wing and therefore to support:

**BOB WRIGHT** for General Secretary

**J BRETT** for Assistant General Secretary

**J FOSTER** for National Organiser

**B PANTER** for National Organiser

**L SMITH** for National Organiser

**R WALMSLEY** for national Organiser.

*File Organising Committee is calling on its supporters in North West England to support the march.*

The government has decided not to re-negotiate the Junta's foreign debt. That's a blow to the Generals of Chile—and it came about because of pressure from the Labour movement. Now's the time to turn on the heat.

## Pious

That means blacking Chilean goods. There are plenty of pious sentiments about it—most of the labour movement is committed to a total boycott.

The Engineering union's national committee committed the union to all-out blacking—but the reality was different. From Liverpool docks to East Kilbride, officials have worked against rank and file militants' efforts to build a fighting campaign.

Argue for your trade union branch or shop stewards' committee to support the march this Saturday. Urge them to adopt Chilean prisoners. Does your firm have contracts with Chilean firms? Get them blacked, on the shop-floor, in the transport sections, in the offices.

We want the Generals out—and political and trade union rights back!

*Details of prisoners, how to adopt them, and information on firms trading with Chile from Roger Cox, Secretary, Rank and File Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.*

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## CHILE SOLIDARITY March in Liverpool this Saturday, 15 March

The march leaves Islington Square 12.30pm, arrives at the Pier Head for rally at 1.30pm.

IS members in the North West and IS students to support.