KEEP THE TORIES OUT

VOTE LABOUR — but

No Social Contract

Fight wage restraint

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

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER Special supplement starts on Page 5
Election policy? They’re all agreed

AS THE ELECTION campaign goes into its final stage, the hysteria of all three major parties about the need to cut workers' living standards reaches fever pitch. The Prime Minister has contradicted everything he said about inflation in the last election. The Party of Tory lie have attacked the Tory theme that wages caused inflation. Then, he attacked that prices caused inflation, and prices were not the cause of inflation. Now, in a series of speeches, Wilson has announced a new theme that 'just about new' things have begun to change. Now, for no apparent reason, wages cause inflation.

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile, prices continue to rise—and no party has any policy to deal with that. All the indicators show that over the past several years, prices, specially food prices, have been rising at a faster rate than at any other time in the last year. The Rt. Hon. W. Anthony, Liberal spokesman, has promised 'stability' on a list of 14 basic items.

In two and a half months, ten of these items have gone up in price. A pound of cheese, a quart of milk, a bar of soap by 4p, a pound of frozen chicken 3p.

There are clear signs of lack of agreement between Mrs. Williams and the retailers. 'That 'social contract' does not amount to anything.

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

If you love the boss, vote For Ross

Ross of Ross is not popular with the workers of the Southwark area. He is also not popular with the workers of the whole of the UK. He is a rich man, and he is not interested in the workers. He is interested in the profits of the companies he owns. He is also interested in the profits of the rich people of the UK.

The Daily Mail of 19 September, the day before the election, said that Ross was a man of influence in the UK. He is a man who has a large influence on the government. He is also a man who has a large influence on the workers of the UK.

The Daily Mail said that Ross had a large influence on the government. This is because he is a rich man, and he is interested in the government.

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NALGO: A mindsrel moderate hits out

THE NATIONAL PRESS has been publishing the Save Nalgo Campaign launched by unionists in recent weeks. The campaign followed letters from Fraser trying to save the Save Nalgo Action Group and worse, the dreaded International Socialist. The support of the press is no surprise. They specialize in using men like Fraser to dish out, going from one group to another over the same old thing. The main target in Fraser's list is, of course, the members who are 'power' and 'position seekers' who manipulate the NALGO Action Group with a view to getting themselves ahead of their colleagues or to manipulate the whole union.

The International Socialist is happy to leave manipulation to the Save Nalgo Campaign. IS members in NALGO, as in all unions, are not interested in position seeking, in patronage or in placating the status quo.

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

Involve

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

NALGO Action has a fine record, not only for itself but for the movement which involves and involves, and involves the movement, in increasing democratic action.

NALGO Action has for example fought successfully the election of union officials. It has addressed Nalgo candidates to the members who know what politics mean. It has fought to follow NEC members during the London weighting struggle earlier this year. Fraser exposed his attitude to democracy. He wrote:

The NEC is in danger of losing control of the London Weighting situation. It should now be in the hands of the NEC. The NEC is a politically motivated members in the London area and on the NEC (and I don't confuse that term with the NEC) are not pressing irresponsibly with a campaign of minor measures. 

I...now learn that Idlington members are refusing to work. Really? It is rather disquieting. What's happening? Isn't it time we got some strength back into our general policies? How are we asserting ourselves? I believe that we must immediately cut these members off without a penny of strike pay in order to show the NEC that we can run their holiday to an end...brother Fraser? The members--or your 'painless hands'.

His most disgusting smear in the Save Nalgo letter is a reference to IS 'maligning the Nalgo accent'.

For five years, the Right-wing nautical and TCT campaign to get £1 million from the government. IS has put a scheme for a new office blackheads.

Afflct

They succeeded in conference in 1973 and afterward that this wouldn't affect the strike fund and that the money could be liquidized. The government's strike fund.

During the London weighting campaign in 1973, Fraser's government started to discount the £1 million. So much for Nalgo Action.

Fraser ignores the union structure to support the NEC. While Nalgo Action works with the NEC, Fraser is scared of an IS action that is exploiting his actions. Nalgo Action.

IS action does the NEC extremely greater influence, making it the centre of the London weighting struggle.

Not bad for a Labour man who sneers at Nalgo Action. Still, if Nalgo Action wins, he'll do anything to get re-elected.
Labour: what they want, what they get

IN YOUR issue of 14 September you say on the first page that the policies of the Labour Party have one aim: to cut the living standards of workers so that a genuine class can be formed.

I am no greater lover of the Labour Party and my membership has been resigned. I submit this resignation at a time when the official Labour Party has formed a new Social Democratic group in the House of Commons.

You may think it is quibbling to disagree with 'aim' when I am willing to contest the statement. I think so because that kind of statement has various consequences and important consequences. The most important is that it pays no attention to your solid case for radical change. Secondly, it is insinuating that you are not a member of the working class and so bad propaganda. Fourthly, it is cynical because you cannot believe that the Labour Party does not reach those who are excluded from the general interclass warring between groups on the left.

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

LETTER

WHY I'M GOING TO VOTE LABOUR

THE LETTER by representatives of the Teamsters Union (31 August) and by the Teamsters, who represent the majority of agricultural workers, they represent an important section of the working class and the Teamsters have contracts with the growers, even though the Teamsters represent 35,000 growers. The Teamsters have contracts with the growers, even though the Teamsters represent the interests of the growers. The Teamsters have contracts with the growers, even though the Teamsters represent the interests of the growers.

Most of the contracts were signed with the growers and the Teamsters are fighting for the Teamsters' members to be recognized as a separate group with the growers. The Teamsters have contracts with the growers, even though the Teamsters represent the interests of the growers.

The deepening crisis is going to make it more difficult for Labour to do the great reforms through which which it will continue. This in turn, produced much better opportunities for presenting revolutionary ideas and building the revolutionary party as the only way forward for the working class.

During the elections period in Scotland one of the main tasks of the Socialists was to reinforce the revolutionary forces. The Scottish Socialists have been fighting for the unity of the working class and the working class. The Socialists have fought for the unity of the working class and the working class. The Socialists have fought for the unity of the working class and the working class. The Socialists have fought for the unity of the working class and the working class.
I'm voting Labour—but what'll happen AFTER the election?

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

We do not say this because we have any illusions that Labour can solve the growing economic crisis or prevent it hitting wages, working conditions or employment. Far from it. When the leaders of all three established parties tell us the crisis is coming and that there is nothing they can do about it, they are telling the truth.

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

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

The Keith Josephs, with their talk of massively increased unemployment, and the Geoffrey Rippon's, with their plans for private armies of scabs, will feel much strengthened. On the other hand, if Labour wins, and gets a big majority, that will be yet another slap in the face for those who press an open and direct attack upon the working class organisations.

This gives the government itself will then find itself in a weak position to try to make workers pay for the crisis.

That is why we say vote Labour to keep the Tories out, but, that cannot be the end of the matter. Unlike most of the leaders of the trade union movement, we do not see a Labour majority as an end in itself. On the contrary, we want it to make it easier for us to fight the policies of the government which accepts the big business system will be forced to implement. What is needed is not merely a Labour vote, but a policy for fighting back against wage restraint and unemployment whether Wilson or Heath is in Downing Street. Such a policy must include the following:

- 30 per cent across the board wage rises. These rises are rising by about 20 per cent a year.
- Under such conditions the wage restraint embodied in the Social Contract means a cut in real wages.
- Inflation wage demands needed to recoup the loss—particularly since a third of any pay increase is taken by tax and national insurance deductions.
- No time limit to any agreement. The right to renegotiate whenever the workers decide.

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

Equal pay for women.
- Both Tories and Labour have promised 1975 as the 'year of equal pay.' But with three months to go, women workers still earn, on average half as much as men.
- A minimum wage of £35 a week.
- There is no other way for millions of workers on low wages to avoid being pushed into dire poverty. Five day's work or five days pay. All the politicians accept unemployment will rise to around the million mark in the next few months.

Dole. The Social Contract has not one word to say on how to stop this. Workers must fight to prevent their families being wrecked by the workers' crisis.
- The 26-hour week for 40 hours pay. The fight for the shorter working week can force the employers to take on workers, and cut the length of dole queues.
- Nationalisation under workers' control. Workers need to fight redundancies with strikes and occupations, demand the houses cannot provide a work and living wage, insist that the bosses take them off—and get a penny in return.
- To prevent nationalisation of the old sort, as in the mines and British Rail, workers' control is needed to safeguard jobs and wage rates.
- Rank and file unity, against the employers' attacks. For a national rank and file organisation.

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

That is why as many groups as possible should be represented at the national conference called by the Rank and File Congress taking place at 30 November.

Build a revolutionary workers' party. Build the International Socialists.

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

For that a new form of political organisation is needed. We need a new form of political organisation that co-ordinates the different struggles of workers into a single strategy for fighting the employers. The International Socialists exist to build such a revolutionary workers' party that will fight for workers' power.
What's happening to my wage packet?

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, by Mark Latham.
In one volume a history of the revolution from its origins in the industrialisation of Russia to the first months of Bolshevik rule (£1.25).

THE UNIONS MAKE US STRONG, by Tony Lane.
Said to expose the role of the union bureaucrats, to show that the unions have held back workers' efforts to bring change, that the future lies with a 'socialist party'. Looks well worth investigating (10p).

THE GENERAL STRIKE, by Christopher Farman. Now, reduced from the inflated hardback price to a passable £1 in paperback.

Why food costs more and more

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

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

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

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

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

The next year, livestock producers, who can graze to feed their animals, declare their own crisis because feed costs have risen. Of course, the price of meat and don't eat them. Most years the Potato Marketing Board goes further and dumps tons of potatoes to rot.

By CHRIS THOMPSON

DUMP

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

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

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

while your wages buy less and less food, farmers push up prices to boost profits
Why are so many people losing their jobs?

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

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

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

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

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

It is not that like the 1930s. The arms economy still ensures against violent crime.

But it is a catastrophe for the workers. It is a catastrophe which has its costs as well as profits in a system of society which organises production, distribution and exchange for profit—forever the remaining jolene and privilege of a ruling class.

For as long as anyone can remember, the transport system of this country has been organised around the maximum use of oil.

This meant worse transport for nearly everyone. It meant millions of pounds of goods had to be shipped by rail. It meant the closure of railways, and the constriction of our public transport system in the cities and in rural areas.

But there was no profit in public transport systems, no profit in the railways, no profit in coal.

So although they knew that one day Arab sheikhs would try to make millions of dollars as a result of the oil companies had to keep them in their expensive ways, they knew the prices would go up, they went on using oil at a fantastic rate.

The cost of oil was increased the price, the oil companies easily increased their profits, they trebled their profits, and joined in the chorus calling for trade unions to pay for the cry.

The general election has turned that chorus into a fanfare from every quarter of the ruling class, urging "moderation" and "restraint".

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

Another ghost looms...

A PROMINENT ruling class spokesman is Peter Walker, former Tory shadow Minister of Industry and one of the richest investment operators in the country.

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

"The years 1973 and 1974," he said, "are the beginning of sustained economic growth, and for the beginning of the renewal of capitalism.

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

Walker believed that his class would Capitalists are on the high road to prosperity.

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

At that point the Government was allowing the amount of money in circulation to rise rapidly in the hope that industry would use it to boost planned production and generate the much needed stimulus for the economy.

But did the government's policy work? By the time the government had intervened, the economy was already in a downward spiral. The only real solution was to drastically reduce the amount of money in circulation. The government did not have the courage to do this, so the economy continued to spiral out of control.

The investment which was needed—so a power, Walker's house never took place. That year, in fact, investment has gone down. The government has not been able to sustain the economic growth needed to prevent a recession. Why?

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

THERE are 100,000 policemen in England and Wales.
- Police Federation press office.

THE Department of Trade and Industry fraud division which is supposed to police swindles estimated at no less than £4,000 million a year has a total strength of 1,100 men.
- DTI press office.

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

SPECIAL METHOD

SPECIAL methods to break up groups of thieves have been adopted for general use.
- ROBERT CARR, former director of the Security and Home Secretary, Daily Telegraph, November 1973.

THE operation of the law is certainly in favour of the rich against the poor.

A POLICEMAN in Swindon has been sacked— for not arresting enough people.
- Dennis Joyce, 33, was dismissed after 21 months as a probationer policeman.

Says Dennis: ‘We were expected to average one summary offence every day.’ Dennis refused to meet his quotas and was sacked.
- Socialist Worker, 20 April 1974

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

WE stared into the whites of their eyes and guessed what we could get away with.
- LORD WILBERFORCE speaking in private about ‘impartial’ inquest into the 1972 massacre which suddenly discovered that ‘the men had been the Troops and were therefore a Special Case’.

THE Director of Public Prosecutions is the Government Department which initiates all major public prosecutions, including, for example, the charges being tried against the Sheppard Pickers.

But the DPP, according to all its own Press Office, has never in its 50-year history prosecuted one employer for manslaughter or even attempted to prosecute a socially hazardous body that had borne a worker down to death in an industrial ‘accident’ occasioned by the employers’ deliberate criminal negligence.

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

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

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

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

THE HOME Secretary is expected to call for a report into allegations that some senior Kant police officers are using their influence to stop legal proceedings being brought against their friends.
- Daily Telegraph, 9 June 1974

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

THE COURTS

THE LAW impinges the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common
But lets the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the good.
- ANCIENT SAYING

THE FACTORY Inspectorate is not only incapable of discovering most breaches of the law but overlooks, tolerates or condones in most breaches it does discover.
- ANTHONY D. WOOLF, leading labour lawyer in the Industrial Law Society’s evidence to the Robens Commission.

WE DON’T make the social conditions in Handsworth, we only have to police them.
- Senior Birmingham police officer to black social worker, Gus John, quoted in his study of the area.

THERE is really nothing ‘special’ about this group. They are merely ordinary policemen doing an ordinary policeman’s job—mostly walking about the streets for the protection of the citizens and properties, and the prevention and detection of crime.

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

I HOPE myself shortly to be visiting the South of France thanks to the generous hospitality of your chairman in whose house I shall be temporarily resident. I understand that he has virtually an old Roman city in his back garden.
- SIR GORDON WILKIN Privy Councilor (advisor to the Queen) speaking to the Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors’ annual dinner in 1970 not long after he retired as an Appeal Court judge. The chairman to whom he was referring was Sir Robin McKnight, the construction baron. Other details of the McKnight guest list are unknown. Sir Gordon is a trustee of the Thalidomide Children’s Trust.

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

Vernon Dholorie (228) Lord Morris (118) Lord Wilberforce (2960) Lord Justice Sachs (1290) Lord Justice Stamp (153) Mr Justice Payne (442) Dame Elizabeth Kane (1100) Mr Justice Flewman (1108) Mr Justice Pennington (1713) Mr Justice Tindal (470) Mr Justice Gifford (1000) Mr Justice Neil (1296) Mr Justice Chaytor (115) Sir John Airey (3020) Judge Bell (75) Judge Durance (3095) Judge Willow (912) Judge Airey (Reformer of London) 800 Judge Winning (1100) Judge Dobbs (1100) Judge Abela (1200) Judge Honig (1008) Judge Agner (Belfast) (350) and Judge Howden (1500).

The wife of one of the judges who actually filed the Sunday Times appeal to the Court, Mr Justice Brabin, had 150 shares at the time.

MR JUSTICE Fox, Anderson, a former Recorder of Bristol, escaped prosecution for fraudulent tax evasion because it would undermine public confidence in the law.
- THE GUARDIAN 5 October 1974.
Who then has the real power in this country?

still be in power
election

THE ARMY

THE COST of the British armed forces was £3,565 million pounds, in the year 1973-1974. The cost of the National Health Service in the same period was £2,917 million. There are 370,000 military personnel. They are served by a further 323,000 civil servants. Defence expenditure accounts for 7.5 per cent of the Gross National Product.

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

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

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

Brigadier General Brian Watkins quoted in The Times.

FADE AWAY

SINCE 1945 the British Army has fought to defend British money in Vietnam, Greece, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Egypt, Aden, Quatif, Dholar, Borneo, Yemen, Northern Ireland. We were supposed to be guarding against the local workers in factor side in Aden. Local workers? They were six soldiers in the RAF refinery. We were told that the people would be glad to see us, but we were sent in to put them down. The only local who was pleased to see us was the head of the palace while the people rosted.

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

BUDGET

A FAIR SHARE

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

—HERALD WILSON, quoted in The Times report of a Parliamentary Labour Party meeting on Vietnam, 3 July 1966

TAKEN together, the top 20 British companies account for annual salaries of over £18,440 million, over 20 per cent of the sales of all UK companies, they control assets of £10,600 million and in the UK employ 1,450,000 of the 20.5 million workers employed in private industry and commerce. This colonial concentration of economic power is controlled by some 287 men of great wealth and power—the boards of directors elected only by the shareholders of companies and responsible only to them.

—LABOUR RESEARCH, August 1974

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

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

—REGINALD MAULDING, The Times, 12 September 1972

BIG BUSINESS RULES OK.

THANK GOD the government's inARGER
Sponsorship that governments are nothing like as important as they think they are.  
—SIR WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, head of the Civil Service on BBC 2, 27 March 1974, announcing his support for the chairmanship of the Midland Bank.

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

I asked him if that meant that it was the policy of any Government, whatever its party label, whatever its ideological or political position, to which it fought an election, to continue, unless it immediately reverted to full-scale Tory policies.

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

—HERALD WILSON, The Labour Government 1964-70

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

They see him carrying great weight in the making of important decisions... He is the one central spot in the House of Commons is so powerful that any move from behind the bench MP has but a trifling say in momentous affairs.

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

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

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

In 1971, ITT was suspected of having controlled the floating of the pound. When asked by national governments was that the joint companies, by anticipating devaluation, help to cause the devaluations of the gnomes of Zurich for each new run of pounds? I cannot see how further than the gnomes of IIT.

—ANTHONY Sampson, The Sovereign State

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

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

—ANTHONY Sampson, The Sovereign State

THE capitalist system...has led inevitably to wide disparities in living standards and to the concentration of a large amount of wealth in a fairly limited number of hands...
Is there any answer? If capitalism is the problem

FACT

In January local authorities reported 30,000 people homeless. In Wandsworth, South London, alone the number rose from 200 in January to 1,200 in June. There are 100,000 houses and flats to rent lying empty in London. The rents are too high for all but the rich. There are 40,000 new houses in Britain waiting for a buyer because mortgages are too high. The cost of a mortgage has risen by a third in 18 months.

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

Meanwhile in April-June 1973, 24,380 houses were built every month—the lowest figure since 1947. In April-June this year the figure was 21,600.

And 90,000 building workers are out of work. This figure is expected to double by mid-winter.

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

A couple of years ago I was working for Thaisn of Edinburgh, a medium-sized house-building firm. We were having trouble with the houses (not enough), so I decided to find out just how much the firm was making out for, I went to the Company’s Records Office in Edinburgh.

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

This was the time of the Every Housing Finance Act, which drastically cut corporation housing and increased rates—and all so that Thaisn and the like could make higher profits. How? Said the Report: "A kind of house is being developed aimed at former corporation tenants—those pushed out by the rising rents. Those houses I worked on were nothing better than dog boxes with high price tags. Unlike the luxurious houses Thaisn were building on Blackford Hill for some of the more prominent non-producers in the city.

Most workers in Edinburgh now live on low-paid estates on the outskirts of the city, with few amenities. Not because they want to live there but because their former houses in the city-center have gone to make way for such essential projects as the Prince’s Centre—a collection of insurance buildings, offices, luxury shops, hotel and a car park. Most building workers in Edinburgh work on it at some time or other while many of their future work will be in 'room and kitchen' flats in George, Leith and Abbeyhill.

This was boom time for the private house-builder—people needed a place to live and the animals that run the building industry knew they could cash in on this.

But there comes a point, now reached, when the people can no longer afford to pay. So the builders cut down production, throwing men out of work and further reducing the supply of housing. Some attempt to blame a shortage of bricks—strange how these shortages always occur just before price increases are suddenly made on vast amounts of the goods for sale at the time.

Incredible waste of men and resources can be found throughout the country. Workers often work on a job in Edinburgh, but at the going price of more than £45,000 a flat. I don’t think many workers in Edinburgh will be stampeding to join the game.

I could write pages on the conditions of work in this industry at a time when work is the barest minimum. How can we expect a healthy, fit, happy human being when he’s under pressure to make a living in a damp, smelly room, free from home, sleeping two to a room, and having to pay the mortgage, which is going to be higher and higher? We are in the business of making people poor and we expect them to work.

Papers like the Express, Mirror and Sun have been full of pictures of the workers and their conditions are unacceptable. It’s a question of whether we want a society where we live in a state of misery and want or do we want to live in a state of health and comfort?...
what would you put in its place then?

Slovenia, 1919: a workers’ strike here in Britain. They, too, wanted to bury the ‘white elephant’ of capitalism.

HOW IT COULD BE:

PARIS 1871

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage... responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time... the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration.

From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workers’ wages. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves.

How it could be:

Russia 1917

The factory was going to close down for lack of fuel, and workers, the Moscow Factory Committee had to decide what was to be done with the mines, or down into the Caucauses for coal, to Crimea for coal; and again had to be sent out by the workers to sell the industry without homes.

The workers attempted to falsify the books, to conceal orders: the Factory Shop Committee was forced to find ways to control the workers.

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Our system is a system of slavery. Itlabour consists in the continual toil of our lives, the continual toil of our lives, the continual toil of our lives. It is necessary tousbear the weight of this toil, and that we should be able to do the work of others.

It is necessary tousbear the weight of this toil, and that we should be able to do the work of others.

Blow for Blow

A dangerous film. Socialist Worker benefit performances

EDINBURGH
Saturday 9 October, 7.30pm, The Assembly Rooms, George Street. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

NEWCASTLE
Monday 7 October, 8pm, Newcastle Polytechnic, Sandfield Rd. Tickets £4.00 from Sandy Irving, 209

MANCHESTER
Wednesday 9 October, 8pm, Main Department, University, Oxford Road. Tickets £4.00

LEEDS
Thursday 10 October, 8pm, Trinity Trade Centre, St George’s Church, Leeds. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

SHEFFIELD
Friday 1 October, 8pm, General Lecture Theatre, Sheffield Polytechnic, 26 St Paul’s Square. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

BIRMINGHAM
Monday 13 October, 8pm, Birmingham Central Library, Great Western Rd, Birmingham. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

SWANSEA
Tuesday 14 October, 7.30pm, Oxford Street School, Swansea. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

BRISTOL
Wednesday 15 October, 7.30pm, Aeon C1, Bristol Polytechnic. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

DERBY
Thursday 17 October, 7.30pm, The Howard, Derby. Tickets £4.00 on the door.

FAC T

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

A kilo of Valium costs £100 to make. The firm which makes nine-tenths of all British tranquillisers, Roche, sold Valium to the National Health Service at £185 a kilo. Most of the difference went to Roche shareholders. Each Roche share is valued at £32,000.

Last year the drug industries in Britain spent £11.6 million on advertising and £10.6 million on research.
But can socialism answer all the problems?

By FRANK DRAIN

Fleas who live

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

If a British Railways Board existed, and it had to account for all the millions of pounds of cost, then road building, as the British Railways Board has to do for the railways, the 1967 would look something like this:

Total spending (on new roads, drainage, lighting, traffic control, accidents and congestion) £300,000 million.

Total income from fuel tax purchase tax and licences—£200 million.

Total interest free subsidy to British Railway Board—£200 million (five times the total cost of British Rail).

Where the system has gone off the rails...

When the historian wrote about the Victorian railway system, he described it as a "model of efficiency." But how true is this when we look at the system today?

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

"But then they got into a big argument with a 14-year-old boy, a train operator who lived next to the line. He counted up all the wagons and passengers and proved that it could not be losing money. They closed the line down all the same. To make sure it could never be reopened again, the linerman went on to the track as the last train pulled out of Hunstanton and started ripping it up.

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

Closed

Once they have closed down the feeder lines, the big marshalling yards don't get so much traffic, and they become uncommercial. So they close them, and British Rail starts closing them down. When I was a kid, the biggest marshalling yard in the world was at East Grinstead, and it was closed down proportionately. And the marshalling yards that were still left were already undercapitalisation as nationalisation is not nationalisation as it would do if it was run by private enterprise. When the post-war Labour government took over the railways they were completely run down, and we had some private owners had taken out everything they could.

But all nationalisation amounted to was paying them more money for the rundown locomotives, lines and signals. And the railways are run like any other capitalist company. If money is invested they want profit out of it. In a depression they cut staff and lines just like any private company.

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

Possible

There's no reason why the railways shouldn't carry all the goods today if we use some bottleneck calling in to private enterprise. It's a question of how much it is profitable to have a railway system which is as flexible as road transport systems are over short journeys. It is a question of how much it is profitable to have a railway system which is as flexible as road transport systems are over short journeys.

British Rail ran an experiment with a new system of self-propelled wagons, guided by a central computer, which works perfectly at a fraction of the cost of road transport. That system could shift goods without the waste and noise and danger which lorries produce. But they may not introduce this system now. Because too much freight has been apportioned off on to the roads.

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

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

In a society where working people own and control the means of production, we could build a transport system which would serve the needs of the whole community. It would provide transport of transport of transport as and when it is needed today because they're not "profitable".

When a new idea comes up today, what is the last thought of the planner? Will it make money? Will it "make a profit"? The workers think: Will it threaten my job? The planning is done by the workers today or the planners who make the new ideas could be put into action, to make a transport system that was free and efficient.

Owners

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

Mind you, the owners were good upholding Catholics. The only time I really heard about trade unions was when I joined the Official Republican Movement in 1969 (it wasn't the Official then). It was founded by the Father of Republicanism, and men like the Great Seer. But now I'm teaching the people about, as one could, the struggles of the British soldiers in the First World War. It is important that their struggle was to Irish and English, but the thing was, they were Irish and English, and we were Irish and English.

We never asked the question, why were these bully boys in uniform, protecting our area? Why were they robbing our homes and beating up our families? We just took the fact that they were British soldiers.

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

For two weeks I talked, bloke and learned more than I'd
What about Ireland and other countries?

learnt from the Republican movement in two years.

I heard for the first time about British workers' movements which had fought for the Irish against British imperialism. I learned that the way that British horses had profited from the sale of Irish horses was one of Orange and Green workers. It was like a question on a history test.

When I left Ireland some months later, I went to Edinburgh and we undertook to work as a labourer. Very soon, I joined the Irish Republican Labour Party, which was more difficult than fighting to British workers about Irish society, but I was more skilled than fighting to British workers about Irish society.

The argument about "our" bosses in London and the struggle with the British to bring our workmates to Belfast and "United Britain": the view from a Catholic ghetto in Northern Ireland

HOW IT COULD BE: SPATIAL 1930

The essential point of the militia system was social equality between officers and men. Everyone from general to private drew the same pay, ate the same food, wore the same clothes, and mingled on terms of complete equality. If you wanted to step on the general commanding the division on the back and ask him for a cigarette, you could do so, and no one thought of curiosity. In theory at any rate each militia was a democracy and not a hierarchy. It was understood that orders had to be obeyed, but it was also understood that when you gave an order you gave it as commander to commander and not as superior to inferior. There were officers and non-commissioned officers, but there was no military rank in the ordinary sense, no titles, no badges, no bed-clucking and saluting.

They had attempted to produce within the militia a sort of temporary working model of the class war. Of course there was no perfect equality, but there was a better approximation of it than I would have thought conceivable in the time of our country.

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

When a man refused to obey an order he did not immediately get his butt kicked; you first appealed to him in the name of comradeship. Crusty people with no experience of handling men would say instantly that this would never work. The truth of the matter is that it does work in the long run.

I could find a command of about thirty men, English and Spanish, who would line up when fire for months, and I never had the impression that they were under order obeyed or in getting men to volunteer for a dangerous job. Revolutionary discipline depends on political consciousness—political orders must be obeyed.

George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia

It's the same the whole world over

By MARTHA OSAMOR

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

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

Most of the land that was used for growing family food products is being taken over by what the Government calls the Green Revolution in the major crops. Large sums of money are given to a few, who are already well-off, to develop farms projects so the starving millions can be fed.

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

The only difference is that in some countries the colour of the capitalist is different. There are those who don't see anything wrong in capitalism but would be happy only if their explorer could be their colour or their race. They—and those who dislike capitalism in any form, colour or shape—must join the struggle.

Only with united action can it be done. The struggle is far deeper than racial. It is a struggle for democracy.
OK, so we need socialism—how do we get there?

A SOCIALIST SOCIETY will not come by voting socialist candidates into Parliament. We must organise those who do not yet see the need for socialism. We must make people better informed about the problems of society and the need for socialism. We must do this by putting the capitalist bosses, putting workers in control.

That will not happen spontaneously. The workers will not suddenly rise and take society because they think it’s a good idea. For within the working class there are wide differences. Some workers still support only a few, reactionary socialists. Others support Tony, or support fascists. In between are masses of workers with different sets of opinions.

The socialists among the working class need to be brought together to organise to intervene at every level of the class struggle. That is the aim of a revolutionary socialist party. The party acts as a point for these socialists, as a place where they can exchange their experiences and improve on them.

It links socialist workers across industrial boundaries and across national boundaries. It links workers with the trade unions.

Above all, it provides the tools on the factory floor to organise and argue for socialist ideas and the trade union official. Each national union has to be countered with the organisation of workers against the bosses and with workers’ control. This is the particular struggle of the International Socialists.

We have the muscle, we need the brain!

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

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

Like P. J. Powell’s sanity-means-unemployment—wouldn’t work, and the ruling class knew it. The private armies wouldn’t work. Major-General Chatterton is criticising them in The Observer—and he’s the arch-apologist of counter-insurgency operations,” said Cliff.

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

“Everything they try won’t work,” said Cliff. Industrial confidence was at the lowest ebb he’d ever known. “Ceylon shares are at 8p,” he said.

The Financial Times says that they’re overridden. British industrialists are begging the Arab sheiks to take their industries over. The sheikhs reply: “Nothing doing.”

Strength

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

The cause of the crisis of confidence among the rulers, said Cliff, was the workers’ confidence and strength. But, just as capitalism was in crisis, so the workers’ movement was in crisis. The trade unions were in crisis.

“I see no point in speaking of the power of the working class. The working class has no power. The working class has no power. The working class has no power.”

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

“We are now entering a transition from a period of fragmented class struggle into one of united struggle.”

At the same time, whole sections of workers are pushing ahead. Six months ago, there was no wage drive. Now there is massive wage drive. Engineers, carworkers, women workers and black workers are all pushing ahead at the same time.

Impact

This situation had “fantastic opportunities” to a growing revolutionary organisation such as the International Socialists. Relatively few members could make tremendous strides in the working-class movement. We couldn’t initiate a general strike, but we could have a major impact on all the fragmented disputes that were taking place. Our job was to relate each specific strike and dispute with the general issue.

We must intervene in every dispute and relate it to the role of the trade union hierarchies,” Cliff said. Each wage and bonus dispute had made raising the question of the social contract and the betrayal of the trade union officials. Each national union has to be countered with the organisation of workers against the bosses and with workers’ control. IS related the particular struggle to the general.

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

Options

The revolutionary party is made of leaders,” said Cliff. “There is no rank and file in the revolutionary party. We must all give a soul, not just work where the struggle is taking place around us. We don’t have a single job. We have a general line, and we have to keep our eyes and minds open for the specific case for the specific place.”

IAN BIRCHALL, introducing the conference at the International Socialists, said the conference had the largest body of national delegates from abroad ever to attend an IS meeting. There were delegates from the Socialist Workers’ Party in Ireland, the International Socialists from the United States and socialist organisations in Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, and two Chilean organisations. Fraternal greetings had been received from the Socialist Workers’ Action Group in Australia.

In the discussion, Harry Wicks said he thought the perspective of capitalism “failed to give a clear enough guide to the crisis in socialist development.” He said he had “tried to eliminate any analysis of the Labour Party.”

Committed

A resolution from Newham urging council workers at all levels against the National Front committee of the organisation to the building of the working-class based anti-Fascist committee. An amendment from Bootle branch, moved by Tommy Douras, as the only basis for these committed the slogans: “No platform for Fascists. Smash the National...”
How do we overcome divisions among workers?

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

"The level of penetration in the union is very low, but it is not a case of putting union work on the shop floor. We have to work on the shop floor, but if we don't do it, the union will do it for us."

BARRY WHITE, NALGO Fraction Secretary, said that the union had a role to play in the battle against racism and that it was the job of the union to organise the workforce.

"We must not forget that racism is not just an issue for the shop floor, but it is also an issue for the whole of society."

INTRODUCTORY

The industrial perspectives debate, Steve Jefferys, IS Industrial Organiser, said that the trade union bureaucracy had led the working class 'into the most savage cuts in living standards in the last 20 years'.

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

Steve argued that the fight back was essential but he doubted whether it could be won.

"The weakness of the movement is not in the trade union leadership, but in the rank and file."

The 1/2 point programme of key demands was, argued, one out of which the revolutionary party could be built.

"There's no mention of unemployment in the Socialist Contract, and so it is the major threat."

We say five days work or five days pay, we want nationalisation under full workers' control with no compensation.

We want the 35-hour week with two days of holiday pay. We want to fight for the protection of the police and the army in industrial disputes.

"All this is a tool in the building of the revolutionary party. We've got to fight for the programme's implementation, it's got to be fought for, argued about, shaped, made into a fighting weapon."

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

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

ECHOED

Glyn Carver of Manchester agreed with the report but, moving a Manchester district resolution, argued that local branches had to be dedicated to the building of factory branches.

Delegates to the next Rank and File conference had to represent something solid in their workplaces -- a new echo by Larry Connolly of the TUC.

He said, "I believe the 1/2 point programme is something you can build on. It's the nuts and bolts of the struggle."

"Take Brocks to the Chapple in our district and he's afraid of the Communist Party but he's afraid of the International Socialists now. He knows we are building on the shop floor."
How the International Socialists are fighting
OUR AIM: A FIGHTING MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

It was our job to help strikers to organise to win, point up the connection with other disputes and strengthen the moves towards national rank and file organisation.

And it was our job to build IS at the same time, putting forward party and trade union organisation.

Our next rank and file conference in November would meet in a situation where a wage freeze and a spate of factory closures were right on the cards.

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

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

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

Soone Engineer talked of how the seeds of the rank and file movement were sown in Leicester. Black workers from many different factories, faced with the total bankruptcy of the TGWU machine, had come together over recent months.

It was not that black workers were ‘backward’ industrially and politically but had been proved to be ‘backward white workers’.

The need for the rank and file movement of IS must assist in the present struggles.

CRIMES

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

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

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

THE BATTLE COMMENCES!

CAROL DOUBAS: Factory branches must lead

JOCK WIGHT introduced the session on factory branches with the words: ‘The 1973 Conference put us on the road to a new road to the right road.’

He added: ‘We have formed 56 branches, of which 38 remain strong and have given confidence to the rank and file movement. The highest casualty rate was with the industrial branches, and here we need to be more careful in future. They are a marginal group whose existence is largely a fact of the factory branch.

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

‘We didn’t wait for the centre to tell us what to do. We made mistakes but now have in influence which is much greater than our numbers. We lost some paper members and had to be careful that we weren’t snowed under with work, there are so many committees to work for.’

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

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

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

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

RAY LONG warned against being by opportunists in the factory who are in as a way of getting on to shop stewards’ committees. But our the members of the IS will have to be prepared to protect him and to help him.

GOOD (that the management now produces than)

PRIORITY

STEVE FOREY said: ‘It is in the factory branch that we have to put our politics to the test. It’s no good talking about Socialism if you don’t talk about your politics, if the members of the IS know what we’re about.’

We set up an action group to get people united around us and around SW.

They do want to talk politics, and we need to get them along to meetings, not to offer them nothing and the right answers, but to be involved in action.

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

Jock Wight’s message to the conference at the end of the debate was a simple one: ‘Class is war as we have no defence.’

Steve Abbott from Nottingham argued that SW had to be a serious revolutionary paper, not a paper. Debates had to be accurately reported and a clear strategy given, more workers have to write for the paper.’

‘We can’t even sell the paper you’re not going to much good on the barricades.

‘Our paper to organise’

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

From the 1973 conference a member Anna Paczanka stressed the paper’s coverage of women’s issues had to get away from being marginal, that it had been proved to be ‘There has been an improvement recently,’ she claimed.

‘We need to produce an action plan, to get members of the rank and file to come together and to have a clear strategy which more workers have to write for the paper.’

‘Use our paper to organise’

A NEWHAM resolution calling for an expanded Socialist Worker editorial board including industrial workers was accepted by the conference. Editor PAUL FOOT stressed the need for readers to write for the paper and not as an organiser.

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

BOB LIGHT of Newham Socialist Worker was the best paper on the left for several generations. ‘But the competition isn’t all that hot. We’ve got to come up with something, to destroy the capitalist system throughout the world. Socialist Worker has got to go completely straightforwardly in a bastard in the class war.’

MACK BRIGHTMAN, of Cricklewood, said: ‘If Socialist Worker wasn’t as good as it should be, then it was our fault. We, the members, have got to write, sell our paper.

‘If you can’t even sell the paper you’re not doing much good on the barricades.

Fraternal

OSCAR, a fraternal delegate from the Portuguese Workers’ Coordinating Committee, spoke on the moral overthrow of the military dictatorship in the weakest link in the imperialist chain in Europe.

He described a march on the Ministry of Labour in Lisbon under the banner: ‘Down with capitalism’. Sticks Yes, Lockout No’. ‘No freedom to the workers.’

He said there was an urgent need to take up the Portuguese situation in the trade unions, especially in these multinational which had holdings in Portugal,

SENIOU ENGINEER: What about the backward white workers?

WOMEN IN THE FRONT LINE

ANNA Paczanka, for the National Committee, said there had been a dramatic upsurge in women’s work in industry.

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

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

Carol Douras (Liverpool) criticized against separate publications for women and said women were segregated from men at work and home. It had to be done right.

But Mary Lintern (Edmonton) described an enthusiastic reception for Women’s Voice by women who found Socialist Worker self-limiting.

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

K. [Edward] argued that IS’s factory branches had to look carefully for times of discrimination inside the factory. In Birmingham, IS members had successfully taken up the case of a woman engineer persistently barred from skilled grades and had been told they were blocking her disciplined.

Beverley Peto (Baldock) said that the immediate task for IS women’s work was to get women militancy involved in the rank and file movement and build support for the Rank and File delegate conference on Equal Pay.

It was agreed to produce Women’s Voice on a monthly basis and aimed at appointing a full-time worker to it.

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for socialism...

Thanks to the International Socialists

From VICTORIOUS FIREMEN

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

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

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

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

From STRIKERS AT CHRYSLER

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

We've heard from so-called trade unionists that the IS were behind our strike, I say, if that's the case, let's have a lot more IS workers around who will be behind strikes. We the electricians want to make it clear that we do support the members of IS who stood by us in our fight.

Woofie Godstein, convener of electricians at Chrysler, Ryton, Coventry during the 14-week electricians' strike against the Tory government's pay freeze in summer 1973, speaking at Coventry IS meeting.

From Durham ambulance men

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

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

Ronnie Young, chairman, County Durham Ambulance Strike Committee.

From A VICTIMISED STEWARD

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

During the nurses' campaign, Woking saw its first-ever demonstration since the general strike, with local nurses and trade unionists marching together. The strike at Con-Mech has passed into history. But we who were part of it have not forgotten the help given to trade unionists both locally and nationally. We would like to thank the International Socialists for their support—for publicity in the Socialist Worker too, and not least, hot chips on a cold winter's night.

Lindsay Gregg, former sacked AUUEW shop steward at Con-Mech, Woking.

International Socialists

If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to:

The International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Name
Address
Trade Union

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

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

YOU'RE NO LONGER A STEWARD SAID THE BOSS

by Jim Barlow, Dundee IS

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

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

I was sacked for assisting and writing for 'Dundee Hospital Worker' - our local rank and file paper. The bosses of the Tayside Health Board weren't too happy with the way our paper was helping workers to organise so they decided it was time for me to leave. They fabricated a charge they had broken the union rule.

The hospital secretary, Mr. Gardner, called me into his office and said: 'We have been informed by the district secretary of your union that you are not a shop steward.' The union had withdrawn my title as a shop steward. Because of your failure to cooperate with the procedures agreed with the union, we are terminating your employment'. This statement I received in writing two days later, with a lot more added on.

It was obvious to me that at that moment that the dice were loaded against me because of the allegiance of the union officials with the bosses. I knew then and there that I'd get no help from the officials and the only chance to keep my job was if I got support from the rest of the workers at Ninewells.

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

Evidence

The proof of the officials' collusion is simple, although I have had to answer to any of the ridiculous accusations and slanders thrown my way. My evidence is that it was the hospital management who told me my shop steward credentials had been withdrawn and not the union officials.

It came to light later that the previous Friday district secretary, Mr John Knox, had consulted with a complaint about me at management's request. This was before the evening meeting of the medical department, people who were also members of my local branch.

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

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

Appealed

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

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

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

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

Crucial ballot for Engineers Union

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

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

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

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

To get such odious policies continued, the right-wing are supporting John Boyd, a protege of the late Lord Carrington and veteran of the shop floor militaments.

By the International Socialists AUEW Fraction executive

Carson and veteran enemy of all shop floor militants.

The election address Boyd's warm members of outside interference in the engineering section will be voted by 'we support a candidate of their choice'.

The only interference in this election will come from the right-wing Street backers who have engaged in a scurrilous campaign against the union in the last weeks.

For this reason we urge International Socialists members to back Boyd, the only candidate who will stand up to the bullying bosses and fight for the interests of the working class. Vote for Boyd and end the anti-working-class policies of the right-wing machine.

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

A victory for Boyd would be seen as a victory for so-called common sense, 'moderation' and a rejection of the policies of the national committee. It would be the first stage of a right-wing takeover of the AUEW and a return to the days of Carson. Only this time it would be far worse, given the crisis that the working class face. Under these circumstances, the right-wing will control the implications for the entire trade union movement will be extremely serious.

For this reason engineers who are members of the International Socialists will provide active but not sectional support for Bob Wright.

The real key to change and advancement in the trade union movement lies with the members, not with elected full-time officials. It is therefore our right to back the man and file the utmost pressure on those who have not stood up for their interest.

A victory for Wright would be a decisive rejection of the bankrupt policies of the right wing and provide the opportunity for the rank and file to continue the struggle to defend jobs and improve wages.

There will also be important elections for three positions of national organiser at the same time as the ballot for general secretary, 15 engineers urge support for the following candidates: Cyril Morton, John Foster and Len Brindle.

Support the Second National Rank and File Conference

Saturday 30 November, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham

Make sure your shop stewards committee, union branch or district committee is supporting this important conference.

The Rank and File Conference Organising Committee has compiled verifiable lists of imprisoned Chilean trade unionists in all the main industrial and service sectors for adoption at the conference and production for rank and file. Copies of these and a covering letter can be obtained from the secretary.

Send us credentials for delegates to the Rank and File Conference on November 30.

NAME OF TRADE UNION BODY

ADDRESS

ADVERTISMENT

FIGHT WAGE RESTRAINT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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NAME OF TRADE UNION BODY

ADDRESS
Halsbury: It's not enough!

By Una Turner (COHSE)

The Halsbury report has done nothing to improve the appalling wage levels of the lower grades of nursing staff. It has drastically increased the difference between junior nursing staff on the one hand and senior and auxiliary nurses on the other.

Junior nurses are getting increases ranging between £1.20 per week to 5.4 per cent, about an extra in a 12 to 20 week. At the other end of the scale, the small increases of over 21 will be getting as little as £1.1 week. There are many cases of junior nurses getting increases ranging from 9% to 1.7% for a total of about £2.36 to £4 a week.

Heavy

Lower-paid grades (nursing staff, doctors, etc.) in the National Health Service (NHS) are the most of the heavy, dirty work on the ward, with the least to show for it. Often, the NHS has recommended a pay increase for these workers.

NURSES 'DISGUSTED'

by John Spladin (COHSE) (Salford Royal Infirm)

MANCHESTER: Most junior nurses are disgusted and furious at the pitiful rises offered. One will get as little as £1.13 a week.

Acceptance of the Halsbury report has led the trade union movement among health workers to the longest. A NUPG deputation in Manchester presented a resolution accepting the findings with reservations. A meeting of nurses from the Salford group of hospital nurses passed a resolution totally condemning Halsbury and are now planning demonstrations to make the public aware of the situation.

At a Manchester Trade Union Council meeting in the crisis in the health service on Sunday, NUPG fulltimers tried to prevent any discussion of the Halsbury. This was attacked by rank and file nurses present who made their point with a walk-out.

SWANSEA—NUPG members at the Morriston hospital have voted against acceptance of the report. They went on record to say that such is the increase even more increases to a cause of concern. Therefore, the NUPG has done something to bring attention to the issue.

They are convinced that the deal at least—without any resolution or vote allowed.

BLATANT

But despite the frantic attempts of the bureaucrats and the trade unionists to portray the report as a victory, the spirit of the trade union movement, as expressed in the resolutions debated, remains intact.

It seems Brothers Gormley, Daly and others are no intent on preserving the Social Contract is workable. They are determined to make the best of a bad job.

The NUPG National Council will undoubtedly act as the grass roots of the union and will try to organize a national campaign.

The proposed 3% increase is a significant one in relation to the cost of living rise of 5%.

The union members are discussing the possibility of a special conference and a ballot. The conference will be held to discuss the question of the Halsbury report and the implications of the proposal to the union.

Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' president, and his delegates after the walkout. Joe Gormley's reaction on the report was not a victory for the NUPG. The miners have voted against acceptance of the report.

He added that this did not apply to a pit-based scheme. Picture: Peter Hurrey (Report)

RANK: WE WON FIRST TIME

By a AIUE member at Rank - BRENTFORD, West London: "About strike for a wage claim at Rank Pall Mall. It was a part of the national Rank Organisation, has ended in victory. After a long struggle, the management has agreed to accept new rates of pay."

Union organization 18 months ago was almost nil, and there were very few things like a notice-board and time for a sitting every week. The management was not in the least afraid of a victory.

Rank's workers are no longer harassed. They have won a victory, and the management is no longer afraid of the workers.

The union went to great lengths to ensure that the workers were kept up to date. The strike had been victorious because of the efforts of the union.

BIRMINGHAM REVOLUTIONARY

by Dave Brut (UNITE)

This is a form letter from the Birmingham Revolutionary Community Group. The letter is addressed to the Birmingham Revolutionary Community Group. The letter is about their support for the Black Power movement in the US.

BIRMINGHAM REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNITY GROUP

Public Meeting on 8th April

Speaker: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

330 Central Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama

TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

by Larry Kaplan (PFLP)

This is a form letter from the Troops Out of Vietnam Movement. The letter is addressed to the Troops Out of Vietnam Movement. The letter is about their support for the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

HARINGEY TRAFFIC Committee

This is a form letter from the Haringey Traffic Committee. The letter is addressed to the Haringey Traffic Committee. The letter is about their support for the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

BLACK COUNTRY Anti-Fascist Committee

This is a form letter from the Black Country Anti-Fascist Committee. The letter is addressed to the Black Country Anti-Fascist Committee. The letter is about their support for the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

This is a form letter from the Socialist Party. The letter is addressed to the Socialist Party. The letter is about their support for the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

HOSPITAL WORKERS OCCUPY

by Bill Geddes

The hospital workers staged an occupation last week after NURSE workers at the American Hospital Ltd. were refused to meet the union's figure for increases, and the government's White Paper. arbe AREA was to hold an emergency union meeting and decided to continue the occupation at a hospital near the area. The stewards decided to recommend a one-day strike in the hospital reception area.

The hospital's management advertises a 'Mini Marathon' meeting, giving a clear explanation of the situation to the employees. Some workers made sure no agreement was made and stopped the meeting.
The response was magnificent at Harrow School. A senior administrator approached the meetings and agreed to discuss the meeting. After a vote, the occupation would be allowed to continue for the next two hours of each day until the issue could be resolved. The conditions of the occupation would be the same as before the strike.

News then came to the meeting of the pending dismissal of a lab technician for refusing to work. The same day, a similar case in another hospital also went on strike. The technician went on strike for the second time since his suspension.

Two years ago union activity at Harrow Hospital was nil. Last week we saw strike action in support of an American nurse. The hospital worker had never seen or met.

A tremendous advance in working-class solidarity, particularly in the construction industry, has continued working during the NUPG strike.
**SPINOLA MARCH**

The class war in Portugal is heating up. President Spinola's supporters on the extreme right, subsidised by the corporations which control Portugal's economy attempted last week-end to hold a mass demonstration against the Left.

The demonstration was banned by the authorities. But a large radical group within the Portuguese army which is anxious above all to avoid a clash with the Popular Movement that Spinola represents.

In his resignation speech, Spinola complained that he could not play a part in a revolutionary government.

The international capitalist press shrugs that Portugal is "in the grip of a red terror". In fact, Spinola has been replaced by another general with an equally barbaric background in campaigns in Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies.

On the Left, the new President, although tiring of a right-wing, is more popular with the Armed Forces Movement that Spinola. In the event of violent class conflict, he has more chance of splitting the Movement.

The Portuguese government is still a military one. It will still woo the multi-nationals and put down strikes.

The new government will look even more anxiety than before to the Portuguese Communist Party, the only party with a mass base, to keep workers quiet in spite of 30 per cent inflation.

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**SPONTANEOUS**

Last week-end's Right-wing demonstration might well have come off. Had it not been for the spontaneous action of the railwaymen's committees throughout the country. The country were told to keep a look-out for demonstrations travelling to Lisbon from the countryside (the Right-wing is without any mass support in Lisbon).

Instructions were issued to stop any trains and turn them back. These instructions tempered the demonstration from Monday.

Workers' action is building up. The workers are being brought together in a single organisation, which, like the Communists, will seek to mobilise the workers' strength, not dissipate it.

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**Busmen act**

**USDRIVERS** from West Pilsen and Central Scotland met and formed a rank-and-file committee of delegates from the Midlands plus Eastern, Central and Western SMT.

They are demanding £35 for 35 hours plus improved conditions. In pursuit of this, the men have been working an extra time-ban which is 100 per cent effect on the pregnant women.

The union, which has long failed to support the rank-and-file workers by the bus companies and has even sent out letters to branch secretaries not to attend meetings of the committee.

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**Union leaders surrender**

PRESS SHOP stewards at Ford's Dagenham decided on Tuesday to recommend a return to work negotiations on their claim take place. Throughout the last week trade union officials have mounted serious pressure on press shop workers at Dagenham and Halewood to go on to action.

One FAWU national official said he was "delighted at the Halewood decision. But the press shop had been going back with no extra money in their pockets. Inflation will still eat away at their wage packets, and the threshold agreement made in October.

In the last two years the issue of the increased shift differential has gone through procedure twice with no satisfactory result. There is no guarantee that the same thing will not happen again this time.

With no change in the company's attitude from last week the men have been forced by the officials to back down when victory was there for the taking. Moss Evans of the TGWU threw in the sponge. He regarded the social contract and the general election as more important than the defence of the living standards of his members.

No doubt Ford's will be deeply appreciative of the services of Moss Evans and the social contract. They do wonders for Ford's massive profit fix. If they can make such arrangement next time, Ford workers move into action, then no doubt the pressure will swell still more.

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**Mumbled**

Meanwhile at a mass meeting in Liverpool the 800 press shop workers on strike found that they were given no lead from shop stewards. Throughout the strike the pressure has come from below. While most stewards have marvelled at the social contract, workers have been more worried about their falling living standards.

But after three weeks on strike, without money and without support from the union the press shop workers are still planning a national march and strike. They have seen their fellow workers attacked and contracts taken into the plant without any solid action or pickets organised by shop stewards.