

* Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

300 WALK OUT AS ICI SACK TOP STEWARD

From ROB CLAY

TEESSIDE:- A wave of anger and militancy is sweeping the area following the sacking of Paddy Toombe, a senior shop steward at ICI's Wilton plant, the giant monopoly's prize industrial complex.

Three hundred workers in the Terylene section walked out on Monday and demanded the immediate reinstatement of their steward.

Paddy Toombe gave this reason for dismissal: 'The company has taken a calculated risk as the first step in pushing through the notorious MUPS (a productivity and regrading scheme).

'ICI is making an all-out attempt to smash the shop stewards' committee before the new agreement is due to be renegotiated on May 1st. I would not be surprised to see further sackings of militant shop stewards in the next few weeks.'

SWINDLE

Paddy Toombe has worked at ICI for 17 years. For the past 11 years he has been senior AEF convenor at Wilton, the largest ICI plant in Britain.

He is secretary of the ICI national shop stewards' committee and has played a prominent part in the three year old fight against ICI's productivity swindle.

This is why he was sacked and it is a fact recognised by every worker on Teesside who knows anything about ICI.

The official reason given for Paddy's dismissal is a typical example of giggling, bureaucratic minds.

Following an agreed procedure, Paddy clocked off early last week to pursue urgent union business. He was then asked to attend an inquiry.

HOUNDED

He pointed out that he had followed agreed procedure and the management request was withdrawn.

Paddy then told a member of the management in no uncertain terms that he was being hounded up and down the works. He was asked to see a senior official but he refused to attend any meetings unless the works manager and his full-time union district official were present.

Following the inquiry he was suspended and then dismissed. At a mass meeting on Monday the entire membership of the engineering union decided to strike for the rest of the day as a protest and to support the workers in the Terylene plant.

An indefinite mass walk-out was only prevented by pleas for 'moderation' by full-time AEF official Bro. Robson.

MASSIVE

But militancy is growing and it is clear the stage is being set for a massive confrontation between ICI and its workers.

It is estimated that ICI will lose production to the value of £5m. a week while the strike lasts. Messages of solidarity and support are pouring in from ICI plants all over the country and from other industries on Teesside.

Coming a week after the government froze the ICI pay awards, recent betrayals by trade union bureaucrats, and the terrible explosion earlier in the year when four workers lost their lives, a huge resentment is surging up

to back page

FORD COURT MOVE IS THREAT TO ALL WORKERS

JIM LAMBORN Dagenham Wednesday

THE FORD STRUGGLE CONTINUES. As the company goes to law in an attempt to ram their version of Mrs Castle's White Paper down the throats of their employees, militant workers throughout the country anxiously await the verdict.

In spite of the hysteria of most press and television coverage, they know the Ford workers could be the first to be sacrificed to the god of profit on the altar of In Place of Strife.

If there is a legal judgment against the Engineering and Transport Workers unions, every employer will be able to run to the courts to smash the trade union movement.

They will do this under the benevolent auspices of the so-called Labour government, elected to fight for the workers.

As we hear Mr Neill, Ford's QC, asserting in court that the company wanted to keep faith with the majority of trade unionists who had accepted the package deal, we wonder who prepared his brief.

Deal rejected

The deal was rejected by six unions whose membership at Ford totals 35,150 out of 46,000. It was accepted by nine unions, only two of which can boast more than 1000 members.

The other seven would be hard pressed to muster 1000 between them. So much for Ford's 'majority'.

Whatever the outcome of the strike, the workers have won a major skirmish. Never again will the Ford National Negotiating Committee be allowed to negotiate agreements under its present structure, where the future of 46,000 workers is decided by 18 full-time union officials.

The officials have no mandate from the shop floor. Ford have manipulated this farcical arrangement for too long and the strike is a call for workers' control of their own unions.

It is the shop stewards and convenors, men elected from the shop floor, who should negotiate, with clear mandates.

The strike, fully supported at all the main plants, is against penal clauses in the new package deal. The workers are against the clauses, whether they are urged on them by the employers or reactionary union executives representing handfuls of almost obsolescent tradesmen.

The spirit among Ford workers is strong and the resentment against the attempts to stamp on their liberties is bitter. We are confident that we will win.

DETERMINED ON VICTORY

From ROSS HILL

LIVERPOOL:- At a mass meeting at Halewood last Thursday 7000 workers decided not to meet again for a week, unless there were further developments.

A speaker from the floor got a tremendous reception when he said it was thought that Ford intended to raise car prices by £7 to £10. 'That means,' he said, 'they could raise the basic rate by 1s 1½d,

FORD'S SLAVES CHARTER

THE proposals by the Ford Motor Co are outlined in a secret document

'Unconstitutional action' is defined in three ways:

- 1 Withdrawal of labour
- 2 Overtime bans.
- 3 Concerted restrictions of work output, whether by quantity of work produced, quality of work produced or the range of work undertaken.

'Point 8: The principle of efficient utilisation. The achievement of efficient operation means making the fullest use of all available resources—plant, equipment and manpower. This principle of efficient utilisation includes making the best use of the talents and time of each individual, implementing the most efficient methods of working and making such adjustments to working conditions as may be reasonable and appropriate to prevailing circumstances of company operations. Employees will thus be involved in the need to meet, with ready acceptance, changing shifts and overtime patterns.'

and give a £30 holiday bonus, without strings.'

After the meeting Ford workers joined the demonstration at Liverpool Pierhead against the proposed government anti-strike laws.

to back page



Trade unionists lobbying the TUC conference in Croydon on February 27. Report back page

Vietnam —the slaughter goes on

PRESIDENT NIXON has returned to Washington after what the established powers regard as a highly successful tour of Western Europe, called by one writer 'diplomatic love-making on the highest international plane'.

While this 'man of peace' has been careering round Europe, the war in Vietnam goes on almost unnoticed. For the last six months there has been a lot of news about the Paris peace talks, but little about the actual fighting.

Reporter Nicholas Tomalin, writing in the Sunday Times last weekend, has brought home the sheer barbarity and

nothing at all. We wholeheartedly support the National Liberation Front in their fight against American imperialism, a fight which places them in the forefront of the struggle against imperialist control everywhere.

On March 16 there is a march from Hyde Park Corner to a rally in Trafalgar Square in support of the NLF. It is tremendously important that everyone who supports the solidarity line should turn out and show that, whatever illusions about peace are fostered, our position and our loyalties remain unaltered to the NLF.

Nothing has changed, viciousness of the war—and the fact that the Americans are still treating the fighting as though their objective is to win even if this means physically liquidating the whole of the Vietnamese population.

The napalming continues unabated and the incineration of civilians is an everyday occurrence in the fight to 'save' the Vietnamese people from the horrors of an NLF victory.

Why Ford strikers must win

EDITORIAL

THE USE of court injunctions against the Engineers' and Transport Workers' unions in the Ford strike is just another step in the attempt to attack trade union rights.

What is at stake is the power of the men on the shop floor to have any control over their conditions of work.

One of the major aims of the government's White Paper on trade union law is to put power into the hands of the trade union officials at the expense of the rank and file. Many thousands of workers came out last week on February 27 to demonstrate their opposition to such proposals.

PENALTIES

The struggle at Ford shows how such proposals can work in practice.

Here negotiations are in the hands of full-time trade union officials, who sit on the National Joint Negotiating Committee (NJNC) where each union, regardless of membership, has one vote. Without reference to their members, they recently agreed by majority vote to a deal which imposes penalties on men who go on unofficial strike.

The AEF was against the proposals and the TGWU abstained. These two unions represent over two-thirds of Ford workers. The Ford

management nonetheless regard the NJNC's agreement as binding on everyone.

The only way of opposing the deal was for the men on the shop floor to take the lead. This they did, coming out on unofficial strike. The AEF and the TGWU tailed behind and declared the strike official two days later.

The Ford workers have shown that the only safeguard for their wages and conditions of work is when the shop stewards, the men's representatives, are in control of bargaining.

The strike must continue until power is in their hands. The present procedure is designed to deliver the workers bound hand-and-foot to the management, as the recently negotiated deal shows.

The NJNC must be smashed. It is totally irreconcilable with the workers' interests.

The only safeguard during the dispute is rank-and-file control of the strike. There must be no return to work unless mass meetings of the workers agree to the conditions under which the strike is settled.

And these clearly must

include the abandonment of any attempt to impose penalties on workers who go on strike unofficially.

Under the proposed arrangements it could take three months to go through procedure in the case of a minor local grievance before there could be any redress by official strike action. This is a recipe for workers to be mucked about by any petty managerial bureaucrat in the search for increased profits.

OMINOUS

Further ominous threats lie in the possibility of Ford moving work to their factories on the continent. So far Ford have only moved work from their Cologne to their Genk (Belgium) factory due to a shortage of components from the present dispute in Britain.

But they are clearly considering ways in which they could shift work, not only between factory and factory, but also from one country to another to defeat strikes.

It is clear that shop stewards need to link-up, not only regionally and nationally, but also on an international level if they are to defend their organisation.

The Ford strike shows that the answer to the employer-government offensive lies in rank and file organisation

ALL OUT ON MARCH 16!

Vietnam mobilisation

assemble Hyde Park 1pm

march via US embassy to

Trafalgar Square rally 3pm

Make this a big one!

Victory to the NLF!

Founded 50 years ago —the Red International

FIFTY YEARS ago this week on March 4, 1919, the Third International was founded in Moscow.

It is a date that deserves to be remembered by all who hold dear the ideal of international socialism.

The creation of a new International was the logical outcome of the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

In 1914, the Second International (the remnants of which still exist as an excuse for expense-account trips abroad for Labour Party leaders) had collapsed. 'Socialist' leaders in the different countries had lined up behind the slogans of 'freedom' and 'national interest'.

Only a tiny group of pacifists and an even tinier group of revolutionary socialists had managed to put up any opposition to the war.

But from 1917 onwards a new mood came over workers, wearied by the pointless slaughter and inspired by the revolutions in Russia and the creation of workers' councils there.

The next few years saw a wave of strikes in Britain, mutinies in the British, French and German armed forces, occupation of factories in Italy, revolutionary risings defeated in Hungary and Germany. World revolution seemed to be on the cards.

Argued

If it is often argued, by both Western and communist historians, that the International founded by Lenin led directly on to Stalin's Comintern of the 1930s. It is said that from the beginning the International imposed a centralised, Moscow-based leadership on the world working-class movement.



LENIN
Revolution must spread

Nothing could be farther from the truth. Lenin constantly repeated that the Russian Revolution could not survive unless it spread to Western Europe.

The whole aim of the

International was to develop a strong revolutionary movement in Western Europe, which, Lenin freely admitted, might rapidly overtake the Russian Revolution.

Certainly the conditions imposed on members of the Third International were tough. But they must be seen in historical context.

Almost all the old labour leaders had betrayed their principles in 1914; a new generation of leaders was appearing, heroic but inexperienced.

Bandwagon

Many of the old bureaucrats who had supported the war in 1914 were trying to get on the revolutionary bandwagon. Many principled revolutionaries, like Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, had sectarian ideas like refusing to work in the mass labour movement.

And time was running out. By the early 1920s the revolutionary way was dying down and reaction was gaining the upper hand, with the victory of fascism in Italy foreshadowing events elsewhere.

The Russian leaders, with a successful revolution to their credit, fought for a hard line—but they fought honestly in open debate.

Under Stalin the International was turned into an instrument of Russian foreign policy. Congresses were rarely held. Instead Moscow had private talks with Communist leaders in the different countries.

Many of the leaders who founded the Communist Parties of Europe in the early 1920s resigned or were expelled. They were replaced by men loyal to Moscow.

Finally, in 1943, Stalin

dissolved the International as a gesture of goodwill to Churchill and Roosevelt.

The Third International made many mistakes in its early years. But they were the mistakes of a mass movement building a new organisation in struggle.

Today, when capitalism is more than ever international in scope, the need for a workers' international is greater than before.

But it is not enough to set up an international body. This is meaningful only when there is a world-wide struggle of mass movements.

Until then our job is to build a movement at home, and show solidarity to comrades abroad, from Vietnam to France. In so doing, we can be inspired by the early years of the Third International.

IAN BIRCHALL

THE EXPLO which has since early 1919 is the most in for socialists since the foreign political.

In 1958, like de Gaulle came to power military coup.

Now, again last May, a expected revolt on a regime p for its 'stabil' unlike France not that of a working class.

Pakistan w of two territ extreme west Indian subcont parts are sep miles of India.

To the west majority, Pur the main cities, on the edge control—Patan west, Baluchia has sporadic this control.

Fire precautions were 'too expensive', so 22 workers died

by PAULA DEAN

TWENTY-TWO WORKERS were burnt to death in Glasgow on November 18 last year due to capitalist negligence and greed.

The first revelation heard at the inquiry into the James Watt Street fire was that one of the victims had been working at the Stern brothers' upholstery factory while she was under age.

Although she was 15 the day before she died, Elizabeth Taylor had been working for several weeks beside her mother, who also died in the blaze.

Elizabeth had been hired to 'help with the Christmas rush'. She was paid £2 16s a week.

Just before Christmas, Samuel Stern, who survived the blaze, called on Elizabeth's father and suggested that he should say in evidence that she had just been 'visiting' the factory.

The Stern brothers ignored their workers' safety, especially where fire precautions were concerned.

When the firm moved into the James Watt Street premises there was an alarm system already connected to the local fire station. It cost £84 a year for maintenance.

Julius Stern, the other brother, who died in the fire, avoided drawing up a new

maintenance contract. When he received a bill for a year's service he returned it, saying it was too expensive.

The system was set off by mistake one day and the fire brigade arrived at the factory. Julius Stern was furious at the 'waste of his workers' time'.

To stop any further loss of labour time, he disconnected the vital link with the fire station.

By a coincidence, the bosses of Stern and Co were almost caught out. It is the policy of Glasgow's fire service to visit factories to note their lay-out and assess special hazards in each building.

Such a visit was planned for a whisky bond at 25 James Watt Street.

SPOT CHECK

The Stern's factory, no 27, was once a whisky bond as well, and the firemen entered it by mistake. When they found it was now an upholstery factory, they decided to make a spot check.

The management panicked. Someone was sent to get the key for the first floor fire exit—a key kept in Stern's ground floor office.

But the firemen did not notice that the alarm system was disconnected to the fire station.

There were emergency exits from the ground and first floors and a Jacob's ladder for escaping from the top floor. Inspection for a 'means of escape' certificate from the Corporation's Master of Works was delayed by an official who knew the building and thought that the emergency exits were adequate.

Since fire regulations do not always recognise windows—even ground floor ones—as a means of escape, a building can be passed as 'safe' even with heavy bars on all the windows. At Stern's, a number of workers were incinerated against the bars which the management had insisted on keeping as protection against robbery.

A Gas Board engineer who investigated a breakdown in the gas heating system in the factory found that a pilot light had been switched off 'for economy'. The estimated saving from this dangerous act was five shillings a week.

During the breakdown in the heating system the management provided the workers with an electric fire and a paraffin heater. The workers refused to use the heater as

a fire at the firm's last premises had been caused by a similar piece of equipment.

They were all aware of the dangers in the James Watt Street building and one worker, Lewis Radnor, volunteered to approach the bosses for keys to the emergency escape doors.

The workers threatened to strike if the keys were not handed over, but although they were not produced, the strike threat fizzled out. A few weeks later, 22 of them were dead.

BURNING FOAM

What is the use of an internal fire bell if all the escape doors are padlocked? What good are six fire extinguishers against burning foam rubber and smouldering canvas?

It takes an average of 30 seconds for fire tenders to be on their way to a fire. If the alarm system linked to the local fire station had not been disconnected by the bosses, the engines could have arrived within a few minutes with firemen already wearing the necessary breathing apparatus.

The station had all the information on the special fire hazards at Sterns from that surprise inspection. They could have had ready the high-speed cutting

equipment needed for the window bars.

Instead, when they did arrive, flames and dense smoke were pouring from the whole building and there were no longer faces screaming behind the bars.

Because the bosses wanted to save £84 a year, a vital link was severed and vital minutes were lost.

How many factories and workshops are run in a similar manner? How many thousands of workers in upholstery firms are in similar danger?

CUT PROFITS

The Stern workers hesitated over strike action and 22 of them were killed.

They died because windows were barred and fire escape doors were locked to prevent thefts of the bosses' products and because that £84 bill would have cut too deeply into their profits.



A strike threat over fire safety fizzled out—a few weeks later workers died in the Watt Street blaze

The jury found that the fire was probably caused by a discarded lit cigarette and that the Corporation were lax in their fire inspection.

Perhaps you will draw a different conclusion—that capitalism's quest for higher profits at the expense of decent, safe conditions had won 22 more working-class victims

NEXT WEEK
Novelist Ethel Mannin on why authors are demanding royalties on their books in public libraries

Very poor

But in East position to the continuous. T about 20 millio ation than the equal represe National Asser

The East es share of foreig in proportion to gets less than expenditure. very poor, den and backward culture and ide ulation is Beng

Since Ayub the differences and West ha Between 1959 difference in between East eased from Ru

Weak r

It is in the banned Commu what roots it constantly Russian—and, Chinese suppo

The Left Awami Party between pro-M Peking factio party of the Ea

Finally, the osition party League, also East. Under S Rahman, the L ently presses separation of the West.

It demands ital flowing o to the West, a national funds national gover the West) sol and foreign aff the East rep the National A ding to its pop

In the past, to Ayub has t weakened by

Socialist Worker

EDITORIAL 657a High Road Tottenham London N17 telephone 01-808 2879
BUSINESS Paxton Works Paxton Road London N17 telephone 01-808 4847

Editor Roger Protz
Editorial Committee Paul Foot Richard Kuper Constance Lever Laurie Flynn
Business Manager Jim Nichol

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-

WHERE WE STAND

mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

Israel: how Zionism explo

PERHAPS there is no reason to argue with a person who has lost his ability to think objectively and to see reality (Austin Berlin's letter, February 1, accusing Socialist Worker of 'anti-semitism') who is drifting on the stream of his emotions but I am doing so because he is not only speaking for himself but is a typical opinion of a Jew living in the diaspora.

Because of his guilt complex, because he is not taking part himself in the Zionist enterprise, he is inclined beforehand to justify every action Israel takes.

I would like to take up two points in Mr Berlin's letter.

1. Although he says 'I wouldn't justify every action of the state of Israel' he goes on 'I would certainly condemn them if they just walked into the gas chambers as their forebears did in Europe.'

He uses a rhetorical and imaginary example. Israel has proved during 20 years of existence that she is not satisfied merely by taking an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but 10 eyes for one eye, 10 teeth for one tooth.

The picture of the Israelis walking quietly into the gas

chambers is quite imaginary. I am afraid that if any side in the middle-east conflict decides to use gas it will be Israel.

While using such an imaginary example and not a concrete one—as for instance the Israeli raid on Beirut airport, an action that brought criticism from all quarters of world opinion and even in Israel itself—I must conclude that Mr Berlin would justify every Israeli action.

Such total justification can be based on one of two assumptions: (a) Israel is infallible or (b) even if she is wrong we must not criticise her.

The first assumption is absurd. There was never an action by Israel that didn't evoke criticism in Israel itself. The most crucial actions that Israel has perpetrated were decided by a small clique. In the 1956 Suez affair, for example, only a few people knew of the action before it took place.

The assumption that a small group of people always know best what is just and good for Israel and the Jewish people of the world is ridiculous. The second assumption is contemptuous and there is no reason to elaborate on it.

2. Hypocrites and ignoramuses incline to false comparisons. For example, Goebels was against Jews, so that everyone who is against Jews is like Goebels.

Goebels was against Jews because he was malicious and wanted to exploit anti-semitism for Nazi political ends. The Jews were the innocent victims.

But today Israel is exploiting anti-semitism, the innocent Jewish victims throughout history, religion and socialism for her chauvinistic ends. The Arabs are the innocent victims.

It is the duty of every decent and intelligent person to oppose vigorously the Zionist state. There are decent Jews in Israel opposing Zionism.

My name hasn't a Polish ring (as the 'terrible name' Protz). My name is Hebrew. I was born in Jerusalem, volunteered as a young boy for the Stern group and fought for Israel in the army during the 1948-49 war.

The Suez affair opened my eyes to the true nature of Zionism and since then I

LETTERS

have been fight

At present I like my J and my country truth more a truth is agains

OV ELDAR. F

Rising

ONE ASPECT deals that discussed in S is the link deals and risin

Even acco official stat rose by 6 per

In other words ivity deal that last year whi more than 6 that the work were not sold—

However r argue agains and warn of it a sad fact th are being almost every They are almo 'way of life' satisfaction Barbara Castle Surely one

NIGEL HARRIS says the struggle to replace Ayub Khan is being fought by opportunist politicians anxious to halt the rising popular revolt

Workers' and peasants' alliance: the only road for Pakistan ...

... of revolt in Pakistan ... November ... event in south Asia ... overthrow of ... control. Ayub Khan ... in France ... through a ... as in France ... completely unex ... cast doubt ... previously noted ... However, ... the revolt is ... industrial ... as created out ... at the ... and east of the ... ment. The two ... rated by 1200

... the dominant ... abis, control ... and the mass ... minority groups ... of Punjabi ... in the north- ... and Sindhis ... ally challenged

... Pakistan, opp- ... West has been ... the East has ... more popul- ... West, but only ... tion in the ... ally.

... the largest ... exchange, but ... its population ... half of central ... the East is ... populated ... separate in ... (the pop- ...)

... came to power, ... between East ... we sharpened. ... and 1967, the ... come per head ... and West in- ... creases 88 to 150

... roots ... East that the ... Party has ... retains (roots ... weakened by ... even more- ... for Ayub.

... National ... (itself divided ... Moscow and ...) is also a ...

... strongest opp- ... the Awami ... comes from the ... hakh Mujib-ur- ... league consist- ... for increasing ... the East from

... a ban on cap- ... of the East ... larger share of ... restricting the ... ment (also in ... ely to defence ... airs, and giving ... representation in ... assembly accor- ...

... the opposition ... been decisively ... its divisions.

Roots anti-semitism

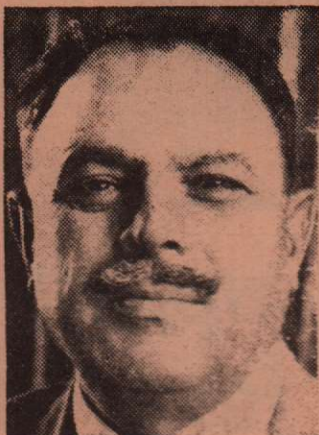
... important demands in this situation is that when a deal is negotiated that any productivity concessions must be paid for by improved conditions and not with money. Improved holiday pay, sick pay, shorter hours, longer holidays—these are all advances that can be maintained. A few shillings on a 'productivity bonus' is soon eaten away by rising prices.

... Even more important, by demanding such improvements as our price for productivity, we make it possible to keep such deals separate from the normal wage demands. One important thing that can be demanded as a price for a productivity deal is that a cost of living bonus be introduced.

... With so much confusion concerning productivity in the labour movement I think that Socialist Worker has an important job to do in publishing as many views and experiences as possible on this complex question. **CHRIS DAVISON, Teddington, Middlesex.**

Private lives

IT SEEMS that your television critic is still displaying his muddled thinking in regard



AYUB
Lost army support

This includes not just the spectrum of small opposition parties, ranging from Right-wing religious mysticism to Stalinism, but also the rhythm of revolt which has meant East and West have reached the peak of hostility towards Ayub at different times (as was the case in the upsurge of opposition in the East in 1966).

Thus Ayub has been able to play one off against the other, or play off the relatively passive peasant majority against the much more consistently hostile urban middle class.

It is the urban middle class—particularly the students and various professional groups (journalists, doctors, teachers)—of the West who precipitated and have since sustained the current revolt.

Wide attack

In November, the government de-rationed sugar even though shortages had tripled its price. Separately, students in the West launched a campaign against government controls on the universities.

The two separate starting points merged and launched a more wide-ranging attack on corruption and inefficiency in the state administration.

An answering student echo came from Dacca in the East and this helped to broaden the movement in the West into a generalised attack on Ayub's authoritarian regime. He was denounced for destroying any semblance of a free press, and for his rigged constitution whereby only 120,000 'basic democrats' in the population are able to elect the President directly.

The champion of this movement was Ayub's former Foreign Minister (a minister from 1958 to 1966), Z.A Bhutto, a rich Sindhi landowner-lawyer, outside the old guard of opposition politicians.

His imprisonment sparked the massive student revolt and as this campaign spread outwards, in the New Year, some urban workers also began to participate.

Refused to fire

In early January, junior army officers were court-martialed for refusing to fire on demonstrators in Karachi.

On the one hand, the army faced demoralisation and disintegration. On the other, the old rulers were moving over to praise the students and suddenly discover the merits of universal suffrage, so that if Ayub fell, the status quo would not fall with him.

The old politicians—organised, regardless of contradictory politics, in the Democratic Action Committee—have been overtaken by Bhutto's hurricane. Yet they have continued to try and lead the movement, to accept private talks with Ayub Khan as a settlement.

Ayub's weakness has grown steadily the more concessions he has been forced to make because he is now robbed of the strength of army backing. He is withdrawing the emergency (imposed in 1965 during the clash with India), releasing some political prisoners (including Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Khan), and finally has promised not to stand in the 1970 Presidential elections.

The politicians have found the concessions a useful pretext for escaping from the popular movement to private negotiations with the President on 'constitutional reform'. In doing so, they have forced Bhutto into raising more left-wing demands in order both to keep control of the popular movement and prevent the politicians outflanking him.

Raise issues

The combination of a regionalist and a middle class revolt can, however—as in Czechoslovakia last year—raise issues which cannot be simply sighed away in private talks.

The movement can supersede the issues of civil rights—shall there be universal suffrage?—and the trivial personal questions of the immediate status quo—must Ayub Khan go?

All these questions protect those who control the land and the industries of Pakistan—the notorious 22 families.

Behind the politicians is the opportunist, Bhutto. But behind Bhutto are the millions for whom Pakistan's much lauded 6 per cent economic growth rate (nearly 9 per cent recently) over the past decade, has meant only increasing hardship and deprivation.

Popular power

For Pakistan's ruling class, the first priority is to prevent the issue of popular power being raised. To do this, Ayub Khan is an excellent symbolic sacrifice.

In his place must go, at best, one of the establishment opponents like Asghar Khan—swapping an Air Marshall for a Field Marshall—or an opposition politician, or Bhutto.

And the changeover must happen before the virus of revolt infects the masses with a fever that cannot be soothed with such slight remedies.

Bhutto's aim is to keep the pressure just to the point where he can outflank his opposition rivals. His programme of militant anti-Indian chauvinism and flirting with regionalism contains little about internal social and economic reform.

Pot boiling

Nor has the first part of the programme—the secret of his success among West Pakistan's students—any appeal in the East. It means even higher defence expenditure and military adventures on the Kashmir border (in which the East has no interest).

To keep the pot boiling, he has recently talked vaguely about 'land to the tillers' and will probably get away with it since he has no

BHUTTO speaking at a mass rally in Karachi after his release from prison last month



peasant support. He has won some industrial worker support, but he has not raised the issue of nationalisation or workers' control.

Bhutto is just what the ailing Congress in India needs. Another border squabble permits the ruling groups on either side of the Indo-Pakistan border to flood their domestic opposition in a

tide of nationalist fervour. For the Pakistan Left, the task must be to force Bhutto and the movement further and further left, to push the demand for civil rights into a demand for popular power, to build a movement which Bhutto cannot sell out.

A peasant and worker alliance to begin the permanent revolution in Pakistan

can transform the whole perspective for socialism in Asia. Not least, it will raise for the first time on a massive scale an authentic alternative to the Indian Congress.

Nigel Harris has written an important analysis of the upheaval in China in the current issue of International Socialism. 8s postpaid from 86 Gilden Road London NW6.

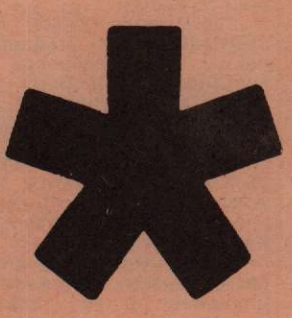
Join the International Socialists

- ABERDEEN** Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen
- ACTON** Hugh Finn 6 Vaughan Ave Stamford Brook W6
- BARNSELY** Joe Kenyon 120 Standhill Crescent
- BECKENHAM** Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 658 6552
- BIRMINGHAM** Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
- BRADFORD** Bob Komreich Flat 1 7 Oak Avenue Bradford 8
- BRIGHTON** Micky Adams Flat 4 85 St Aubyns Hove
- BRISTOL** Alan Coe 2 St Michael's Hill Bristol 6
- BOLTON** F Canavan 11 Sutton Rd Sutton Estate Deane Bolton
- CAMBRIDGE** Peter Smith 65 Glisson Road
- CAMDEN** Chris Barker 36 Gilden Road NW5
- CHERTSEY** Chris Wickenden Langmead Pirbright Woking Sy Brookwood 3003
- COLCHESTER** Ian Noble 12 Coach Rd Arlesford Wivenhoe 272
- COVENTRY** Dave Edwards 53 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon
- CRAWLEY** Deborah Ward 2 Weddell Rd Tilgate
- CROYDON** Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
- DURHAM** Pam Law 16 Hartfield View
- EAST LONDON** Bob Light 2 Oster Tce Southcote Rd E17
- EDINBURGH** Jim Smith 25 Pitt St (Leith) Edinburgh 6
- ENFIELD** Gill Pressman 34 The Chine London N21
- FULHAM** Jackie Taylor 41 Perham Road W14
- FOLKESTONE** Dave Cowell c/o 18 Station Rd
- GLASGOW** Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1
- GRAYS & TILBURY** Alf Waters c/o 1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex
- HARROW** Kevin Simms 56 Salisbury Rd
- HAVERING** Terry Ward 91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk
- HIGHBURY** Keith Ellis 8 Archibald Road N7
- HORNSEY** Valerie Clark 18 Dickinson Rd N8
- HULL** Paul Gerhardt 52 Freehold Street
- ILFORD** Lionel Sims 99 Belgrave Rd 01 SEV 6991
- IPSWICH** Malcolm Bezant 45 Melbourne Road
- ISLINGTON/ANGEL** D Phillips 2 Chapel Mkt Grant St N1 01 BRU 1026
- KILBURN** Sean Dunne 18 Lithos Road NW3
- KINGSTON** John Owen 4 Sandown Court Esher
- LAMBETH** Andy Smith Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2
- LEICESTER** Shirley Abrams Flat 3 26 St Albans Road
- LEEDS** Vince Hall Flat 3 25 Bagby Road Leeds 2
- LOWESTOFT** Paul Welby 173 The Avenue
- MANCHESTER** Jack Sutton 11a Rowan Avenue Walley Range M16
- MERSEYSIDE** Ross Hill 5 Lothair Rd Anfield L'pool 4
- MERTON** Fred Milson 119 Wolsey Crescent Morden
- MIDDLESBROUGH** Chris Chard 32 Bedford Terr Billingham
- NEWCASTLE** Tony Corcoran 26 Lesbury Road
- NORTHAMPTON** Alan Druker 21 Ardington Road
- NORWICH** Gerald Crompton 220 College Road NOR54F
- OXFORD** Dave Peers 21 First Turn
- POTTERIES** John Whitfield 5 Grosvenor Road Newcastle U Lyme
- READING** Miriam Belsey 22 Redlands Rd Reading
- RICHMOND** Peter Glatter 3 Burlington Ave Kew
- RIPLEY & ILKESTON** C Burnett 75 Heage Road Ripley Derbys
- SELBY** John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
- SHEFFIELD** J Wilkin 15 Raven Rd Sheffield S71SB
- SOUTHAMPTON** John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
- STEVENAGE** Michael Downing 57 Trumper Road Trots Hill
- STOCKPORT** Geoff Hodgson 73a Forest Range M/C 19
- STOKE NEWINGTON** Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
- SWANSEA** Roy Greener 16 Oaklands Tce
- TOTTENHAM** Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
- WATFORD** Paul Russell 61 Carpenders Avenue Carpenders Park
- WIGAN** Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
- WOLVERHAMPTON** Dave Spilsbury 274 Penn Road
- YORK** Bob Looker 22 Hoggate
- VICTORIA** Tony Dunne 14 Carlisle Mansions Carlisle Place SW1

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address



Victory after 18-day factory sit-in

From MIKE LEHANE

AEF Shop Steward, Injection Moulders

IN THE LAST MONTH workers at the Injection Moulders (GKN group) plastics factory, Kingsbury, North London have staged three sit-in strikes. All the strikes were provoked by the suspension of machine operators for failing to achieve disputed machine rates.

The first two sit-ins quickly won reinstatement. But on February 10 the management suspended three more workers.

Couple plan campaign on prices

From KATHY SIMS

MIKE STUBBERFIELD and his wife Florence, who live in Edith Road, Stratford, were so shocked by the high cost of living when they moved to east London from Tankerton, near the Isle of Sheppey, that they waged a campaign to boycott rising prices.

They formed the National Prices Boycott Association and a few weeks ago, with seven supporters, they marched to Downing Street to deliver a petition with 600 names on it to the Prime Minister.

Mike, who now works on the chemical side of a printing ink firm, said: 'We had a lovely home in Tankerton, but I was made redundant and had to take to a milk round for a wage of £11.'

'We have three children and times were really hard. Although we had a lovely view of the beach, that doesn't help when you're starving. At one point we lived on flour and water.'

Slum home

'When we moved to London, we thought things would be a bit different, but the only place we could get was in a slum. The house had no hot water, the toilet is outside, and the place was infested with rats.'

'We had to pay 'drink money' to some contacts, which amounted to about £80 for the privilege of moving in, and the rent is £3 5s a week. We've had to spend £700 on making the place fit to live in.'

Florence Stubberfield said she was so shocked at the price of food in London that she began immediately to campaign against rising prices. She boycotted local shops with a number of other housewives and it was she who led the march to Downing Street.

Through their local MP they received a reply from Harold Wilson in which he denied that the rise in prices had outpaced the rise in wages!

Local issues

Because the issue was a general one, support was only small, so Mike and Florence have decided to begin a campaign on local issues, gather support from the neighbourhood and relate local grievances to the broad basic issues like price increases and the wage freeze.

They plan to fight the council by campaigning for an adventure playground, which would make use of a spare piece of land in the area.

They have the full help and support of Ilford International Socialists and Duncan Brierly, who has had considerable experience in setting up playgrounds all over the country.

'We want to stress', said Mike, 'that by doing this, we are not just fighting for reforms, but for the complete change of a society which forces people to live in such conditions.'

Left win at LSE

FOR THE FIRST TIME, a revolutionary socialist has won a Students' Union election at the London School of Economics. John Rose, Socialist Society candidate, defeated two opponents for the post of Deputy President. Hazel French and Andreas Nagliani, Socialist Society candidates for President and General Secretary, were defeated. But both had led on first preference votes.

FORD from page one

The moves by the AEF and TGWU to back the strike have further strengthened the men's will to see victory, but many reckon that the union bureaucrats were motivated more by a desire to poach members from other unions than out of genuine support for a militant shop floor struggle.

Workers must be on their guard against any moves by union leaders to reopen negotiations and withdraw official support. Mass meetings must direct the strike.

Messages of solidarity with Ford shop stewards to 28B New Road, Dagenham, Essex.

Tractors blacked

ACTON:- Workers in the engine-testing department at CAV-Lucas voted on Tuesday to black work on Ford tractor engines.

Pupils call for reform

From GUS DENSON

FOUR HUNDRED school students and teachers marched in London last Sunday to the Department of Education and Science and to County Hall, demanding reform of our obsolete and class-slanted educational system.

The demonstration was organised by the Schools Action Union.

The demands presented to the bureaucrats who control our education were:

1. Freedom of speech and assembly in schools.
2. Coeducational comprehensive education.
3. The outlawing of corporal punishment.
4. Control of schools by students and staff.
5. More pay for teachers.
6. Abolition of school uniform.

Strong demands

Other grievances were aired. Hostility to the examination system and compulsory religious observance were particularly strong demands.

Slogans included 'Bourgeois education system out' and 'No violence-no cane!'

With these demands and slogans, the students were claiming the right to be treated as individuals rather than products, and an opportunity to question values and change society.

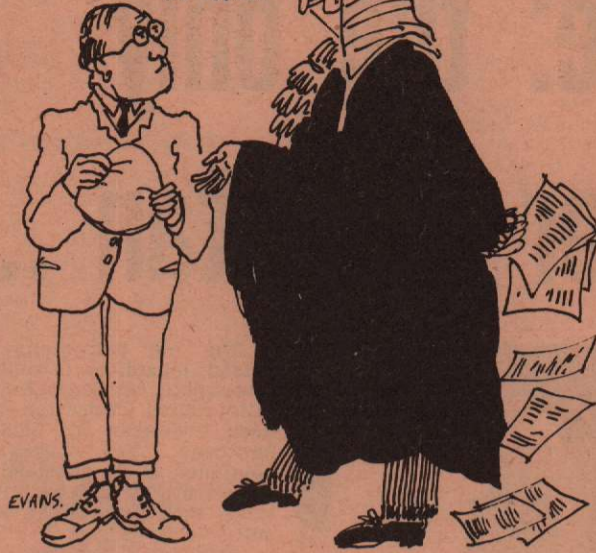
CONTROL CONFERENCE MAY BREAK RECORD

THE SEVENTH national conference on workers' control will be held in Sheffield on Saturday and Sunday, March 29 and 30. It looks like being the biggest conference yet, with more than 600 delegates likely to attend.

High on the agenda will be a discussion on the notorious Barbara Castle White Paper on anti-union legislation. Productivity deals will be another major item for debate.

The conference will split into groups to discuss

IT WAS VERY WISE OF YOU TO COME TO THE COURTS FOR IMPARTIAL ARBITRATION, WITH A CASE AS WEAK AS YOURS.



Massive support in North for anti-laws strike

THE FEBRUARY 27 strike against government plans to legally cripple rank and file trade unionists was the most important political and industrial event since 1926.

On Merseyside 50,000 workers, including dockers and building workers, downed tools for the day and many took part in a militant demonstration through the city.

On Clydeside, 45,000 workers followed the call of the Scottish miners and struck against Mrs Castle's White Paper. Thousands of other workers joined the strike in other parts of the country, but the response was poor in the south.

Coming at the same time as the vital struggle at Ford, February 27 emphasised the need for a united political struggle by all sections of workers to fight not just for their rights but to build a new revolutionary movement.

The strike was weakest

where it was most constitutional. The Communist Party placed too much stress on the lobby of TUC executives in Croydon, which was a tame affair and fizzled out sadly when lobbyists were taken off to parliament and queued to hear the usual pious platitudes from MPs.

But the strength of February 27 was the determination of tens of thousands of rank and file workers to take clear-cut political action against the government.

If they avoid the blind alley of parliamentary lobbies and reliance on 'Left' union officials and see last Thursday as only the first skirmish in a long war, they will provide the vanguard of the movement that must fight for workers' power.

Tenants protest

HARLOW:- 1000 corporation tenants overflowed the town hall on Monday night at a rent protest meeting. They voted unanimously to withhold increases due to start next month.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MARCH 16 Vietnam mobilisation. Posters 9d each, stickers 2s 6d per 1000, leaflets 25s per 1000. March Vietnam Mobilisation Committee, 120 Commercial Rd London E1. 01-480 6789.

BRIGHTON and CRAWLEY IS joint public meeting. New threat to rank and file militants. Spkrs Tom Hillier AEF and Mike Caffoor SOGAT. Stamford Arms, Preston Circus, Brighton. 7.30pm Tuesday March 11.

TRIBUNE—the leading socialist weekly. Absolutely essential reading for every socialist, radical and revolutionary. Every Friday from newspapers or 24 St John St London EC1.

workers' control in different sections of industry. There will be aircraft workers, dockers, miners, busmen, steel workers and car workers present to draw up plans for their industries.

Socialist Worker urges its readers to give this important conference their full support. Delegation fees are 10s 6d per person. Full board at Sheffield University will cost £3 6s 6d.

Bookings to Conference Organiser, IWC, 91 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham.

Militants get together

WORKERS from a number of industrial centres attended a conference last Saturday organised by the International Socialists.

Industries represented included cars, mines, docks, engineering, building and printing. Clerical workers, draughtsmen and teachers also took part.

Jim Higgins (POEU) led a discussion on productivity deals. He stressed that socialists in industry must in principle oppose such deals, but as many workers were either already working under them or were in the process of negotiating them, it was necessary to formulate a series of militant demands which might include:

A maximum working week for all workers.

file representation on all negotiations; the whole deal to be evaluated, with voting on the parts and the whole. The employers should open their books for inspection and there should be continual evaluation of the deal when in operation.

Jim Higgins also suggested that employers should be forced to pay for previous changes in work practice and there should be a total ban on stop watches, measured day work and shift systems. He added that workers should draw up a list of grading and defensive practices which should be fully evaluated and paid for in any productivity negotiations.

In discussion, a number of speakers called for outright industrial action to force an increase in all wages and

as workers drew up a 'shopping list' of demands, as suggested by the main speaker, they started to compromise and sell conditions and cut take-home pay.

Other speakers emphasised the importance of so-called 'restrictive practices', which weakened the employers' attack.

The meeting split up into industrial groups to discuss common problems and plan action. The final session, introduced by Tom Hillier (AEF) dealt with the role of rank and file militants and the increasingly reactionary activities of the union bureaucracies.

Socialist Worker hopes to feature a number of articles on future issues, based on the wide-ranging discussion at the conference.

Police get rough on Vietnam rally

From JOHN CHARLTON

SHEFFIELD:- 2000 people marched from Tinsley Wire Works, where barbed wire is made for use in Vietnam, through the working-class districts of the city on Saturday.

They marched to a rally outside the City Hall to protest against continued US barbarity in Vietnam and in solidarity with the National Liberation Front.

Police provocation and brutality reached new heights on the demonstration. Demonstrators were harried and pushed around throughout the march and 24 were arrested.

Boot went in

Several marchers were charged with assault when they were simply defending themselves or their comrades from assault by the police.

Sheffield citizens who saw five policemen lay into a young demonstrator on a pavement in the town centre won't easily forget the vicious expressions on the coppers' faces as their boots went in.

The closing rally was ringed completely by a three-deep circle of coppers and three people were arbitrarily dragged from the crowd and later charged with assault.

If the demonstration was marked for the escalation in police violence, it had another more disgusting aspect. The Communist Party provided the stewards and some of them went out of their way to help the police to make arrests.

Tore up cards

They pointed out 'disruptive' demonstrators and in one case even helped a copper to drag a comrade to a waiting police bus.

Many rank and file party members were angered by these actions and said they would push the party for a full enquiry. Three party members tore up their party cards on the spot.

The demonstration was almost completely ignored by the press, the plight of those arrested must be made known as widely as possible. Ten were fined a total of £225 on Monday and the rest face equally stiff fines, if not imprisonment.

Money is urgently needed. Please send donations to J Wilkin, 15 Raven Road, Sheffield.

ICI from page one

against the giant monopoly that lords it over the workers of Teesside.

In every public meeting place up and down the area, the scandal is being discussed and the general feeling is that the time has come for workers to take a firm stand against ICI.

Paddy Toombe has a superb record as a militant worker and socialist. In the present wave of attacks on the working class, his victimisation is a vital struggle.

ICI, the largest capitalist monopoly in Britain, has set out systematically to smash rank and file resistance to their plans to drastically cut the labour force and increase productivity.

It is essential that every socialist in the trade union movement raises the matter and demands solidarity from every section of the labour movement.

The men in the Terylene plant are prepared to stay out indefinitely, if necessary, but all help, moral and financial, will be warmly welcomed.

Send messages of support and donations to Bro. T Hudson, 13 Lingdale Grove, Dormanstown, Redcar, Teesside.

Published by the International Socialists, 857a High Road, N17. Printed by Socialist Review Publishing Co. (TU) Ltd, Paxton Works, Paxton Rd, N17. Registered with the GPO.