

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Lonrho row proves hypocrisy of top Tories

PAY FREEZERS POCKET THE LOOT

by PAUL FOOT

MR DUNCAN SANDYS MP is a strong supporter of the government's wage freeze. From time to time, he can be heard lecturing Members of Parliament on the 'duties and responsibilities of working people to rally round in the nation's hour of need.'

Mr Sandys is also a supporter of stricter laws to deal with 'irresponsible' trade unionists who demand more. When in 1969, the Labour government dropped its plans for 'penal clauses' to make unofficial militancy a crime, no one shouted more angrily than Mr Duncan Sandys.

Mr Duncan Sandys is also a supporter of white minority rule in Southern Africa. He has been the most consistent critic of sanctions against Rhodesia.

In a speech in the House of Commons on 10 November 1970, Mr Sandys said: 'We have gravely damaged our relations with one of our oldest friends, Portugal, and have thrown away valuable markets in Rhodesia.'

Not a mention to MPs at that time by this Companion of Honour that one of the companies which stood to gain most from the lifting of sanctions was Lonrho Ltd. Sandys had been director of a subsidiary of Lonrho, a trading firm dealing mainly in Africa, since 1969.

SECRET

Sandys' campaign against sanctions continued up to and after September 1971, when he was appointed a 'consultant' to Lonrho at a standard fee of £50,000 a year. In February 1971, after about four months part-time consultancy, Sandys got a pay rise.

His fees were raised to £51,000, and, more importantly, £49,000 of this was to be paid for 'overseas services'—in the Cayman Islands, where there is no income tax. By this secret deal, Sandys managed to escape his tax responsibilities in the nation's hour of need to the tune of about £30,000 a year.

In April 1972, Duncan Sandys, Companion of Honour, became chairman of Lonrho. The announcement of his appointment stressed that he would only be working 'part-time'. So his fees as chairman were kept down to a paltry £800 a week.

EXPOSED

To compensate for this sacrifice, Sandys was offered a lump sum of £130,000, tax free, to be paid through Consultancy and Development Services Ltd, which is registered in the Cayman Islands, and whose sole purpose was to provide tax-free hand-outs for one Companion of Honour.

When the secrecy of the deal was exposed the Companion of Honour paid back the £44,000 compensation money he had received.

When he is not advocating white supremacy in Southern Africa, Duncan Sandys can often be heard championing the cause of the feudal reactionaries who govern Saudi Arabia and the sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf.

Sandys' intimate relations with the dictators of South Arabia was one



SANDYS: tax dodging



DU CANN: £50,000 shareholding



SMALLPEICE: Trafalgar square dealer



Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

Hotel men want union rights

THE FIGHT for union recognition and an end to the starvation wages in the highly profitable Maxwell Joseph Grand Metropolitan Hotels empire has got off the ground in the last week.

Grand Met specialises in employing Spanish and Portuguese workers to run about after the rich businessmen who stay in their hotels. Grand Met pays its workers a pittance and intimidates some

and victimises others who have been striving for union recognition.

Federico Martin, a Transport and General Workers Union International Branch activist, at the plush Mount Royal Hotel at Marble Arch in London was sacked on trumped-up charges last week. International Branch members from other Grand Met Hotels, backed by workers from the Talk of the Town noshery—where the TGWU has won a closed shop—have been picketing the Mount Royal to demand Mr Martin's reinstatement.

Grand Met has consistently refused to recognise the TGWU International Branch.

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The final push was helped by contributions from: Harold Hill council estate, Essex, £1.25, GEC Manchester £1, London Royal Docks £5, BOC Tottenham £1.35, Workers who worked on May Day sent £32.

IS branches doing their bit were: Swansea £6.30, York £10, Camden £170, Walthamstow £8.65, Oxford £8.50, South Shields £5, Enfield £7.37, Edinburgh £3.05, Wandsworth £15, Birmingham South £100, Newcastle £7.70.

My sincere thanks to everyone who donated. Every penny is a blow against the Tories and their system.

JIM NICHOL
IS national treasurer

Productivity pacemaker

claims five victims

AT 6.50pm last Thursday 65 yards of the Dyfart Main D22 unit face at Seafield colliery near Kirkcaldy, Fife, collapsed, 1600 feet below the Firth of Forth and three miles from the pit head, massive rocks crashed down a slope along the coalface.

Of the 22 men working that section five lay dead or dying and four more were trapped beneath the debris. According to an eye witness, the props were scattered like a pack of cards. Almost immediately more than 100 men began to clear the wreckage with picks and shovels and their bare hands.

First to be rescued was John McCartney, who had managed to curl up as the rubble slid over him. Next came James Todd, whose jaw was broken.

It was his second escape in hours, only the day before he had to jump clear of a smaller roof fall.

Two other men were not so lucky. Eddie Down and David Dickson were trapped for seven hours before being rescued by teams who inched their way towards them up the steep incline under an unsupported roof.

Reluctant

Angus Guthrie died two days before his 21st birthday. He leaves a widowed mother. It was his first day working at this face.

Jimmy Holmes, 55, had told his wife that he was not happy about the steep face he was working on. Tom Kilpatrick, 38, leaves three children. James Comrie, 49, two. Robert Henderson, 59, was a miner all his life.

Many miners are reluctant to reveal the full facts about why the accident happened. If they became known prematurely, the legal case for compensation for the families could be jeopardised.

Those same Coal Board officials who wept crocodile tears over the dead men may well be fighting in a few months to avoid paying a penny compensation.

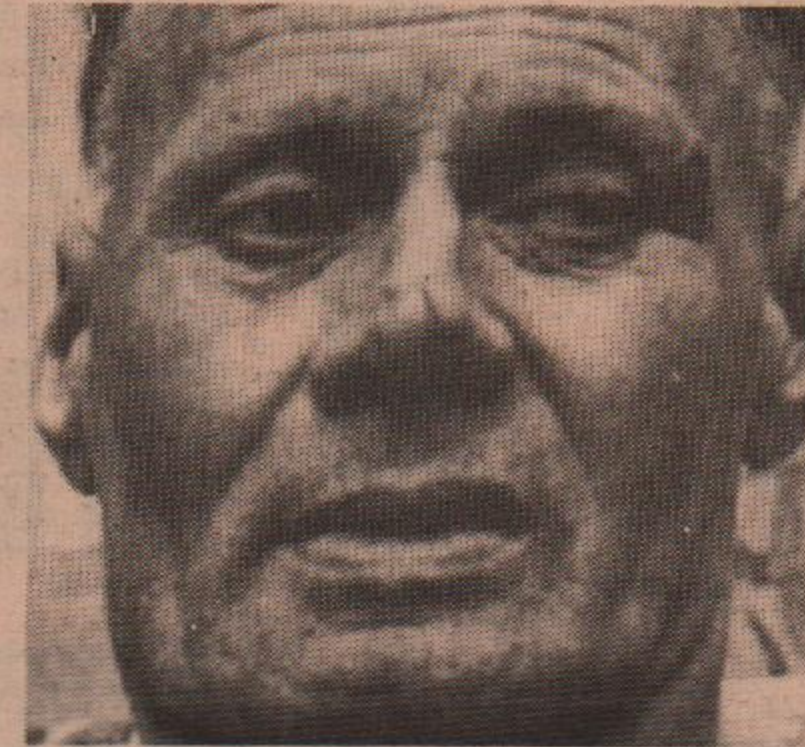
But the following facts are clear: It is normal mining practice to leave a ceiling and floor of coal. At this face the cutter was cutting into bare rock at the roof.

In the week before the collapse, incidents occurred at the face which should have led to the suspension of cutting. They give a good indication of the possible cause of the disaster.

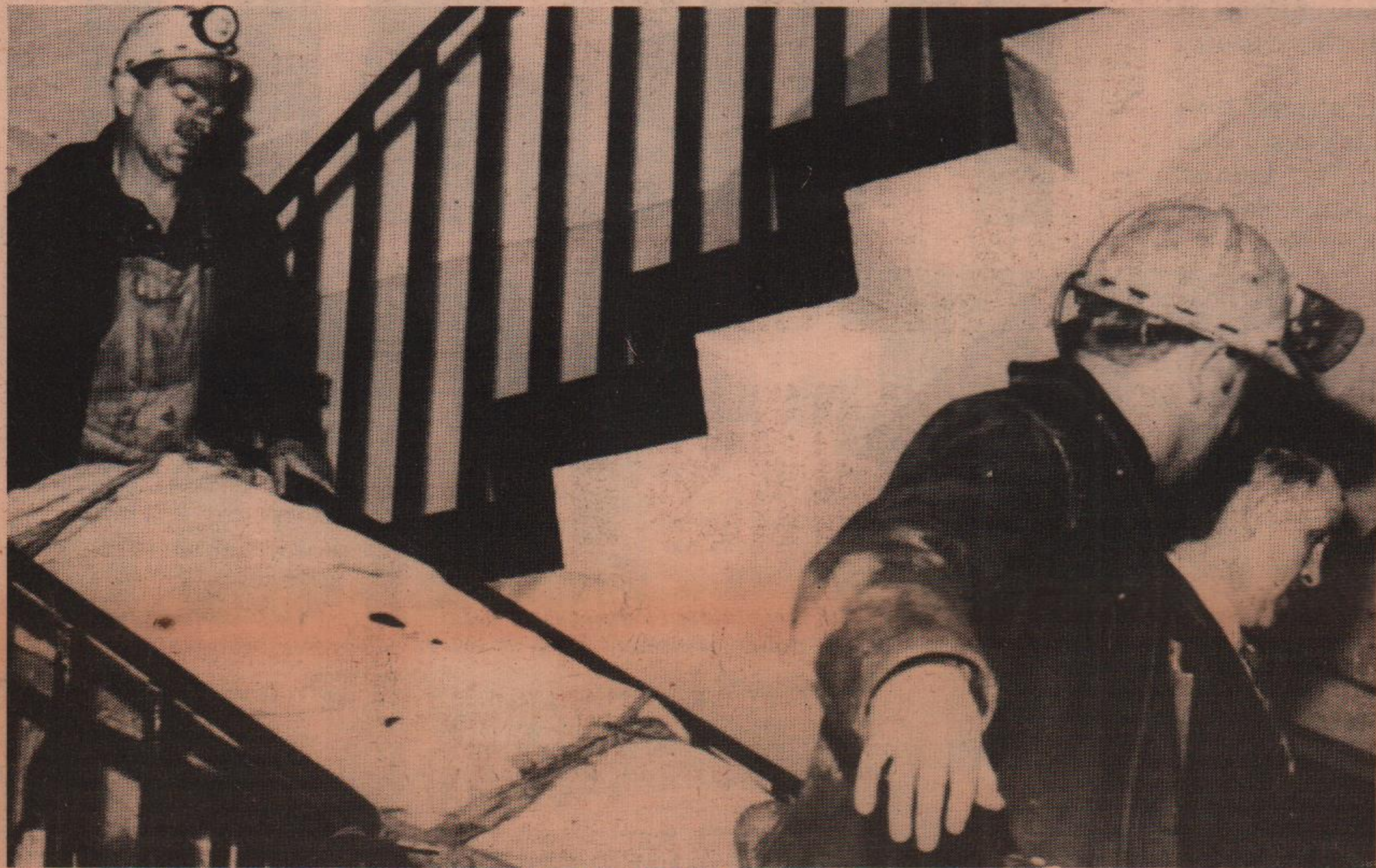
The powered supports were being used with wooden blocks below and above them to enable them to reach between roof and floor. It was also claimed by reliable witnesses that the tops of the supports were not hard up against the roof with the full pressure they are capable of



The Seafield Collapse



Two of the miners who survived: Eddie Downs (left) and David Dickson



Injured miner James Todd being carried on a stretcher from the shaft of Seafield Colliery on Friday

taking. This would make them liable to slip out under sudden pressure and especially in such a steeply inclined face. The powered supports in use on this face were not new. They had been reconditioned at the Cowdenbeath workshops.

When Peter Walker, Minister of Trade and Industry was pressed over a possible inquiry he said that whether it would be held in public depended upon preliminary reports.

The face which collapsed was

more than 500 feet long and sloped at such a rate that one end was more than 300 feet higher than the other. The slab of rock which fell extended along 180 feet of the face, was 4½ feet thick, and reached back 20 feet behind the face.

Steeply sloping faces like this are very dangerous. Miners are accustomed to large blocks of coal breaking off at the higher end of the face and hurtling past on the way to the bottom.

One miner was killed by such a

fall in 1971 at the Barn Graig face. The miners work under powered supports which hold the roof up where the coal is being removed. Behind the face the roof is allowed to fall in.

The management of Seafield proudly describe the mine's safety record. Last year the pit won the Mitchell Hedges national first-aid award and only recently the Seafield safety quiz team won a regional competition in Harrogate.

But under the Coal Board's pres-

sure for greater production, quizzes and competitions count for little when it comes to safety at the coalface. Deputies who are responsible for safety are also in charge of production.

Those who hold up output in the interests of safety get little sympathy from the Coal Board. They find themselves transferred or miss promotion.

One deputy at Seafield claimed that safety could be improved by 50 per cent in the pit. Out of the eight fatal accidents in Scottish pits last year, three were in Seafield, the largest pit in Scotland and 'pace-maker in the Coal Board's productivity stakes.

Record

While Joe Gormley, the miners' president, is rightly annoyed about the safety record in pits, the question of safety cannot be separated from productivity deals and the speed-up they entail. The union leadership has been only too ready to sign such deals.

There are also only two workmen's inspectors (who are elected by the miners) to cover Seafield's 2500 workers. This compares badly with smaller pits in the district.

The Seafield disaster demonstrates only too clearly the importance of the demand in the miners' charter of The Collier which calls for rank and file safety officers on every shift.

Only in this way can miners be sure that accidents like those at Seafield and Lofthouse do not happen again.

Ken Anderson, Alan Campbell and Chris Stephenson

UNION WITCH-HUNTERS PUT BAN ON MILITANTS

THE executive committee of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX) succeeded in getting its decision to proscribe the International Socialists endorsed by the union's annual conference in Scarborough on Sunday.

What this means is that members of the union who are also members of the International Socialists cannot represent APEX at the TUC, trades councils or any other body to which

the union is affiliated.

The proscription move therefore ensures that APEX members cannot take part in free elections for these positions since certain people are prevented by rule from putting their names forward.

The proscription also means that when standing for office at all levels within the union, union members who are also members of proscribed organisations must declare their membership of the proscribed body.

The executive succeeded in getting its decision endorsed in the face of strong opposition from the floor. Dave Priscott (Leeds) stated that while he disagreed with many of the positions IS adopts, he was in principle opposed to the use and extension of the proscription system.

The executive had adequate powers under rule to fine or expel members who broke the rules, he said. Blanket proscription of the whole membership of whatever organisation is totally unnecessary and undemocratic, he added.

'There is no proscription of the Tory Party though this was one organisation that had really tried to interfere in and damage the trade union movement,' he stated.

Speaking for the executive, general secretary Roy Grantham advanced some evidence on the activities of IS and the rank and file group APEX Action. He claimed, falsely, that some of the people named as APEX Action supporters were not even members of the union.

Grantham was supported in the

witchhunt by Dennis Howell, the right wing Labour MP and president of the union, who stated that membership of APEX Action was incompatible with union membership.

Bans and proscriptions are a favourite tactic of those trying to stifle any moves towards more militancy and more democracy in a union. The Communist Party has been similarly proscribed for some years.

The purpose of the operation is to weigh the balance in advance for next year's rules revision conference. There the whole system of bans and proscriptions in APEX is expected to come under attack.

The executive also fears that other moves to increase democracy in the union could be successful.

APEX's executive has also pronounced its official disapproval of the new GEC Rank and File paper which is doing so much to increase trade union solidarity in the giant combine.

Luxemburg

Reform or revolution 40p
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Army smashed up Belfast school claim

EYEWITNESS evidence that the British Army was responsible for smashing up a secondary school in the Falls Road area on the night of 28 April has been revealed by Jack Dromey, executive committee member of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Mr Dromey said: 'On Easter Sunday, 29 April, I was in St Paul's School and I saw numerous, clearly-defined army boot marks on the floor and on doors where they tried to smash them open. Later in the day an army "Yellow Card" and a "Blue Card" were found in the school.

I talked to the school caretaker and to residents who distinctly heard and saw foot patrols of soldiers outside the school, round about midnight, heard army walkie-talkie radio sets in use in the school grounds and heard the sounds of breaking glass as the school was being vandalised.'

The damage to the school is estimated by the headmaster to be between £3000 and £5000. The police have refused to come to the school and investigate the incident properly.

This incident was only one of those cited by Mr Dromey to illustrate his claim that 'army harassment of minority groups in Ulster is now at its most intense level since 1969.'

Mr Dromey went on: 'There are widespread allegations

of brutality in the army and the minority population feel that the army is out of control. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the army ignore judicial processes in favour of beating up local residents inside Saracen cars or at Army barracks. There are many complaints of continuous searches and some homes have been raided 10 and 15 times a week.'

Mr Dromey also spoke of the 'alarming evidence of the killing of innocent civilians by the army in certain areas.' He said: 'The Paras are most often accused in the Ardoyne in Belfast and in Newry. No less than four people have been shot dead by the Paras since their introduction into the Ardoyne on 8 March this year.

'Tony McDowell, just 14 years of age, was shot dead on 19 April by a bullet which splintered and which, according to the army, had been fired by an Armalite rifle. The army denies using such rifles, which are contrary to the Geneva Convention. Yet we had documentary evidence to prove that the British Army in Belfast is indeed using such weapons.'

There was also evidence, he said, that Mondo O'Rawe and a man called Rowntree, members of the Provisionals, shot dead on 12 April in Cape Street in the Lower Falls, were in fact executed by the army while in custody. -People's News Service.

Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

ON 22 MARCH Sir John Donaldson, President of the National Industrial Relations Court, held a secret meeting with officials of the Engineering Employers Federation to discuss 'possible changes' in the Industrial Relations Act. So much for the 'impartiality' of judges. If we were to say that Donaldson's decisions in the NIRC were likely to be influenced in favour of these employers by such secret meetings, we might be open to prosecution for contempt of court.

We do not say it. Indeed we are convinced that Donaldson, a former active Tory politician, is in no need of lobbying to ensure that he understands and upholds the interests of the capitalist class. It just comes naturally to him. That is why he was made president of the NIRC. Judges are, of course, political appointments and the man who picked Donaldson was Edward Heath.

What is very important is the view of the Engineering Employers that the Industrial Relations Act needs to be amended because, according to the Guardian 'it has failed to secure the registration of even a minority of genuine trade unions and has therefore failed to have any impact on trade union rule books'.

That is what really worries the bosses. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the central aim of the Act was to strengthen the position of full-time officials as against the membership and to force the unions to act as state regulated agencies for controlling workers. For this, registration and state controlled rule books are essential. Union democracy, imperfect as it is, is the real enemy as far as the employers and the government are concerned.

For the benefit of less sophisticated employers the Economist, formerly an enthusiastic supporter of the Act, spells out the need for amendment in order to lure the unions into registration. 'The National Union of Seamen registered,' it points out, 'was asked to change its rules, and, in doing so, routed its communist element.'

There is no doubt that the government will discuss amendments with the TUC in the next few weeks. The aim is to offer enough concessions to the TUC to enable it to reverse its position on registration. This is a very serious threat.

The government tried to strong-arm the movement into accepting the law. It failed. Its aim now is to achieve exactly the same object it has always had, by soft words, 'concessions' and the co-operation of the right wing—and not only the right wing—of the trade union leadership. The government must be beaten again. The only correct position for trade unionists is unconditional repeal of the Industrial Relations Act.

LABOUR'S CIRCUS

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY showman George Barnum coined the immortal phrase, 'There's one born every minute'. He meant suckers of course. The Labour Party's 'left wing' National Executive Committee members have taken Barnum to heart.

Notwithstanding the plain record of past Labour governments, notwithstanding the fact that the Labour Party today is led by the same men who forced through a wage freeze, cut social services, slavishly supported the US in Vietnam and elsewhere and tried to push through anti-trade union legislation, notwithstanding all this and more, the 'left wing' of Wedgwood Benn, Michael Foot and company is trying to convince us that, with their new policy statement, the next Labour government will be quite different.

According to a press report, 'left-wing spokesmen insist that the key issue at stake is the whole credibility of the Labour Party as a mass organisation'. The purpose of Labour's Programme for Britain is to rebuild the party's credibility in the eyes of left-wing workers.

As a matter of fact, though the document does contain a number of points which everyone on the left should support—such as repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, repeal of the Housing Finance Act—it is not particularly 'left wing'. No more so, for example, than the Labour Party's 1964 election programme. It calls for 'the creation of a fairer society'. Wonderful. What Tory MP would not subscribe to that meaningless phrase?

This week we will see a great 'battle' between the right and the 'left' over this latest plan to make capitalism work more smoothly. Whatever the outcome, one thing can be said with certainty. To borrow a phrase from the poet, 'Labour's pledges are writ in water'.

6 COTTONS GDNS, LONDON E2 8DN

POLL WILL K O RULE BY UNIONISTS

by Brian Trench
ELECTIONS for district councils in Northern Ireland on 30 May are of great significance, even though the new councils will have less power than their equivalents in Britain.

For the elections are the first to take place in the North for four years and the first elections under Proportional Representation for more than 40 years.

They will be a test of the British government's success in stabilising the political situation and opening the way for 'reasonable and responsible' middle-class people on both sides of the sectarian divide to help in the 'normalisation' of the province.

Derry and a number of other areas will have an anti-Unionist majority for the first time in the history of the Six County state. With the introduction of Proportional Representation, and the end of the old Unionist gerrymander, one-party rule is at an end.

MODERATE

The Unionists are not even entering the election contest with a united face or much chance of holding on to old positions. Several local Unionist Associations are putting forward candidates on an anti-White Paper, and thus anti-Faulkner, ticket.

William Craig's new organisation, the Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party, is boycotting the elections. Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party is putting up candidates, although Paisley was saying only a few weeks ago they would not.

On the other side of the Unionist bloc, there has been a race to defect to the Alliance Party, the moderate middle-class party, which came out in full support for the White Paper and for Britain's plans for the North.

Alliance is contesting its first elections but has nearly as many candidates as the Unionist Party. Many of them will be ex-Unionist Party members who reckon Alliance is a safer bet for keeping themselves in power.

DEPARTURE

It is hard to see Alliance taking too many working-class loyalist votes, but it should get some. Some will also go to Faulkner supporters, in spite of everything, including the opposition to Faulkner from his own local Unionist Association.

Some will go to Unionist candidates standing on an anti-Faulkner platform. Some will go to the far right and the Northern Ireland Labour Party should get a handful.

Not only is one-party rule at an end but the integrated system which tied working-class loyalists to ruling-class leaders and politicians is breaking



Craig: boycotting poll

down. The elections are bound to spell this out. That is a new departure and a very important one.

On the anti-Unionist side, too, there have been efforts to get unity of Catholics across the class boundaries. At the same time there has also been pressure from many quarters—even from local organisations of the Social Democratic and Labour Party—for a boycott of the elections in protest against the sharpened military repression in some areas. The Provisional IRA has urged a boycott, though not very actively and it has sneaked in a number of supporters as candidates on a 'Unity' ticket.

The Unity Movement, hastily pasted together by Westminster MP Frank McManus and a couple of others in the last few weeks, has, along with the SDLP and the Republican Labour Party, flushed out the Catholic middle class looking for a share in the power.

Solicitors, surgeons, publicans, teachers, farmers, and businessmen have all discovered a political vocation. Their behaviour, and any credence given to them, are a sure guarantee that the opportunities presented by the splitting of the loyalist bloc will not be realised.

The republicans have been caught in a cleft stick. The British initiatives have certainly created some mass interest in the elections—even hopes that changes could come through the ballot box.

The republicans have had to respond to that. It has also been a part of the British strategy to pull them on to electoral ground, where they seemed likely to lose out by com-

parison with more efficient operators of the political machine such as the SDLP.

The republicans have had to hold out against the dangers of that. The military strategy of the past few weeks has clearly been to hit at the republican organisations. Their members have been murdered in cold blood, and others are picked up every second day for an hour or two of questioning.

The Officials have seen this as an attempt to drive them out of the elections, and have retaliated by shooting soldiers, but have refused to end their cease-fire.

The SDLP is afraid that the continuing intense repression will 'wreck the White Paper's credibility', and divert support away from them to the republicans. The repression has given the Provisionals a further reason for not participating in elections in which they would have found it very difficult to make much of a showing.

ACTION

The Officials claim the deaths of seven soldiers, possibly in the hope of regaining some Provo-orientated support, at the same time as putting forward a manifesto which aims at being an independent, radical working class stand.

But their manifesto is none of these things. It restricts itself almost entirely to the framework set by existing local government.

It talks of overcoming the sectarian problem by local joint action and through community conferences under the auspices of the state-sponsored Community Relations Commission. It nowhere points to the possibility and the need for independent working-class action outside and against the established structure.

The Officials are unable to use the election platform for socialist propaganda purposes because of their politics. For the same reasons, they are unable effectively to cut through the sectarian divide on class lines.

The North's local elections show up the complexities and confusions of the political scene in the province. They also show that no organisation is nearer to finding a way through them.

THE European Commission's annual report on the Common Market includes Britain this year for the first time.

Taking the 1971 figures, unemployment in Britain (2.9 per cent) was surpassed only by Ireland (6 per cent) and Italy (3.2 per cent). Germany had 0.7 per cent and France 2.2 per cent. In housing, too, Britain is near the bottom of the league. Dwellings completed per thousand people were 10.4 in the Netherlands, 10 in Denmark, 9.3 in France, 9.1 in Germany,

6.7 in Italy, and 6.5 in Britain. Only Ireland (5.2) and Belgium (4.4) came below our own 'welfare state'.

THE campaign in Australia against the French nuclear tests in the Pacific now has the support of 35 major trade unions,

of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and its president Robert Hawke, vice-chairman of the ruling Labour Party.

How far the boycott of French trade and services announced last week will go remains to be seen. French shipping, airlines, telecommunications and postal services are included, although Prime Minister Whitlam has appealed for communications to be exempted because of Australia's case against France now being heard at the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Besides French imports to Australia (worth £35 millions a year, while Australian exports to France are worth £75 millions), French firms operating in Australia, include Renault, Peugeot, the Banque Nationale de Paris, the French Petroleum Company and Liquid Air. The largest union in the country, the Amalgamated Metal Workers, wants a complete boycott of all French goods and firms, and so does the national students' union.

A 40ft ketch, the *Warana*, is to sail from Australia this week into the test area. On board will be Philip Cairns, son and secretary of a government minister.

THE latest economic survey published by the Smith regime in Rhodesia in an exercise in avoiding the issues in order to boost the confidence of the whites and their supporters in Britain.

Overall, it shows that US imports of Rhodesian minerals have blown a large hole in the half-hearted United Nations sanctions operation, and have restored Rhodesian exports to near the pre-sanctions (1965) level. But the report skated over Rhodesia's chronic problems of foreign exchange shortages and the weakness of its trading foundations, particularly transport.

Besides, the most severe strains on the Rhodesian economy have come during 1973. The widespread drought has drastically reduced crop production, mineral exports have shown diminished returns because of the US dollar devaluation, the closure of the border with Zambia has cut off an export market and a source of revenue from handling copper, and the escalating guerrilla offensive is draining the Rhodesians' manpower resources and what remains of their confidence. Not many people will be taken in by the false optimism of the beleaguered regime.

THE 750 tenants of a 'hall of residence' for African workers at Montreuil in France have now been on rent strike for two years. It is a disused factory where the residents sleep in closely-packed bunks, and there are only seven toilets, four showers, three washbasins and about 20 gas cookers for the 750 tenants.

The Africans have held out even though the gas has been cut off by the proprietors (a company which runs a number of these halls) and one African embassy has threatened its citizens with deportation. They have refused offers from the local authority to relocate them in another hall, which would mean extra travel expenses to work, and to relocate some but not all of them.

The immigrant workers would not even have got these offers but for their rent strike, so they are holding out for decent conditions, in the same district, and for everyone. Struggles such as this are the background to the growing protest of immigrant workers in France against their appalling working and living conditions.



Spanish plain-clothes policemen link arms during the joint protest with the fascists on the day after May Day

Freedom—for policemen and fascists

FREEDOM to demonstrate does exist in Spain. On the day after May Day there were demonstrations in Madrid, accompanying what may be the beginning of a real crisis for Franco's government. These demonstrations met with none of the repression usually faced by students and workers who oppose the regime. The demonstrators were policemen, demanding that repression be stepped up.

May Day had been, as usual in Spain, a day of violent action by the police against workers trying to celebrate. For workers in Spain, who have no democratic rights, merely to demonstrate on the streets is regarded as an intolerable attack on society.

But this time the victims were not all, as normally, on the same side. The demonstrators defended themselves and some policemen were wounded. One policeman was killed near the Atocha railway station.

The next day's demonstration in Madrid, headed by a lieutenant-general of the paramilitary police, was organised to protest that police had not been allowed to use firearms on May Day. In Barcelona, 2000 demonstrators wearing the insignia of the secret police marched through the streets manhandling anyone who refused to give the fascist salute.

In the Cortes, the Spanish parliament, a deputy got up and said that 'the civil war which began on 18 July 1936 has not yet come to an end.'

Demonstrating policemen are listened to in Spain. The government immediately promised to 'guarantee public order' and to increase the police force's 'means of defending society'. The government also condemned the use of violence—presumably it meant by working class demonstrators, since the violence of the police who regularly cause workers' deaths passes without comment.

Reprinted from the French revolutionary socialist newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière*.

CHILE: WORKER KILLED AS THE CALM BREAKS

THE CALM that followed Chile's Congressional elections in March has now been broken by growing right-wing demonstrations.

by Ian Roxborough and Vic Richards

At a counter-demonstration by 10,000 workers, a machine-gun opened fire from a rooftop, killing one and wounding others.

President Allende stepped up the pace of reforms after the Popular Unity success in the election protected the government from a parliamentary block by the right wing. The five lowest grades of wages were doubled to keep up with inflation, 41 companies were nationalised, and the private schools brought under new education reforms.

This provoked much middle-class opposition and in the last week of April the right wing brought private school students on to the streets in violent anti-Allende demonstrations. They seized control of several town centres, including the capital, Santiago, with the aid of squads of the fascist National Front for Fatherland and Freedom, which attacked members of the trade unions and the left-wing parties and struck at their offices and printing presses.

REACTION

The following day the centre of Santiago was again filled with anti-Allende demonstrators. At midday the Chilean TUC led 10,000 workers from the industrial areas in a counter-demonstration. Fighting broke out outside the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party and then a machine-gun opened up, killing one worker.

The right-wing reaction is out of all proportion to the reforms and seems intended to cause economic

chaos and provoke a confrontation such as the 'bosses' strike' of last October. Already doctors and dentists are carrying out selective boycotts, though the more moderate Christian Democrats are trying to avoid extremes, hoping to capture the presidency in 1976.

The right wing is making the most of the fear of the middle class, the small landowners and some workers who feel threatened by the Popular Unity reforms. Inflation in Chile is now the worst in the world, and queues outside shops are long.

The right wing gets a large audience for its propaganda about 'state totalitarianism' because the government bureaucracy is inefficient, and some of its interventions have been hamfisted.

Most of Allende's early reforms were directed against the Chilean ruling class and some foreign-owned companies. The more enlightened members of the middle class supported these, or tolerated them as a necessary evil. This middle class, represented by the Christian Democrats, now feels the reforms have gone far enough, and that any more radical changes will bite into their own sources of privilege and power. They also resent the fact that the reforms are increasingly being pushed from below, and too fast—it gives the organised workers a dangerous degree of self-confidence and a taste of their real potential for power.

With three one-day bus strikes recently, it looks as though Allende faces the beginning of general disorder. The Popular Unity government has only itself to blame for most of its present difficulties. The right

wing is confident now because it has been able to break the law repeatedly and suffer only minor reprisals, while Allende has stuck to the letter of the law.

Allende has recently talked of mobilising the workers to defend the government, as the police continuously show leniency to the right, but his words sound empty—the workers are to be mobilised as and when Allende needs them. The tail continues to wag the dog.

A woman's place in the market

by Norah Carlin

WOMEN workers, like all workers in the Common Market, have the chance to link their struggles for better pay and conditions. The organisation problems are great, but facts and figures from the European Community show that a lot could be gained from acting together against the employing class.

The Treaty of Rome's provision for 'equal pay for equal work' is largely a dead letter, mainly because women rarely do the same work as men. Even when redefined in 1961 as 'equal pay for work of equal value', this Common Market ruling is widely ignored. The highest figure for women's average pay as a proportion of men's is 75.2 per cent in Italy, the lowest 54.5 per cent in Luxembourg.

The banning of the category 'women's work' has meant that it has often been tactfully renamed. In Germany it has become 'light', in Italy 'light' or 'simple', in Belgium 'asexual'.

In manufacturing the precise nature of this work depends not merely on national, but on local custom and practice. In the service and professional sectors it is the

same: most restaurant workers in Germany are women, in Italy men, teaching is usually a man's job in Germany and the Netherlands, a woman's in France and Belgium.

The variations show above all the irrationality of the system. The same work is paid differently in different places simply because of who is doing it. Though comparison of actual wage rates across national boundaries is notoriously difficult the broad comparison of women's job status and men's could be made, and would help the fight for equal pay.

In discriminatory legislation, the situation is more uneven. In Belgium a married woman must have her husband's permission to go out to work, and while sacking a pregnant woman is an offence in France, Germany and Italy, it is legal in the Netherlands.

The nature and the strength of traditional attitudes to 'a woman's place' vary. Fewer women go out to work in Belgium and the Netherlands, while the higher proportion in Italy—and in France and Germany—is swelled by the women who work on family farm holdings. But it is clear that these attitudes put women workers at a disadvantage.

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MANIFESTO by Kuron and Modzelewski. The famous open letter to the Polish Worker's Party, written in 1964. A vitriolic analysis of the Eastern European regimes and a call for social revolution. 29p postage included. from PLUTO PRESS Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road London NW1.



Emery papers over Coal Board cracks

PRIVATE EYE reveals that one of the 'three wise men' who will be investigating charges that the National Coal Board has wasted about £70 million in overcharging on supplies of mining machinery (charges made, incidentally, by two employees of the National Coal Board) is Eric Humberstone, a director of Hawker Siddeley Aviation. Hawker Siddeley, as the Eye points out, is one of the country's largest suppliers of mining machinery, transformers, cables and lamps to the National Coal Board.

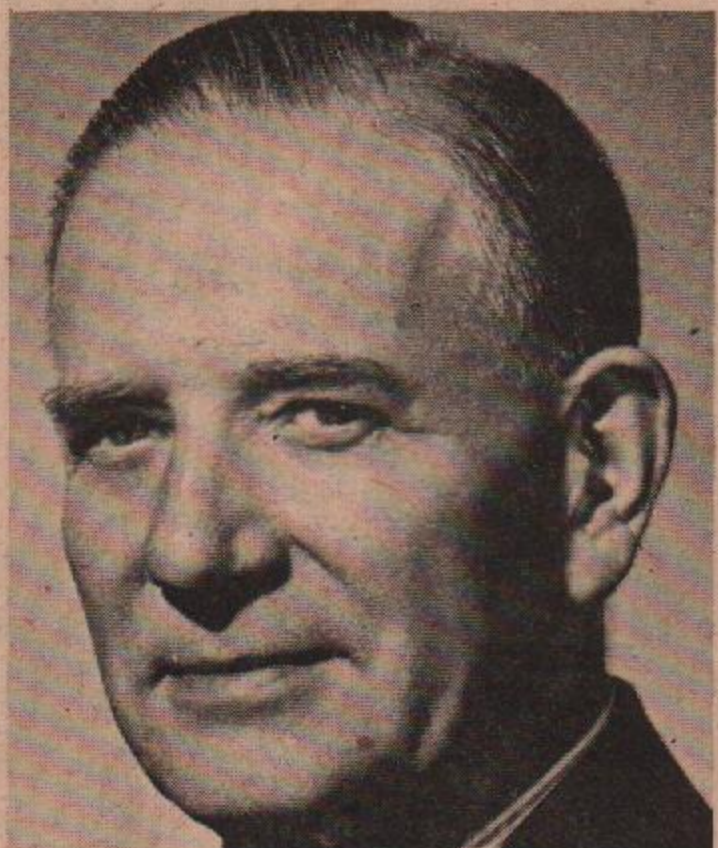
Among the most popular of Hawker's products for the NCB are Dosco mining machines. Although the Coal Board buys large numbers of Dosco machines from Hawker Siddeley, it also hires Doscos complete with operators from a firm called Caledonian Mining Company Ltd, which is registered in Edinburgh but whose headquarters are in Sutton-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire.

(Why the National Union of Mine-workers puts up with this state of affairs is a mystery.)

Consultant to Caledonian is Sir Andrew Bryan, who is also chief mining consultant to the National Coal Board. Sir Andrew's office is on floor 3 (the 'directors' floor') of Hobart House, the NCB's headquarters in London.

One area where the Coal Board hires Doscos from Caledonian is Doncaster, the head of which—until his recent premature dismissal—was Mr J H Stone. In 1969, under the NCB award scheme, Mr Stone won £5000 from the Coal Board as a prize for his 'Stone system of mining'. Chairman of the independent tribunal which awarded Mr Stone his prize was Sir Andrew Bryan.

The Stone system, which has now been abandoned, depended on the use of mining machinery from a firm called Webster Machine Development, one of whose directors is S W Bennett, former deputy director general of purchasing and stores at



BRYAN: The coal double

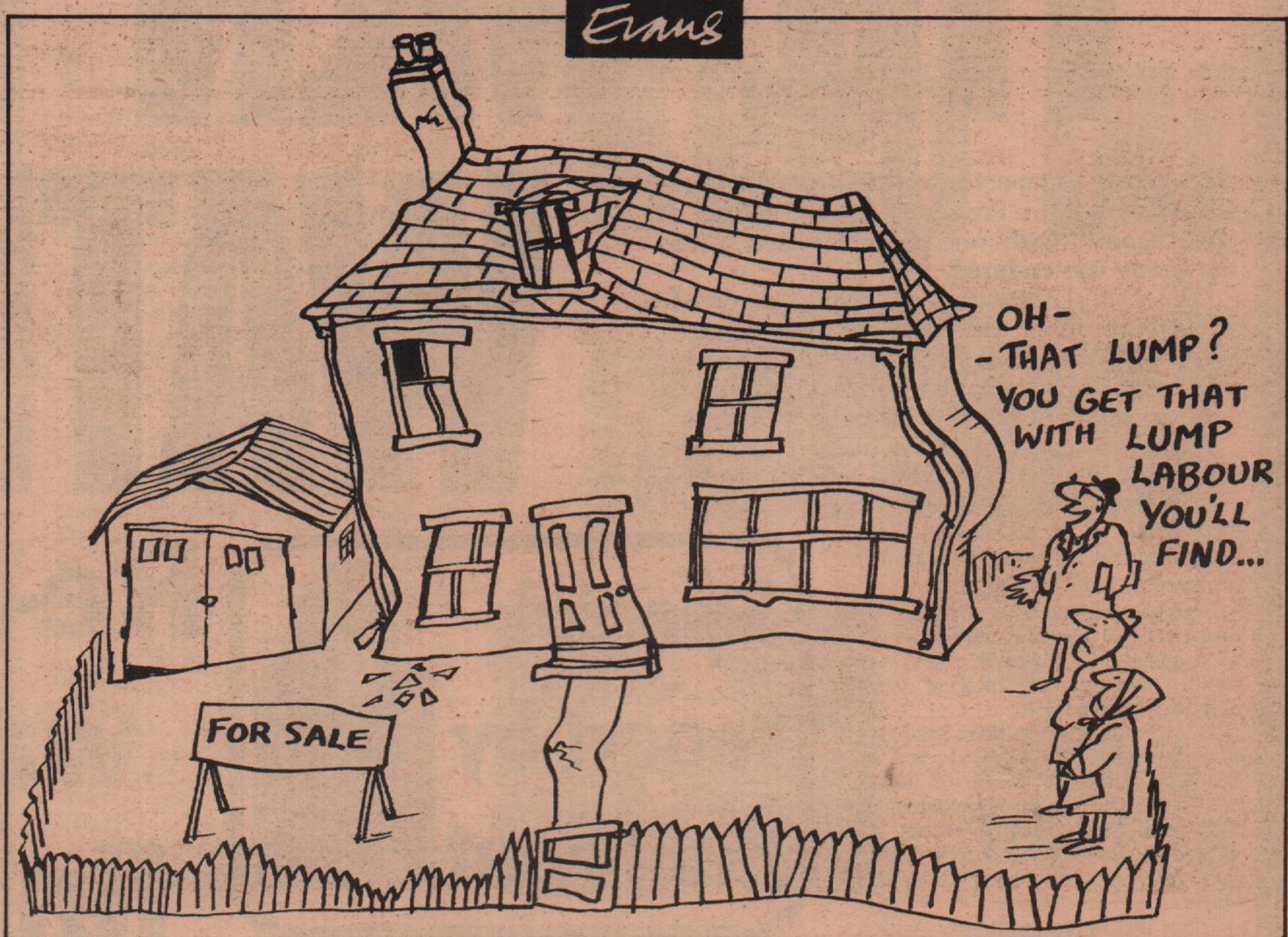
the National Coal Board.

Public relations for Webster Machine Development are handled by Susanne Grubb of the PR firm Alfred Robens Associates, of which the principal is the son of former chairman of the National Coal Board Lord Robens.

Mr S W Bennett is a council member of the Institute of Purchasing and Supply. So is his successor at the Coal Board, Mr D R H Chaplin, and so is his successor at the Coal Board, Mr E A Burn. The suggestion that the Institute is a cosy body of old chums from nationalised industries is a disgraceful smear.

No one would confirm the Institute's firmness of purpose more promptly than Mr Peter Emery MP, parliamentary under secretary at the Department of Trade and Industry, who is the government's spokesman in the House of Commons on fuel matters.

Mr Emery was the (paid) director of the Institute of Purchasing and Supply from June 1961 to February 1972, when he became a minister. Mr Emery and his fellow ministers at the Department have spent much of their time lately resisting pressures for a public inquiry into the Coal Board purchasing department.



Vic's pick

I'M SURE workers everywhere are enjoying the series entitled Financial Figures which is running in the Investors Guardian, a City periodical. The issue after May Day (4 May) singled out as 'financial figure' of the week Vic Feather.

Feather's interviewer reported: 'Feather's advice to his member unions, which hold some £25 million of investments on the stock market, sounds like a propaganda exercise for the City. He advocated "going to quality firms for advice such as Hill Samuel and Phillips and Drew" and in general prefers them to buy blue chips.'

'But I would not tell the expert how to do his job any more than how they would tell me how to run a union', he is quoted as saying.

Hill Samuel, it will be remembered, were the bankers sacked by the AUEW after they agreed to pay the £55,000 fine imposed on the union by the Industrial Relations Court.

The interviewer also commends Mr Feather's 'broad-minded approach' on asset-stripping. 'He does not regard the asset stripper as the real ogre, but believes that the necessity for his activities arises from "inefficiency on behalf of management"'. Feather, although disagreeing with his methods, argues that the stripper "prizes things open and helps the company to get a move on".'

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: 'The birth of the giant new Hill Samuel bank sets a trend that is liable to have a greater effect on the ordinary British citizen than any such transient event as the temporary election of a new Government.'

The Economist, Editorial, 5 May.

NO HIGHWAYMEN

MARPLES RIDGWAY, contractors on the Loddon M4 bridge at Reading, have been going to amazing lengths to restore confidence among workers on site after the collapse last October, when one of the bridge decks came down as the concrete was being poured, killing three men and seriously injuring seven others.

Recently Marples has provided facilities on site for one of the vultures who generally appear in the wake of disasters. This gentleman is an agent of the Combined Insurance Company of America. He is operating from the time checker's hut on the Loddon site, and has sold about 30 six-month cover insurance policies to

Tories ride shotgun for the bosses



'THE government,' announced The Guardian on 10 May, 'is now committed to more effective control of firearms.' Robert Carr, the Home Secretary, is proposing stringent controls on all forms of guns, especially shotguns, the report said.

The above picture shows an employee of T J Richardson and Sons, of Oldbury, Staffordshire, on the platform of the company's bus on May Day. The bus was used to take blacklegs to work, after a decision by the workers to come out on strike in protest against the freeze. One anonymous telephone call to the company warning of possible reprisals against the scabs was enough to send

the Richardsons and the police into a panic.

The man 'riding shotgun' on the bus was not acting in the spirit of the government's proposals for a ban on weapons.

It is highly unlikely that his shotgun licence entitled him to use his weapon in so obviously threatening a manner. The local police, however, were not disturbed. Indeed, they actively encouraged this novel method of 'dealing with' pickets.

Robert Carr is a former director of Securicor. His Green Paper is singularly unclear on the use of firearms by security firms.

workers. These cost £2 a time, generally paid in one instalment.

The policy form explains in bold type the generous payments that will be made in the event of death, loss of sight, both hands, both feet, one hand, one foot or what have you.

Only a very thorough reading of the document discloses the minor fact that this cover does not apply to anything that might happen to a building worker in the course of his job. It covers only injuries received at the hands of a 'burglar or highwayman' or in aeroplanes or office building passenger lifts.

The Combined Insurance Company of America is one of those notorious

pyramid-selling operations now under examination in both Britain and America.

In America, at least, it has good protection. Its founder, Clement Stone, is a close personal friend of Richard Nixon and indeed convinced the president of the unique qualities of his own brand of mumbo jumbo called 'Positive Thinking'. The suddenness of the conversion was doubtless helped by a Mr and Mrs Clement Stone's 200,000 dollar contribution to a Nixon slush fund in the run-up to 1968 election. It is thought that the president has turned increasingly to the Stone philosophy over recent weeks.



Home Office
H M PRISON
Jebb Avenue, Brixton London S W 2
Telephone 01-674-9581 ext

Dear Madam

I R A PRISONERS

Thank you for your letter of 30 April requesting permission to visit the above prisoners.

Mrs Margaret M O'Brien, Secretary of the Irish Civil Rights Association, 101 Warner Road, London N 17, is looking after their welfare and you may care to get in touch with her, to co-ordinate your efforts.

Yours faithfully

M V Roberts
Governor

IT IS clear from the above letter, sent in reply to an inquiry about visitors to the Belfast 10, who were arrested on the evening of the Old Bailey explosions, that the Governor of Brixton Prison is not squeamish about revealing the political views of his political prisoners even before their trials. As far as Mr Roberts is concerned, the Belfast 10 are 'IRA prisoners', and that's that.

THE MEN BEHIND WATERGATE

ALL the newspapers agreed that the weekend 4-6 May was for President Nixon 'a time of great agony'. Only one paper revealed where the agony was endured.

The Daily Telegraph of 7 May reported: 'Mr Nixon spent yesterday on the Bahamas island of Grand Cay with Mr Robert Abplanalp, who owns the island, and his Florida neighbour and real estate developer, Mr Bebe Rebozo.'

When men are in trouble they turn to their nearest and dearest, and no one is closer to Mr Nixon than Bebe Rebozo. Ever since the two men first met in 1951, they have been inseparable friends with almost inseparable bank accounts.

Rebozo started as a small garage proprietor in Florida. With the help of a public tyre board official he rapidly became the biggest tyre-recapper in the state.

He branched out into property speculation and in 1960 started up the Key Biscayne Bank, of which Nixon was the first savings customer. The bank made a lot of money by selling stolen stocks which found their way into the bank from the Mafia.

The insurance company which had insured the stocks sued the bank, and the case was heard by Judge James Lawrence King, himself a banker, who had been appointed by Nixon. To the astonishment of no one, the judge found against the insurance company.

Shares

In 1962, Rebozo bought Fishers Island off Miami and started to develop it in a grand real estate enterprise. Richard Nixon put £76,000 into the operation, and sold his shares for £150,000 soon after becoming President (in 1969).

Other shareholders had noticed that the value of the shares had not increased at all in the intervening period, but their curiosity (and their bank managers') were fully satisfied when President Nixon signed a Bill granting seven million dollars of government money for the development of Miami Bay, which includes Fishers Island.

Special report by Paul Foot



Nixon's friendship with Rebozo tells us much more about the real meaning of Watergate than any 'dramatic testimony' from his former White House aides.

Rebozo is a representative of the get-rich-quick property speculators, oil men and defence contractors from the 'sun-belt', America's Southern rim which runs from Southern California through Arizona and Texas to Florida.

These 'cowboys' are rapidly replacing the old Eastern financial aristocracy at the top of the Republican Party, in the Supreme Court and in the administration. They bring with them a new approach to 'business ethics' and a new attitude to the law.

The laws of capitalist society are framed in order to sanction wealth and privilege and to suppress the aspirations of the people who have neither.

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL from bankers and industrialists whose main preoccupation is the robbery of workers.

THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER, by order of governments who have for centuries embarked on mass murder in all five continents.

The crimes done in the name of law and order are a hundred times more horrible than the crimes of law-breakers.

Racket

The attempt by the International Telegraph and Telephone company, for instance, to disrupt the economy of Chile, to throw hundreds of thousands out of work and to topple the elected government was a crime far greater in its conception than anything ever dreamt of by the Mafia.

President Nixon's implacable opposition to the mildest governmental controls or restriction on property speculation or oil profiteering has resulted in robbery far more inexcusable than the most

extensive Mafia-organised protection racket.

The slogan 'Law and Order' which helped Nixon to the White House in 1968 (and Heath to Downing Street in 1970) is the ideological cover for the continuing anarchy and disorder of capitalism.

But the unprecedented growth of capitalism in the post-war years has led to a growth in the influence of a section of industry and finance which relies almost exclusively on government patronage.

The massive armaments industry, for example, relies exclusively on government handouts. So, to a lesser degree, does property speculation and 'the money business'. The same goes for oil and for natural gas.

The vast fortunes which have been made and are being made in such industries not only require government assistance and support, but also depend on a political climate dominated by chauvinism and 'free enterprise'.

Thus, in America, the 'self-made' men of the Southern rim are almost

all engaged in political activity. Many of the men around Bebe Rebozo were active in the Cuban exile movement. Many others have subscribed to the far-right John Birch Society which dubbed President Eisenhower a 'communist'.

Almost all of them have participated in the movement to shift the Republican Party away from the Rockefellers and the Lindsays towards the Goldwaters and the Nixons.

Fraud

To men like these, the re-election of President Nixon in 1972 was a matter not just of political conviction but of financial survival.

When Robert Vesco gave 89,000 dollars to the Committee to Re-elect the President, he hoped that Nixon's re-election would assist him to escape prosecution for one of the most fantastic frauds in modern times—the stripping of the fading

IT'S HAPPENING

THE IMPRESSION has been created that Watergate is an 'isolated, unfortunate incident'. In Britain, we are told that the affair is a specifically American phenomenon which 'couldn't happen here'.

On the contrary. The crucial ingredients of the Watergate recipe—the growth within the ruling class of a get-rich-quick, ultra-right caste whose wealth is dependent on government or local authority handouts—are in evidence in all private enterprise capitalist countries.

They have led in the past 12 months to the 'retirement' of the French Prime Minister, Chaban-Delmas, and the British Home Secretary, Maudling.

ENRICHED

Maudling provided political prestige for Jerome Hoffman, an offshore property swindler of international disrepute, and for the formidable partnership of T Dan Smith and John Poulson, Europe's biggest architect.

The Smith-Poulson partnership



POULSON: formidable



MAUDLING: rehabilitated

in turn worked hand in hand with Britain's biggest building contractors. Taylor Woodrow, Laings and Bovis all 'negotiated' contracts via Smith and Poulson with Ministries and local authorities.

The double standards which surrounded John Poulson were best illustrated by Andrew Cunningham, regional secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union and Smith's man in the North East, who was, among many other things, chairman of the Durham Police Authority.

Cunningham enriched himself and his family through the Poulson network, always operating within the law. When the Durham police

were caught with their pants down breaking the law by photographing onlookers at a court during a political trial, Cunningham rushed to their defence:

'There are occasions', he said, 'when the police have to use illegal methods to uphold the law.'

Britain has had other Watergates. Twice in the last three years the South African police, working hand in hand with the British police, have raided flats and offices in London in the search for information to smear anti-apartheid campaigners. The Tory government has refused even to protest.

Similarly, the Littlejohn brothers, on trial in Dublin for the biggest

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a Socialist Worker pamphlet 2p



NIXON: support from get-rich-quick CREEPS

assets of International Overseas Investors.

Similarly the oil men, the armaments contractors and the property speculators who filled up the coffers of CREEP with money suitably 'laundered' through Mexican banks knew that Nixon's re-election would result in franchises and contracts upon which their millionaire status depended.

For these men, any means justified the end. Not for them

sophisticated luxuries like 'business ethics' or 'lawful behaviour'.

Many of them had made their fortunes with the assistance of illegal methods, and those methods, if necessary, would be used again. In the interests of 'law and order'—that is, the suppression of anti-war demonstrators, blacks and socialists, they encouraged the President's entourage to break the law, and equipped them with the legal apparatus of the state to do so.

HERE, TOO

bank robbery in Irish history, have claimed that they robbed the bank as agents of the British government, who encouraged such action in an attempt to discredit and flush out the IRA.

The British Prime Minister has accepted a swimming pool costing £40,000 from the American Ambassador in London, Mr Walter Annenburg.

Mr Annenburg owes his enormous wealth to his father's ability to wire racing results to bookies. Mr Annenburg Senior spent three years in prison for tax evasion,

BOYCOTTED

The chief difference between British and American Watergates is that in America they are exposed.

The American 'liberal' press, aided by the deep split in the American ruling class over the Vietnam war, has mercilessly pursued every deficiency in the Nixon administration.

The British press has stubbornly refused to admit that widespread corruption can exist in British public life. The anti-apartheid raids are

hardly discussed. The Littlejohn affair has been boycotted, and slowly and surely Mr Reginald Maudling is being rehabilitated as a public figure of national importance. Mr Annenburg's swimming pool is hailed as an example of American generosity.

Far more than its American counterpart, the British press is subject to the self-censorship imposed by its proprietors, who, in the main, represent the meanest and most vicious section of Britain's ruling class.

On the rare occasions when that self-censorship breaks down, the British press is immediately sensitive to all forms of government censorship, starting with the 'D' Notice and ending with the Official Secrets Act.

Watergate can and will happen here. Not because of any 'inherent defect in human nature', still less because 'all politics are corrupt' but because the men in charge of our society have grown fat from legal robbery, and are determined by any means, including illegal robbery, to preserve their condition.

The politics of 'Keep out politics!'

TOM JACKSON, general secretary of the Post Office Workers' Union, has been going on about keeping politics out of the unions. It is a familiar cry. Older readers will recall that at one time the slogan was used about local government.

'Keep politics out of local affairs' was the line of most local newspapers—which, by the merest chance, happen to be owned by rich men.

What the slogan really meant was 'Keep the Labour Party out of local affairs'. The Tories, generally speaking, used to run under false colours. They called themselves 'Independents', 'Ratepayers', 'Moderates', 'Citizens' or 'Progressives'. The fiction that these were distinct from the Tory Party was carefully kept up to give the impression that, somehow or other, these candidates for political office had no politics!

The fact is that 'Keep politics out of local government' was a political slogan put forward in the interests of a political organisation, namely the Conservative Party. And so today, in the unions, those who demand that 'politics' be kept out do so in the interests of a particular kind of politics—the politics of right-wing trade union officialdom.



What these people really mean is: keep out every kind of politics except the kind we support—and call that kind 'non-political'. It is a fraud. You can no more keep politics out of the unions than you can keep violence out of war or speculation out of the stock exchange.

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines 'political' as 'of, belonging to, or pertaining to, the state, its government and policy'. Like all definitions, this one is made from a particular point of view. A more revealing definition is given by the American political scientist Lasswell, who sums up politics as 'Who gets what, when, how?' Either definition will serve to



TOM JACKSON: He wants to keep out the politics of the militants so his own can control the union.

show that every question of trade union policy is also a political question.

The very existence of independent trade unions—independent of the state—is a political question. As everybody knows, independent trade unions were once 'illegal organisations'. 'Criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade' was the legal description in this country. They did not become fully legal until 1871.

They are illegal today in countries such as Spain and Greece and equally, though the formal situation is different, in countries such as Russia and Czechoslovakia.

The TUC itself developed out of the struggle for the legalising of trade union activities in the late 1860s. It established as its leading body a Parliamentary Committee—the General Council was a product of the 1920s—because, as the Webbs' History of Trade Unionism points out: 'The agitation which was immediately begun to secure the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act [which outlawed picketing] during the next years became the most significant feature of the trade union world.'

In short, the TUC was born for political ends and has existed for political ends ever since. And Jackson and his friends know this as well as anyone.



by
DUNCAN HALLAS

The TUC officially stands for the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. That is a political position too. And when people like Jackson say 'Keep politics out of it' they are really saying 'Accept Tory policies, accept the Industrial Relations Act, accept Incomes Policy.'

Three issues dominate trade union affairs today: incomes policy and its effects, the Industrial Relations Act and resistance to it, and the democratic control of the unions themselves. These issues are not simply trade union issues. They are absolutely central to British politics.

The government is vitally concerned to get its way, to push through its politics on all three.

It regards an incomes policy, a policy of curbing real wages and increasing profits, as essential to the needs of the capitalist class. It is probably now willing to modify the Industrial Relations Act, to make it easier for the trade union leaders to sell an incomes policy swindle, provided the essential features of the Act are preserved. And that means keeping the parts designed to reduce democratic control by union members and increase the power of the officials—an aim wholly acceptable to the vast majority of union chiefs.

In every country where there are

independent trade unions, attempts are made to impose legal restraints on trade union activity. In Britain we have the Industrial Relations Act. In some 'model democratic' countries, such as Denmark and Sweden, much more severe anti-union laws have been passed with the aim of curbing the activities of militants.



Tom Jackson wants a deal with the Tories that would give them most of what they want and tie the working-class movement to government policies. So, in varying degrees, do the bulk of the trade union leaders. They have had a bellyfull of 'confrontation' and long to get back to the 'corridors of power'—as junior partners of the employers and the state.

These are the politics in the interests of which the fraudulent political slogan 'Keep politics out of the unions' is raised.

We too stand for a particular kind of politics in the unions—the politics of independent working-class action in the interests of working people. And that is exactly what Jackson and his kind want to stop at all costs.

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fight against the Tories

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Palestine: hijacking of a nation



A shelled hospital on the Egyptian side of the Suez Canal.

While the junketing and backslapping go on in celebration of 25 years of the state of Israel, the plight of the Palestinian Arabs goes unnoticed in most of the Western press.

There is nothing to celebrate. For 25 years ago the land, homes and possessions of the Arab people of Palestine were taken from them as the Zionist forces ruthlessly drove the Arabs from their homeland. And in the ensuing years, the boundaries of Israel have been continuously extended by military force, driving more and more Arabs into refugee camps.

Why does Israel act in such a brutal and aggressive manner? Why do the Western powers—and many of the Eastern bloc—turn a blind eye to Israeli atrocities? How could many people who barely survived the terrible holocaust of Nazism ally themselves with a nation that forces countless Arabs into the misery and hopelessness of refugee camps and launches napalm raids on its neighbouring states?

In this feature a Socialist Worker writer traces the history of Israel, its roots in the blind-alley policies of Zionism and points to the only way forward for both Arab and Jew in the Middle East.

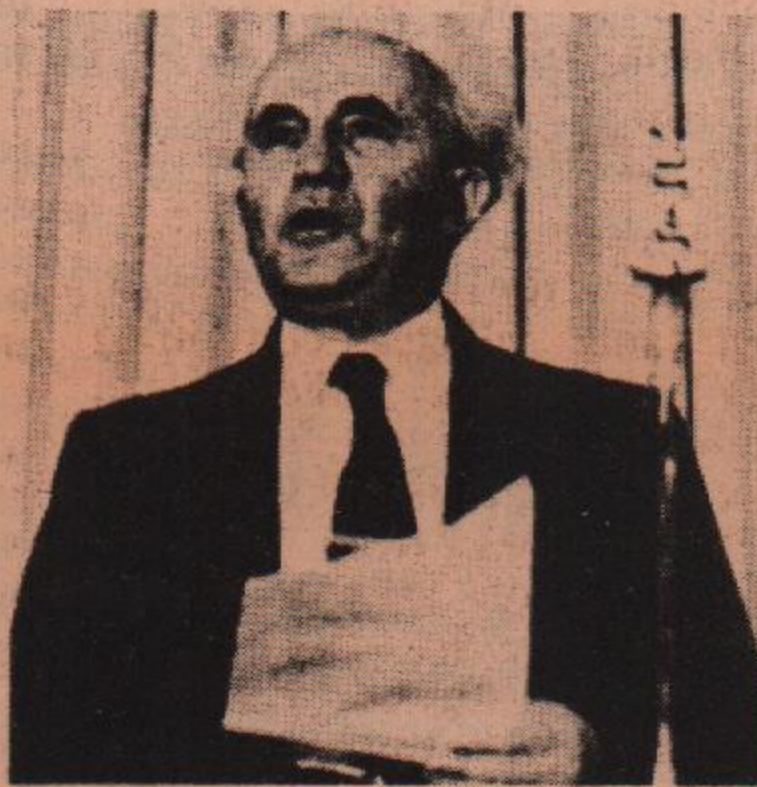
LAST WEEK the State of Israel celebrated its 25th anniversary. As visitors flocked in from all over the world to attend the display of armed might in Jerusalem, they saw a modern and prosperous state.

Well-tended fields and orange-groves and thriving cities must have provided a striking contrast to the surrounding Arab states.

Many visitors, encouraged by their guides, must have remarked on the contrast, and complimented their hosts on the 'great work' of the Israeli pioneers and settlers in 'reclaiming the desert' and 'making it bloom'.

The hostility of the surrounding Arabs must have seemed to many of them to be mere envy.

But the land on which the new state was established was not previously empty desert. It was inhabited. The original inhabitants were driven out by fear and force.



Ben Gurion: No Arab labour

Today they rot in camps across the frontiers of Israel, established by force.

From their camps they can see the fields and villages, or sites of villages, where they once lived. Only one thing prevents them from returning to cultivate their fields—the Israeli army.

The next time the world's press holds up its hands in horror at a Palestinian hijacking of an airliner,

it should be remembered that the State of Israel was founded on the hijacking of a country.

As Israeli's defence minister, Moshe Dayan, told an audience of students in 1969: 'There is not a single Jewish village in this country that has not been built on the site of an Arab village. The village of Nahal took the place of the Arab village of Mahloul . . . Gifat took the place of Jifta . . .'

A report on destroyed Arab villages in Palestine was issued in February by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Its chairman, Dr Israel Shahak, says: 'The truth about Arab settlements which used to exist in the area of the State of Israel before 1948 is one of the most guarded secrets of Israeli life.'

Myth

No publication, book or pamphlet gives either their number or their location. This is done on purpose, so that the accepted official myth of an 'empty country' can be taught and accepted in the Israeli schools and taught to visitors.

The destroyed villages, in almost all cases, were destroyed, and visitors are told that 'it was all desert'.

This was not accidental. It was built into the nature of Zionism, the movement which founded the Israeli state.

At the turn of the century many persecuted Jews, especially in Eastern Europe, sought to fight anti-semitism and racialism by fighting the capitalist system which gave rise to it, and the regimes which whipped it up.

But some thought otherwise. Anti-semitism, they said, was natural and unavoidable. The only response to it was to accept the inevitable, and seek to set up an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine.

Thus, Weizman, a Zionist leader, told a German audience in 1912, in words worthy of Hitler, that 'Each country can absorb a limited number of Jews if she does not want disorders in her stomach.'

Germany already has too many Jews.'

Zionists were prepared to co-operate with anti-semitic politicians who saw a Jewish state as a way of getting rid of their Jews.

Thus Herzl, the founder of Zionism, made an agreement with von Plehve, the Russian Tsar's minister who was responsible for organising pogroms of Jews, promising 'moral and material assistance with respect of the measures taken by the Zionist movement which would lead to the diminution of the Jewish population of Russia.'

And Balfour, the British Prime Minister who issued the famous declaration promising to set up a 'national home' for the Jews in Palestine, had himself played an active part early in this century in an Enoch Powell-type campaign by Tory MPs against Jewish immigration into Britain.

In fact Zionism is 'opposed' to anti-semitism in much the same way as a black politician who argues the answer to racialism is to go back to Jamaica, is 'opposed' to Enoch Powell.

The Zionists sought to establish their state, not in co-operation with Arabs, but with whatever imperialist power was strongest.

Thus they argued to the Germans that a Jewish state would block Britain in the Middle East, and similarly to Russia, France and Turkey.

Loyal

In the end Britain agreed to sponsor the Zionist idea, in the hope that a Jewish state would prove 'a loyal little Jewish Ulster in the Middle East' in the words of the first British governor of Jerusalem.

What about the Arabs who were already living in Palestine? 'What Arabs?' asked Weizman, when Albert Einstein put this question to him—'they are of no consequence.'

But Herzl had already thought of this: 'The poorer section of the indigenous population we shall

try to transfer ac without raising r them employment countries, but in d we shall deny ther This was not si sheer colonialist Zionists, unlike in South Africa or come to Palestine labour of the n replace them an society in which farmers would be So from the Zionists insisted employers should Jews, that Jews s



International Socialism 58

Labour Party/Gaullism and after/Steel in crisis/The CP and the left May 1973 15p Lenin and the revolutionary party



The May issue of International Socialism features an important and controversial article by Tony Cliff **Lenin on the Revolutionary Party.**

This is an article that will be quoted and argued about for a long time.

Other features include:

Crisis in Steel: Rob Clay and Nick Howard

The Communist Party and the Left: Steve Jefferys

Gaullism and After: Ian Birchall

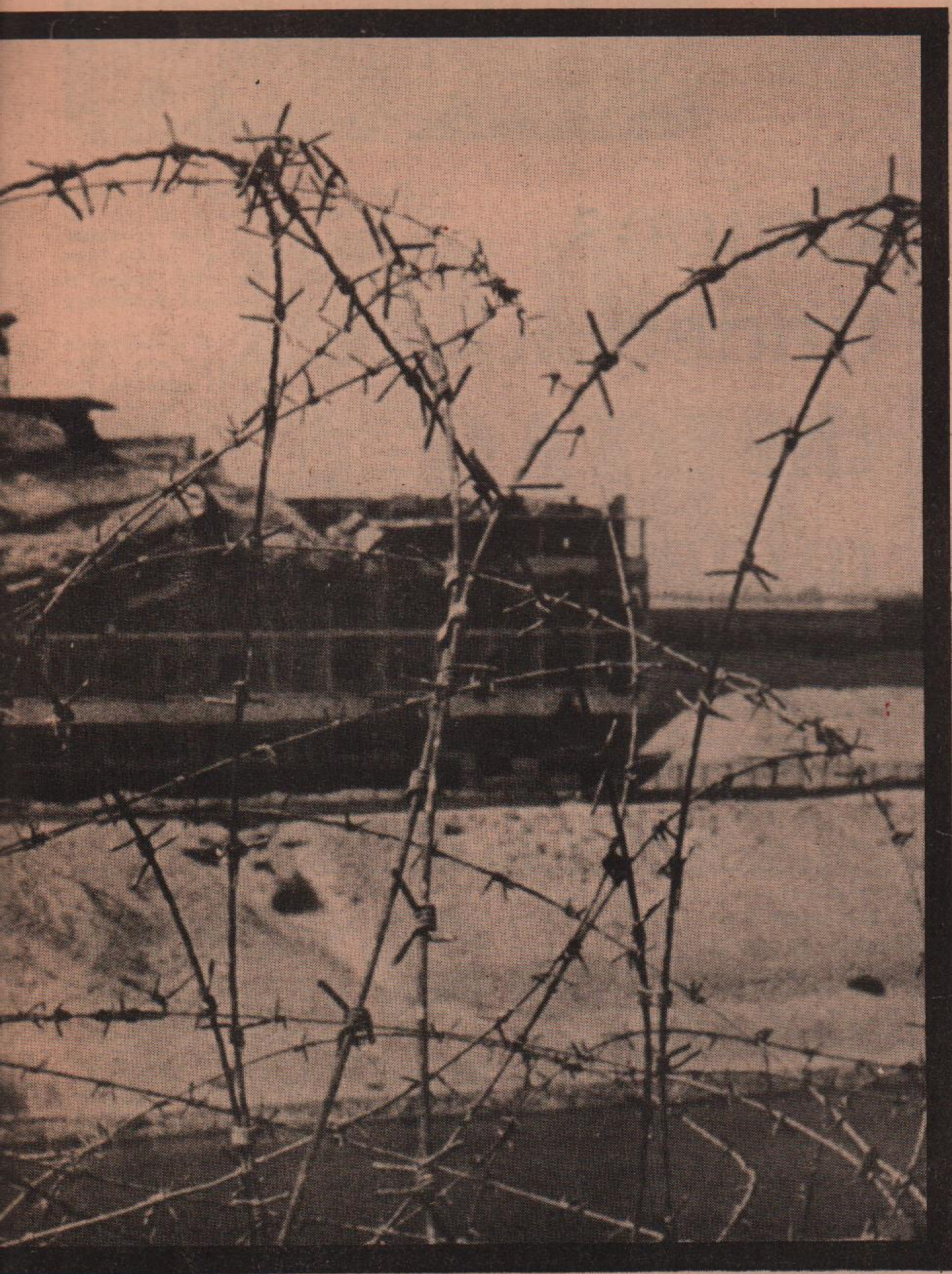
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Socialist Worker special analysis



Suez Canal seen through barbed wire along the latest version of the Israeli 'border'

cross the border, wise, by giving in the transit in their own country all work.'

mply a result of racialism. The white settlers in Algeria, did not to exploit the natives, but to build a new workers and Jewish.

beginning, the that Jewish employ only could only buy

Jewish produce.

Arab workers and farmers were boycotted, denied employment, and their produce destroyed if they tried to bring it to market.

The Zionist 'trade union', the Histadut, which was closed to Arabs until the 1950s, struck against employers who hired Arabs, and levied its members for a special fund to subsidise employers of Jewish labour to make up for the extra cost in turning away Arabs who would have worked for less.

The Zionist 'Jewish National Fund' bought land from feudal Arab landowners, turned the Arab

farmers off it, and let it to Jewish settlers, who were, and are today, forbidden to re-let it to Arabs.

The economy of Arab Palestine was distorted by this economic apartheid, no middle class or working class emerged, and the only lead came from the same corrupt feudal landowners who were enriching themselves by selling land to the Zionists.

To divert the attention of the masses, they encouraged opposition to Zionism on an anti-Jewish basis. Haj Amin el-Husseini, appointed by the British as Muslim religious leader, and a member of one of the richest landowning families, passed the last war in Berlin broadcasting anti-Jewish propaganda.

Blessing

This boycott was a conscious policy. Ben-Gurion, later Israel's first Prime Minister, told an audience in 1931: 'Nobody must think we have become reconciled to the existence of non-Jewish labour in the villages. We will not forego . . . one piece of work in the country.'

And one of his chief economists added: 'Every new industry is a blessing only if Jewish labour dominates it. Otherwise it is a calamity for the Jewish community.'

In 1967 Joseph Weitz, a leading Zionist in charge of settlement in the 1930s, recalled in the Histadut daily paper Davar that as early as 1940 he and other leading Zionists felt that 'among ourselves it should be clear that in this country there is no room for both peoples together . . . with the Arabs we shall not achieve our aim to be an independent nation in this small country.'

'The only solution is Palestine without Arabs . . . and there is no other way but to transfer all the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries.'

'To transfer all of them, not one village, not one tribe should be left behind . . . and only after such a transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brethren.'

CHAP AT THE DOOR FROM THE ISRAELI SQUATTERS CAMPAIGN, MUM.

SAYS THEY'RE MOVING IN, AS THE HOUSE IS OBVIOUSLY ALREADY OCCUPIED...



sis by **STEPHEN MARKS**

TERROR DRIVES OUT THE ARABS

THIS PLAN was carried out almost to the last detail. After Israel's 'war of independence' in 1948, 370 new settlements were created for new immigrants. 350 of them were on the property of evicted or refugee Arabs.

By May 1948, when the state was established, 300,000 Arabs had already fled. By the end of the year, the figure was nearer a million.

As the Zionist terrorist leader Menachem Begin wrote: 'Of the about 800,000 Arabs who lived in the present territory of Israel, only some 165,000 are still there. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be over-estimated.'

Begin should know. His terrorist group, the Irgun, was responsible for the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin, when the inhabitants of an Arab village near Jerusalem were murdered.

The example was used to terrorise others into flight. As Begin writes: 'The legend of Deir Yassin helped us particularly in saving of the Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa . . . All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter.'

'The Arabs began to flee in panic shouting "Deir Yassin" . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened uncontrollable stampede.'

In the Arab towns of Lydda and Ramle, the inhabitants were rounded up, given two hours to gather their possessions, and deported to the Arab lines by Israeli army lorries.

EARNINGS

As a result of such measures as these, Israel took over 388 Arab towns and villages containing nearly half the buildings in Palestine, 10,000 shops, businesses and stores, and some 30,000 acres of citrus groves, from which it drew a quarter of its foreign exchange earnings.

Of the land owned by Jews in Israel before the 1967 war, only 10 per cent had been in Jewish hands before 1948.

More land was confiscated from Arabs in the years between 1948 and 1967, and the policy has continued in the occupied territories since the six-day war of 1967.

Some 30 parliamentary settlements have been established in the occupied territories, to prepare the way for more Jewish settlement and 'create facts' that would make it harder for the territory to be handed back to the Arabs in any future peace.

Along with this goes an increased dependence on cheap Arab labour, imported from the occupied lands. As the Guardian reported two years ago, it will be necessary for a further 30,000 workers to be absorbed into the economy in the next five years.

'Nearly half of them will have to be Arabs. Dependent on cheap Arab labour, the Israeli economy is uncomfortably far away from being socialist . . . Even now, the quota of Arab workers is regulated by a ministerial committee according to estimates of the current needs of the economy.'

OPPRESSED

Arabs are 'carefully directed to areas where they are needed'. Indeed this tendency threatens to undermine the original Zionist ideal of a land where all economic tasks would be performed by Jews.

There is instead a trend to a South African situation, with Arabs imported as casual labour from the 'bantustans' on the West Bank, and performing all the menial and low-paid jobs.

Or almost all. For the other oppressed ethnic group in Israeli society is the Oriental Jews from the Arab countries, who make up half the population, but who were, in the mid-1940s, two-thirds of the unskilled workforce.

20 per cent of them live there

OUT THE ARABS



Moshe Dayan: courtesy call

or more to a room as against 7 per cent of Jews of European origin, and only 21 out of 120 members of parliament are Orientals.

Meanwhile inequality increases. The top 10 per cent of the population earn and own more than the bottom 50 per cent put together. A movement known as the 'Black Panthers' has been formed among the Orientals to fight what they claim is racial discrimination against them.

Driven by its racist nature into opposition to the Arabs, Israel is a natural ally of Western imperialism in the area. She has specialised in the past in providing specialist military assistance and training to reactionary regimes, especially in Africa.

Moshe Dayan went so far as to pay a courtesy call on the government of South Vietnam.

As Israel's foreign minister Abba Eban put it in 1957: 'What we aspire to is not the relationship which exists between the Lebanon and Syria . . . but the relationship between the United States and the Latin American continent . . . of economic interaction, but across a frankly confessed gulf of historic, cultural and linguistic differences . . . Integration is something to be avoided . . . lest they (oriental immigrants) . . . force Israel to equalise its cultural level with that of the neighbouring world.'

This is what the Israeli leaders envisage when they talk of 'peace'. Though they are prepared to talk to the Arab ruling classes about the terms on which they should be allowed to retain their spoil, they are not prepared to negotiate with the dispossessed Palestinians about

the terms on which they are to be allowed back into their own country.

That is why the Palestinians have taken up arms, to fight for a democratic non-racialist Palestine in which Jews and Arabs would enjoy equal rights.

The Arab governments, as closely tied to imperialism as Israel, fear the guerrillas as a threat to themselves and periodically turn on them, as in Jordan in 1971 and in Lebanon today.

For their part, the guerrilla groups, driven to despair by years of exile, rotting in camps on UN handouts, seem to imagine that individual assassinations, kidnappings and explosions will help free Palestine.

In fact only when the workers and peasants of the Arab countries take power themselves will they be able to build a movement that can confront the Western-armed and financed Zionist apparatus.

Such regimes could also appeal to the Israeli masses themselves.

HYSTERIA

But the Israeli leaders point to the reactionary Arab regimes, and to some of the acts of the Arab groupings, to persuade the Israeli workers that the Arabs want to 'push them into the sea'. Thus at the same time, nationalist hysteria grows.

But it is only the armed action of the Palestinians themselves which has reminded the world of the existence of this dispossessed nation, whose existence will be so carefully covered over during the anniversary celebrations.

As long as the Israelis continue to cling to the aim of a racially-exclusive state in the country they have stolen, they will pay the price of a mounting military burden, growing repression of dissidents at home, and growing insecurity in a hostile world.

They will continue to provide the best example of the words of Karl Marx: 'A nation that oppresses another can never itself be free.'

Preparing for Power

J.T. MURPHY

IN this book first published in 1934, Murphy considers the role and success of the revolutionary left 50 years ago and its later isolation. The author was a key figure in this first shop stewards' movement.

Price: £1 plus 15p postage.

PLUTO PRESS, Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.

The party that is the

THE workers, more than any other exploited class in history, have shown in the past 150 years an extraordinary ability to fight their rulers.

Socialism did not spring out of the blue, it was not simply an intellectual product elaborated by the brilliant minds of men like Marx and Engels. Revolutionary socialist ideas were the intellectual expression of the practical experience of the workers in their struggle against capitalism.

That workers were herded into the new factories gave them a sense of collective strength. During the earliest struggles against industrial capitalism in the first years of the 19th century many advanced workers began to question the justice of the system. They began to wonder whether they could not be producing wealth for themselves rather than for the benefit of the rich.

But capitalism instills its own ideas into the minds of workers, this struggle develops unevenly. If people's understanding of the system's injustices could develop evenly, socialism would come quite smoothly. Instead of advanced workers having to fight the backward elements of their own class, such as strike-breakers, policemen and soldiers, the working class as a whole would have to deal only with the ruling class.

But the rulers themselves are a tiny minority, most of whom would be useless if they came to take up arms to preserve their power.

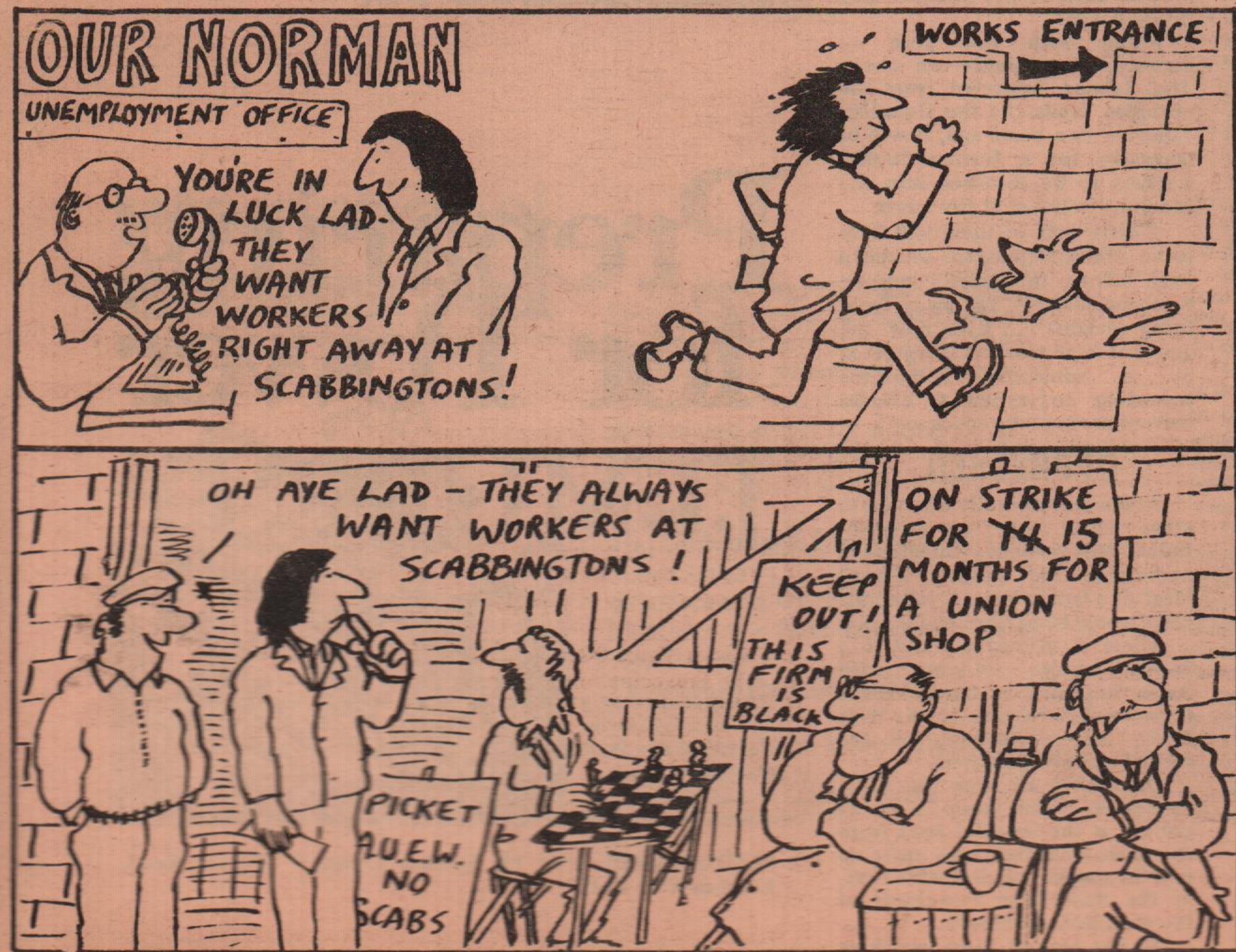
The ruling class sustains itself by giving its members a common outlook and tradition, a belief in the capitalist system and in their own right to rule. This is done through many institutions: public schools, top universities, businessmen's clubs, the officers' mess.

Struggle

A revolutionary party is needed to do the same for advanced working-class militants. It is the 'university' of the working class since it is based on the belief, gained from the whole past experience of struggle, that only the working class as a whole can create socialism. This party's tasks are to sustain militants in their socialist beliefs, to encourage them to spread revolutionary ideas among less confident workers and to heighten their confidence by developing struggles on all the immediate issues with which capitalism confronts them.

But because workers have been taught to view the world according to the needs of the ruling class, most see their struggles in narrow terms. The cry that politics and economics are separate, for example, has been

Apologies to Our Norman fans for his non-appearance last week. Blame the Post Office, not us.



university of the working class

MEMO

Now is the
time for all
good men ^{and} women
to come to
the aid of
the party...

A series by Sabby Sagall

drummed out so often that while workers fight in the factory on wage issues, many believe that so-called 'political' questions must be left to the politicians in parliament.

So a strike is taken by most workers involved as solely in support of the demand consciously raised—say, a wage claim. But at a deeper level, workers fighting the boss do so to assert their dignity as human

beings. Only in struggle can workers discover that they are more than objects to be manipulated, and that they cannot be pushed around indefinitely.

In recent years there has been a growing urge among workers to limit managerial authority inside the factories, to take increasing control over their own working lives. Many strikes break out because a foreman has sworn at a worker, because workers are determined to resist speed-up or defend a victimised militant, or because they reject the indignity of being told how long they can spend in the toilet.

Control

Even in many strikes over purely wage issues, long and bitter struggles are fought even though the workers know it will be a long time before the increase won will compensate for the money lost. The basic hostility to management's dictatorial power simmers just beneath the surface.

The end of all these struggles can only be the creation of a society in which the producers of wealth exercise total control over production and the state. But because workers are both economically exploited and culturally deprived, most lack the confidence to realise what the long-term result of their struggles could be.

Revolutionary leadership is needed because at every stage of the class struggle some workers will be more clearly aware of its final goal than the rest. Their task is to explain the deeper meaning of today's struggles, to point to these as the way in which socialism will eventually be won.

Every victory now makes easier the task of relating it to the final victory. But militants can only effectively establish this link in the minds of workers if they become involved in a revolutionary organisation whose goal is workers' power.

BOOKS

REVIEW

Unions under the miners

THE MINERS' NEXT STEP, first published 1912. Published by Pluto press for the International Socialists History Group with a new introduction by R Merfyn Jones, 20p.

THE years before the First World War were known as the time of 'the labour unrest'. Hundreds of thousands of workers were involved in massive industrial struggles against a background of rising prices and declining real wages.

This was not simply a 'spontaneous', economic response. Disillusionment with the performance of the Labour Party in parliament helped to spread the new doctrines of revolutionary syndicalism. On the shop floors of thousands of factories, in the docks and in the pits, militants were daily fighting for the ideas of industrial unions and workers' control.

A key weapon in their struggle was a constant stream of agitational pamphlets, and the most famous of these was *The Miners' Next Step*, published early in 1912 by the Unofficial Reform Committee in South Wales.

The pamphlet was subtitled 'A suggested scheme for the reorganisation of the Federation' and focussed general criticism of trade union leaders on the specific situation in South Wales, making detailed proposals on union reorganisation.

Although it was not the work of one individual but was redrafted and amended after discussion in local meetings and delegate conferences, the pamphlet's unifying theme is the idea of the self activity of the working class. The full-time union leaders, firmly wedded to a belief in 'conciliation' with the mine owners, were seen as occupying a privileged position which inevitably led to a conflict of interests with those of the rank and file miner.

Against the policy of simply changing one set of leaders for another, the authors argued for a thorough democratisation of the union which would limit the influence of full-time officials and vest power in the lodges and monthly joint delegate lodge conferences.

This vision of the workers' ability to control their own lives also underlies the far-sighted criticisms the pamphlet makes

of plans for nationalising the mines, showing them as schemes to buy the coal owners out of their economic difficulties and to extract profits from the miners more efficiently. Instead it proposes a genuine workers' democracy in which there will be:

'The co-ordination of all industries on a Central Production Board, who, with a statistical department to ascertain the needs of the people, will issue its demands on the different departments of industry, leaving it to the men themselves to determine under what conditions and how, the work should be done. This would mean real democracy in real life, making for real manhood and womanhood. Any other form of democracy is a delusion and a snare.'

The pamphlet's main weakness is its failure to consider the question of political, as opposed to trade union, organisation, and the role of a revolutionary party in the working class. As Merfyn Jones points out in his excellent introduction, this was largely due to the situation in the coalfield where the class was concentrated in one industry.

Despite this, it remains a classic document of the British revolutionary movement. It has also relevance today. As activity develops around the paper *The Collier*, it is hoped that a new generation of militants can use the basic ideas of *The Miners' Next Step* in building a new rank and file movement in the pits.

ALAN CAMPBELL

Mr X on the spot

WHO KILLED HANRATTY? by Paul Foot, Panther, 60p.

AT LAST, the paperback version of the most riveting book written in recent years. James Hanratty was put to death for a murder he did not commit, the shooting of Michael Gregsten at Deadman's Hill on the A6 in 1961.

Another man, Peter Alphon, has repeatedly claimed that he was the murderer, but police and Home Office—under both Tory and Labour secretaries—have refused inquiries into the case.

In a brilliant, sustained piece of research and writing, Foot hammers the official lies and cover up and unmask the truth behind the whole affair.

The man who arranged the murder is not named because of the crippling law of libel in this country, but careful readers should not have too much difficulty in discovering the real identity of 'Mr X'. This is definitely an 'all-night-read' book that grips with the power of a Chandler mystery with the added incentive of being true. It is the best available antidote to the hanging brigade still busily at work in the main political parties.

● *My War with the CIA*, by Sihanouk of Cambodia, which was reviewed here two weeks ago, has been published by Penguin Books in paperback, price 50p.

Bogie without the kernel

BOGIE, by Joe Hyams, Mayflower, 40p.

THIS is a silly book, in the worst traditions of Hollywood sycophantic biography. Strange that such a shoddy piece of work should be labelled by a discerning actress like Lauren Bacall as the 'authorised biography' of her husband.

According to Hyams, Humphrey Bogart was just the same in real life as he was on the screen. It must have been interesting, if a trifle trying, living with an amalgam of Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe, those archetypal private eyes, Duke Mantee, the crazed killer of *The Petrified Forest*, Captain Queeg, the sailing nut who inspired *The Caine Mutiny*, and the drunken bum of *The African Queen*.

A glib record of the wisecracks and the drinking bouts tells you little or nothing about the real man. Bogart's crucial role in the fight against the anti-communist McCarthy witchhunt of the early 1950s is glossed over in a couple of paragraphs. We do not learn why it was that Bogie led the campaign to stop McCarthy's vicious attack on actors and screenwriters, then suddenly backed out because he felt he was 'being used' by the Communist Party on the grounds that his opposition made the front page of the *Daily Worker*. Did he expect the *Worker* to ignore him?

And the book nowhere begins to analyse the exceptional, perhaps unique, role of Bogart in the Hollywood dream factory. Why is it that, 16 years after his death, re-runs of his films command enormous attention throughout the world and his catchphrases are currently on the lips of a generation still in nappies when he died?

Bogart, born into an affluent, upper-middle-class family, who had never experienced real hardship or struggle—



BOGART: Smoking cure

save for his early years as a stage actor—nevertheless managed to portray in a string of films, some bad, some brilliant, the ordinary American guy bucking against the system, fighting for all the other ordinary guys. And he proved in *The Caine Mutiny* and *The African Queen* that he was an actor with a great talent that many of his earlier films did not develop.

Hyams does not begin to get to grips with a rare phenomenon—an enduring star who survived the profit-hungry, plastic, throwaway world of Hollywood. But the book does have some use: anybody trying to stop smoking should read and reread the agonising last days of Bogart's life, tortured by lung cancer. At 40p, it's the cheapest smoking cure on the market.

DAVID EAST

BILLIE ~A BADLY PACKAGED HOLIDAY



Billie Holiday

LADY Sings the Blues is a sugary travesty of the life of Billie Holiday. If a director ever had the chance of making a meaningful film about a society and the artist it produced, Sidney Furie had that chance with Holiday.

But we don't discover what being a great black entertainer in a racist society is about. We get Hollywood schmaltz.

We've got to understand the music to understand Holiday. The Blues came from religious negro music, but while the black church conformed to white values, the blues were pagan, bad and black.

The music had an irony, an optimism which underpinned the sorrow and disillusionment and sprang from a granite determination by black people to control their destinies.

Billie Holiday was part of that community and can't be separated from the struggle against the white culture which excluded them.

There were many others like Holiday. Sonny Boy Williamson, stabbed and shot to death for the sake of a few dimes. The great Bessie Smith, injured in an automobile accident, dying because not one Jim Crow hospital would touch her black body to staunch the bleeding.

Young Robert Johnson riding the lonesome freight train from town to town, job to job, woman to woman, forced to keep moving by that remorseless hell hound that dogged his footsteps until his dying day.

Just like Holiday, these artists wrote and sang about things that touched a universal cord in the soul of black (and, belatedly, white) America. Today black writers, poets



Diana Ross as the 'Orphan Annie' Billie Holiday the film portrays

and dramatists are at last rediscovering the energy and feeling of the Blues.

To quote Larry Neal, 'Black art seeks to take the images of the Blues, the mangled bodies, the broken marriages, the moaning nights, the shouting, the violence, the love cheating, the lonely freight trains sounding their whistles' and to convert it into a culture whose function is to liberate black people from their mental slavery to white supremacy.

BRUTALITY

Once understood, the film can be seen as shamefully shallow, a cheap drama of the long-outmoded rags-to-riches formula. Diana Ross portrays Billie as a wide-eyed Orphan Annie who rises from obscure origins not exactly to the White House but at least to Carnegie Hall.

The tenor of the film is well illustrated by the opening sequence where Billy is shown 'undergoing the trauma of incarceration' on a drugs rap. Technically this is high level stuff, but it dutifully conforms to Nixonian morality, not even hinting at the brutality of American practice in relation to addicts in general and black addicts in particular.

Throughout the film, incidents like this, which could give an insight into

the psychology of Holiday and the realities of negro life, are slurred over. Thus Furie pussyfoots around the fact that the 15-years-old Holiday tumbled the idea that she could earn more in a day as a call girl than she could in a year as a charlady.

Likewise when she quits the profession rather than go to bed with a black harlem operator, Big Blue Rainer, the viewer would never know that no morality was involved in the conventional sense. What Billie objected to as a woman was the way in which black men like Rainer attempted to use their sexual prowess to dominate women.

Although she loved many black men, Holiday believed that business and pleasure didn't mix and perhaps she was borne out in this because Big Blue retaliated by using his crooked police contacts to give her a first taste of jail.

Furie continues by producing a caricature lover called Louis McKay, a silky black Valentino. The portrayal of their romance is almost a black Love Story and a despicable perversion of the real McKay/Holiday relationship.

RACISM

The one truly memorable shot in the film occurs when Billy is touring as vocalist with the white Artie Shaw Band. Forced to urinate in the bushes because the Jim Crow laws won't allow her to use white lavatories, she accidentally wanders over a hill and into a Southern lynching.

The sophisticated production succeeds in sending fear and hatred crawling down your spine, and the scene is evocative of the classic Holiday song Strange Fruit.

But that's it. Elsewhere the coverage of racism never rises above the level of negro protest literature, screaming about the negro's plight for the benefit of whites.

Indeed I suspect the neat balance of the 'un-American' activities of the white activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the concerned humanitarianism of the white musicians surrounding Billie is truer as an example of the patronising elitism of the American liberal establishment of today than of the original events and characters.

What evaluation shall we place on Lady Sings the Blues? Those seeking insight into the haunting and enigmatic artist that was Billie Holiday will find only frustration.

True the essence of her art—the tenderness, irony, the mournful delight—comes over in the songs. One can still see that Holiday was a supreme artist in her rendering of sweet jazz, the cosmopolitan style that stressed melody and flowing harmony to which she imbued a drowsy beauty never after equalled.

But this film gives us no clue to the basis of her creativity as an artist, nor to the depth of her feeling which sprang from being a woman and black in a society that denied the humanity of both. Neither does it relate her to the upsurge of negro talent of the 1920s and 1930s, her friends like Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and above all, Charlie Parker.

Nor is there any mention of the rising black politics of the period.

The film is mainly devoted to providing a vehicle to introduce Diana Ross as a Superstar. Whether Miss Ross deserved an Oscar for her performance may be in question in some circles.

But her casting ensured that this picture would not capture the true spirit of the blues in Billie Holiday's life and not just in her songs. Thus cinema goers will come away with no inkling as to why Billie had the right to sing the blues.

Barry Almeida

ARCHIVE-DIGGERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

THE annual History Workshops at Ruskin College, Oxford, have always been rather curious affairs, bringing together people—students, trade unionists, housewives and academics of a wide variety of political persuasions—whose only point of agreement is a radical approach to history.

This mixture has been the source of both the workshop's strengths and its weaknesses. On the one hand they have produced much good committed history, enriched by experience in the labour movement, in an atmosphere entirely free from the stuffiness and formality that usually characterises meetings of professional historians. On the other there has often been a tendency to gloss over the complexities of real history in favour of uncritical identification with certain movements and personalities.

At this year's conference on Women in History, from 4-6 May, there was unfortunately too much of the latter and not enough of the former. Though the sessions ranged from 'Women in Byzantium' to 20th century Black Country chainmakers, there was a decided lack of substance. This was not always the fault of those giving the papers, some of which were interesting and well presented—for example Delia Davin on Women in the

Chinese revolution, Christopher Hill on Sects and sex in the English Civil War and printworker Alan Leather's account of the position of women in a contemporary Indian village. But in some cases it clearly WAS the speakers' fault—one managed to give an account of the role of women in the Dublin strike of 1913 while failing to mention who was on strike.

SECTARIAN

But much of the fault must lie with the audience. For it was clear that many of those who turned up to the conference were only vaguely interested in history. Instead they wanted to use the occasion to voice what they saw to be the problems of the women's liberation movement today—all very well for a women's workshop conference, but not for a history workshop.

The worst offenders were the so-called Radical Feminists, who believe that sex oppression is more fundamental than class oppression but whose sectarian intolerance seems to have been taken more or less wholesale from the worst sections of the male-dominated left.

They were so tied up with their desire to attack men that they failed to see the point—quite clearly brought out both by Anna Davin's paper on Imperialism and

the cult of motherhood and Tim Mason's on The role of women in Nazi Germany—that if the women's movement has not always advanced with the advance of the labour movement, defeat of the labour movement has not always involved defeat for women.

Perhaps the best session of the whole weekend, and the one that most clearly brought out the differences between socialists and Radical Feminists, was the paper given by International Socialists member Lucia Jones on Sylvia Pankhurst, who broke away from the middle-class suffragette movement to concentrate on work among the working-class women of the East End of London. Not only was this paper well presented, but it provoked a most interesting discussion which could easily have gone on for another hour or so had there been time.

One of the reasons why this session was so good was that there were a lot of people present who had researched into the suffragette period. It will take an enormous amount of digging into the archives to make us equally well informed about the activities of women in other periods of history. Hopefully if it does nothing else, the workshop may provoke more people to engage in such digging.

Julian Harber

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

- For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.
- Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.
- For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.
- Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.
- For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.
- Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.
- For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.
- Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.
- For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.
- Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.
- Against immigration restriction.
- For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.
- For real social, economic and political equality for women.
- Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.
- Against secret diplomacy.
- Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.
- For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.
- We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.
- The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.
- It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

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St Albans
Slough
Tottenham
Walhamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

MIDLANDS
Birmingham NE
Birmingham S
Coventry
Derby
Dudley
Leamington and Warwick
Leicester
Loughborough
Mid-Derbyshire
Milton Keynes
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Rugby
Warley
Wolverhampton

SOUTH
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Eastbourne
Guildford
Portsmouth
Southampton

THE UNIONS

Chapple congratulates blacklegs

FRANK CHAPPLE, general secretary of the electricians' and plumbers' union, has already earned himself notoriety for his part in the long-running St Thomas' Hospital dispute in London.

As reported in Socialist Worker three weeks ago, Chapple wrote to all the strikers telling them that by striking in pursuit of a wage rise and against the harassment of their employers, Phoenix Electrical, they were sabotaging Frank's struggle to 'reason' a way through the pay laws.

He has now gone one better. He has written a personal letter to all the blacklegs on the site congratulating them on their stand against 'anarchy'. The men—many of whom are on the lump—are getting rates higher than the wage levels the strikers were demanding.

The letter, which is signed, 'Thank you, Yours fraternally, Frank Chapple', reads as follows:

'On the 12th February I wrote to all our members employed on the St Thomas' Hospital site by Phoenix Electrical Ltd.

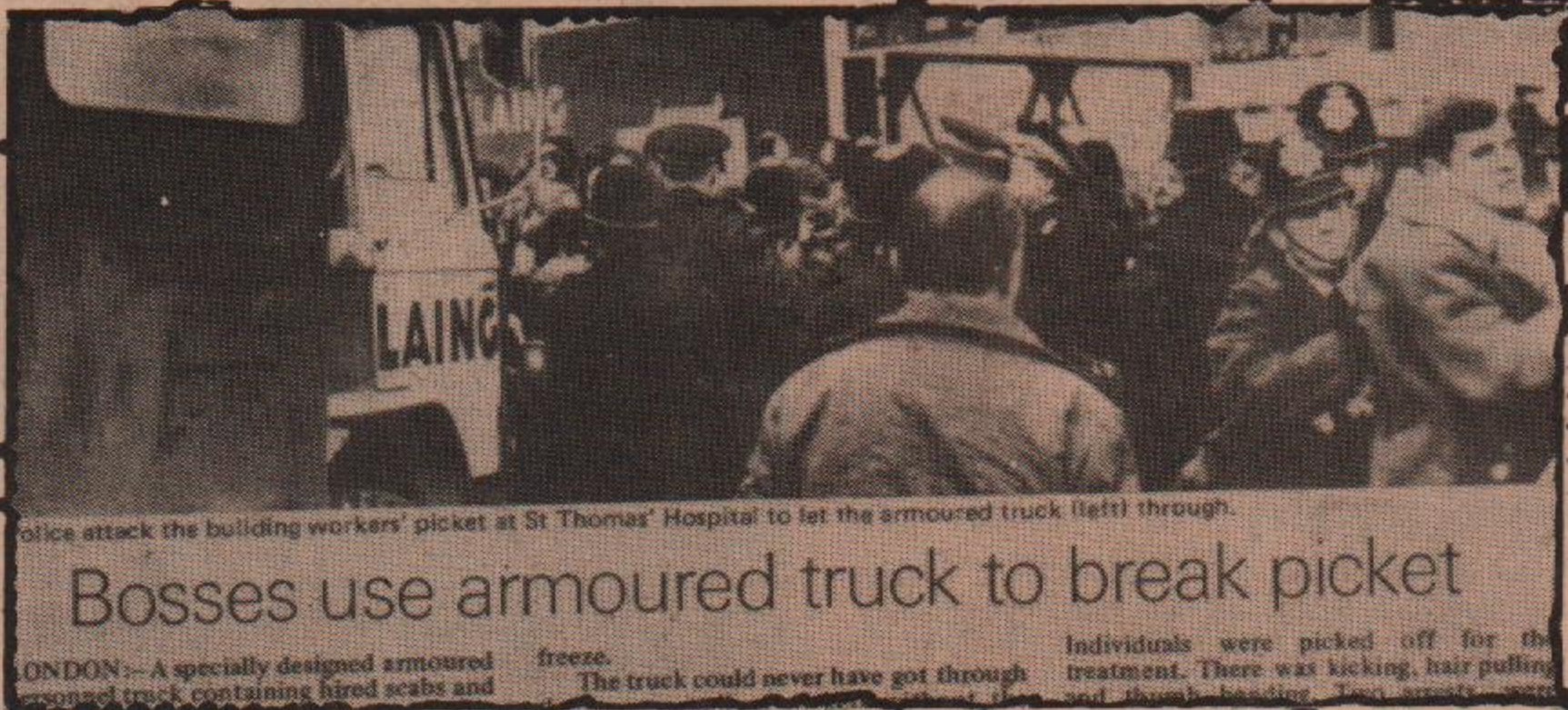
'In that letter I examined the "reasons" for the strike of our members. I explained that the strike was not only futile but also against the best interests of all our contracting members. Nothing has happened to change that analysis.

'Indeed, the majority, who left the dispute almost as soon as it started, voted with their feet and partially endorsed my letter. You who heeded it completely and still work on the site have chosen a personally difficult course. I am writing to you to convey the appreciation of the union for our stand.

'In your circumstances you will feel isolated. The right decision is seldom an easy one. I want you to know that your action upholds all that many generations of members have tried to build up in this industry. At national level our agreements are worthless unless they are supported at site level.

'The overwhelming majority of our contracting members understand this. Your determined action will encourage more and more to act on that understanding, to vote against anarchy, instead of walking away from it.'

It is not known whether the police, who so viciously broke up the picket lines outside St Thomas's last month, have received a similar letter congratulating them on their stand against 'anarchy'.



From Socialist Worker, 24 March

BIG REVERSAL FOR NUPE LEADERS

MILITANTS at the conference of NUPE, the National Union of Public Employees, in Eastbourne achieved a dramatic reversal of union policy over bonus and work study schemes.

A resolution which deplored the delay in introducing bonus schemes was thrown out and then another resolution passed after heated debate demanding that no further schemes be started and existing schemes honoured only as long as they suited their members.

Delegate after delegate condemned the schemes already introduced. Alfred Thomas, of Corby, introducing the resolution, said bonus schemes reduced union effectiveness in the fight for better conditions. Delegates spoke of natural wastage and loss of jobs, of speed-up and dustmen running on the job and about the bitterness and divisions created among workers.

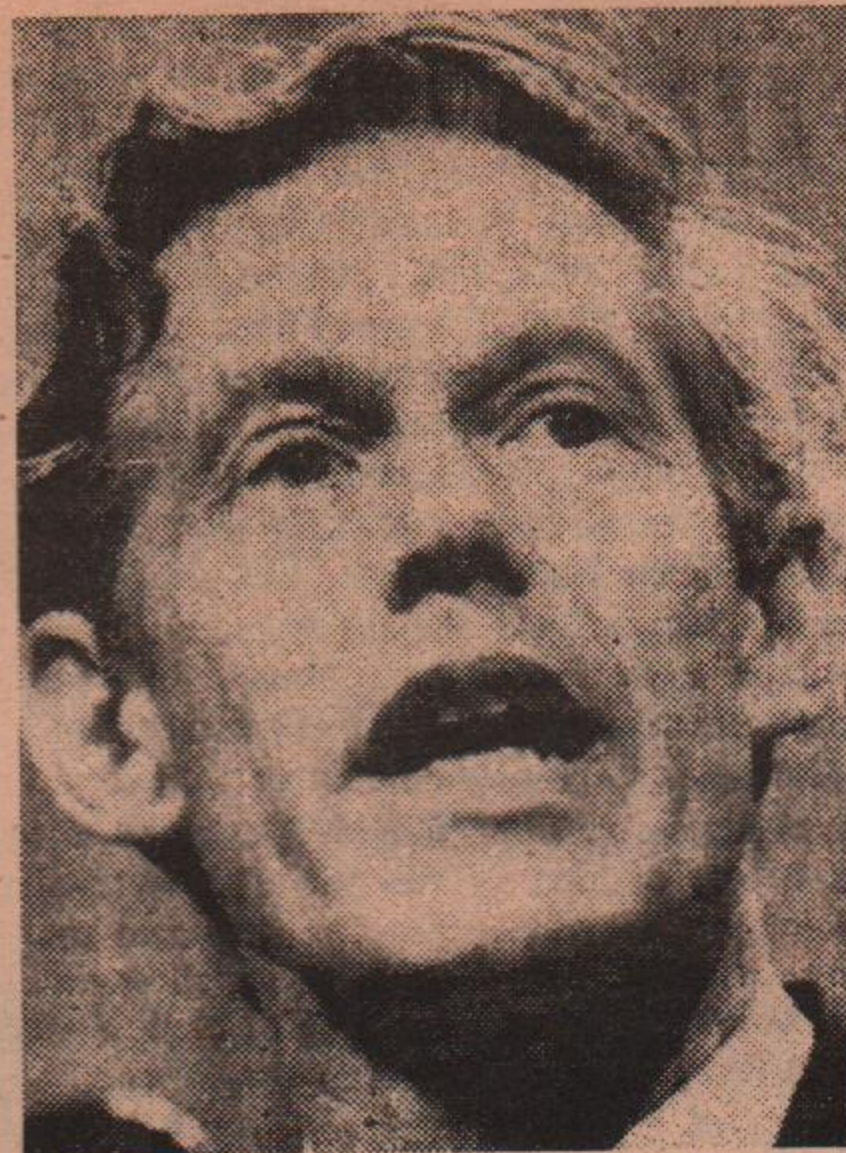
Patrick Honey, of Slough, argued: 'Work study is a curse. We have a monster we cannot deal with. This union is perpetuating this with its policy.' He also spoke of the threats to safety and work standards.

But the union's general secretary, Alan Fisher, put his weight behind the policy the union had been pushing for the past six years. He said that where increases in basic rates could not be won, bonuses were the only way.

MILITANT

But Mark Palmer, of St George's Hospital, London, put the point clearly: 'We are low paid because of the policy of incentive bonus schemes. We must start the fight for higher pay from here, with the fight for the £30 basic.'

The conference had earlier agreed to the fight for £30, £25 of this by the end of the year, and for a 35-hour week. The delegates voted unanimously for early retirement and increased pensions, as well as a six-point plan for a better deal for nurses.



ALAN FISHER: Talk of 'glorious defeat'

These and many other resolutions urging militant action were passed but delegates time and again repeated that many resolutions had been debated and then forgotten conference after conference. Stuart Hill, of Teesside, said during the debate on higher pensions: 'It is not enough to relieve our consciences by passing resolutions. Pensioners need solidarity not sympathy.'

Tony Cross, of Oxford University branch, said of the claim for higher wages: 'We've got to get out and bloody well fight for them.'

Out of the action

THE executive of the engineering section of the AUEW did not even consider the call from the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee for an official strike at its meeting last week. The strike call at this late stage is mainly to provide an alibi for the union officials who have given absolutely no leadership for the past nine weeks.

The main reason for the engineering section's disinterest is that it is looking over its shoulder waiting to see which way the Transport Union is going at Ford, but there was a good excuse for giving Ford no consideration. Reg Birch is the AUEW representative on the negotiating committee. He was not present at the meeting last week.

Birch is on a three-week delegation to Australia. It is not known how he proposes to lead a struggle against the freeze from such distant shores.

OPPOSITION

Despite failure to look at the lessons and mistakes of the hospital workers' strike, the conference was one of the first where the leadership did not have its own way.

The defeat for the executive on bonus schemes was the most dramatic but executive opposition to an end to percentage rises—which automatically penalise the low paid—was also ignored by the delegates, who demanded flat rate increases.

Again, almost every delegate spoke of the need for a special conference to discuss future reorganisation of the union, but Alan Fisher side-tracked, twisted and turned until his hand was forced by a card vote to suspend standing orders to allow a resolution demanding a special conference.

Militants left the conference confident of the impact they have had, but determined to fight in their branches for an even greater victory at next conference and to bring pressure to see that the decisions are put into action.

Party card opens the union's doors

I WOULD like to congratulate Socialist Worker and Jimmy McCallum on the article about developments within TASS, the technical and supervisory section of the engineering union (5 May).

I have been a member of TASS now for 13 years. During the 1960s many of us were proud to belong to DATA which was a byword for progressive thinking and industrial militancy. We felt we had leaders of daring and imagination. Now, as the union has grown in size its stature

has diminished and the whole is no longer greater than the sum of the parts.

The Communist Party has been good for our union and has provided many brilliant officials without which our union would have been very much the poorer. On the other hand, our union has been good to the CP, whose members in our union have always been encouraged to participate.

Now it seems, we have reached the point

where the only 'left' body which will be tolerated is the CP itself. A CP card is the only qualification for acceptance. Has TASS such an abundance of talent that it can afford to select its high officials only from within the ranks of the CP? I would think not.

Unfortunately, as Jimmy McCallum points out there are many members of the broad left who will choose not to serve a union with such a narrow field of vision and tolerance.-P KIRBYSON, Huddersfield.

It's up
to us
to build
rank and
file groups

THE Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has refused to encourage the building of rank and file organisations in the localities to rally the working class against the Tory and perhaps future Labour governments.

The British Communist Party, the main force in the Liaison Committee, clearly has a reason for not building a rank and file movement: it's not much use having one if you aren't going to use it.

In the 1926 General Strike the Minority Movement was relegated to the role of pressure group. The Communist Party leadership placed most of its reliance on the left union leaders.

Today they rely on the 'left' leaders and have no need for a rank and file movement.

Why doesn't the Communist Party leadership want to use a rank and file movement? The truth is that it long ago lost whatever faith it had in the ability of the working class to organise and build a new society. This is nowhere better reflected than in their belief that socialism will be handed down to the working class by parliament.

As Lenin said of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in 1917: 'Lack of faith in the people, fear of their initiative, trepidation before their revolutionary energy instead of all-round and unqualified support for it . . . This is where we find one of the deepest roots of their indecision, their vacillation, their infinite and infinitely fruitless attempts to pour new wine into the old bottles of the old, bureaucratic state apparatus.'

How much closer is IS to the spirit of Marx and Lenin than the Communist Party! It falls to IS to prepare the fighting organisations of the working class.-PAUL MACKNEY, Exeter.

Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive first post Monday. They should be typed or handwritten on one side of the page only. Please write clearly and print names in block capitals to avoid confusion. Letters may be cut for space reasons.

LETTERS

A puritan view on the arts

JOHN PENNEY's criticisms of the Review Page (28 April) seem to reflect a depressing puritanism that exists among a few otherwise capable and intelligent revolutionaries. He appears to be saying that no work of art or entertainment is worthy of any praise unless it takes a rigid marxist-leninist standpoint.

On the television column, I feel sure that Tom Clarke does not believe that writing to the moguls of television will change what we see on our screens any more than John Penney does. However what is so wrong, as Clarke suggests, in writing encouraging if critical letters to the handful of writers and producers who make at least some attempt to expose our disgusting society?

On the Picasso obituary, I believe that the artist showed more creativity and general concern for humanity than a galleryful of the bourgeois obituary writers that John Penney accuses Socialist Worker of imitating. Undoubtedly the art dealers did see Picasso's work as good investments.

If John Penney really believes that Picasso never did anything for the workers' cause through his work, I can only suggest that he takes a look at the painting of the Guernica holocaust and, bearing in mind the current actions of the US airforce in Cambodia, asks himself whether or not it has any relevance today.-DAVE BLACK, Newcastle upon Tyne.

I THINK the British soldier who refused to shoot children in Ulster is to be warmly congratulated. Good luck to him and small blame to him if he decides to throw in his lot with the IRA.

The name, rank, regiment and number of the 'superior officer'—and any other details that will help identify him, including photo—who gave the order should be given the widest publicity.

All pubs, restaurants and places of entertainment should be alerted and asked to refuse all services to this pariah who has chosen to remain ignorant of the common decencies of life.-JOHN ORMSBY, Chard, Somerset.

GRASSROOTS CAN FIGHT LIE MACHINE

FEW MILITANTS would disagree that the Tory press is one of the biggest barriers in the way of the struggle for socialism. But are we doing enough to counter the lies and distortions continually pumped out by the Max Aitkens and Lord Cowdray's of this world?

Surely when a handful of press barons can control most of the country's newspapers it shouldn't be too hard for our relatively small but enthusiastic ranks to show a little (dare I say it) enterprise and set up more newspapers or even newsheets in our factories and communities.

Remember that little old lady down the road who hates blacks and strikers might see things differently if she knew the facts. But while she's doped with the Rule Britannia of the Express and the Land of Hope and Tory of the Mail, there isn't much chance of that.

Take your workmate who occasionally looks between the tits and horse racing of the Mirror and the Sun to read about the silent majority or the national interest. It's no small wonder much of the working class is in a state of apathy.

If militants set their minds to it and put the need for factory and community publications at the top of their lists, then I can see no reason why we can't progress one hell of a way towards our goal. If we fail to do this then much of the working class will continue to be isolated from socialist theory and indeed socialist practice.

I don't wish to degrade the excellent publications of most of the

groups on the left, but grass-roots publications are equally important.—BRIAN PARSONS, Birmingham 31.

Brainwash

THE 32,000 books a year mentioned by Claire Walsh (21 April), the national newspapers which Ron Knowles writes about, and the television watched by Tom Clarke—all these, and most other media, have the function of imprisoning us in the cultural web of capitalism. They inform, 'educate' and entertain in a way which brainwashes us into 'consensus' attitudes.

I would have thought that this was axiomatic for a socialist. And I would have thought it was axiomatic, too, that the flashes of brilliance, genius, radicalism, even, which appear in the media, do not and cannot alter this basic, social function. (Indeed, they are rendered innocuous by the very fact of their juxtaposition with the lies, unstated assumptions and misrepresentations which make up nine-tenths of our cultural pabulum).

Surely most revolutionaries would accept that this is true of publishing, the press, the commercial theatre, and most films? And would reject any suggestions that it is possible to 'change' matters by the pressure of 'public opinion'?

It is dangerously misleading to suppose that things are any different in the case of television. When Tom Clarke writes that he can't 'guarantee to get you in front of the cameras', that the television monolith is 'vulnerable to . . . public opinion', that 'we can start doing something to change it', and so forth, he underestimates the extent to which television, more than any other medium in the history of human communication, has been integrated with the cultural web from which we struggle to escape.

Of course, plays and documentaries of honesty, of revolutionary consciousness even, do get on, just as some good books are published, some good films get to be seen. They can and should be mentioned, praised, videotaped, and so forth. But it is much more important to explain the thousands of clever and imperceptible ways in which television serves capitalism, as no other medium has ever served it before, and to expose the frightening machinery, adminis-

trative, financial, psychological, much of it by no means clear to television people themselves, by which this service is procured.

It is equally important to prepare the ground for the time when all forms of communication are taken away from the sycophantic elites who manage them today, and become the common property of mankind.

It is a striking fact that there is no tradition of serious criticism (marxist or otherwise) of radio and television, comparable with that of other media.

If your television critic could get hold of a videotape recorder and occasionally subject a programme like the recent Stalin, or a play, or drama series, to the kind of in-depth marxist analysis one takes for granted on a book review page, this would be one useful departure.—H EMERY, Plymouth.



TROTSKY'S HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

VOLUME ONE

Three volumes, 50p each, post and packing 7p per volume, 15p the three

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

'The language of the civilised nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as czar, pogrom, knout, October has internationalised such words as Bolshevik, soviet . . . This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine it needs justification'—Trotsky.

Profits drive behind rising accidents toll

TONY CONWAY (28 April) said that factory accidents are usually 'acts of inadvertentness' on the part of the worker. Quite the contrary. In fact, many managements will turn a blind eye to any agreed safety standards if they retard production.

I don't know if Tony has ever seen the annual pantomime in most factories prior to a visit from the factory inspectors, with foremen and chargehands running around fixing machine guards, clearing the floors of material, etc.

Secondly the intensification of the working day through such mediums as job evaluation and productivity bargaining has caused accident totals

to soar. In industries covered by the Factories Act the total number of accidents has increased by an average of 9 per cent every year since 1962.

As to who is to blame for accidents, the figures speak for themselves. A report from the factory inspector some four years ago found that of 597 fatalities recorded there had been 262 breaches of safety laws by management and only six that could be put down to the workers concerned.

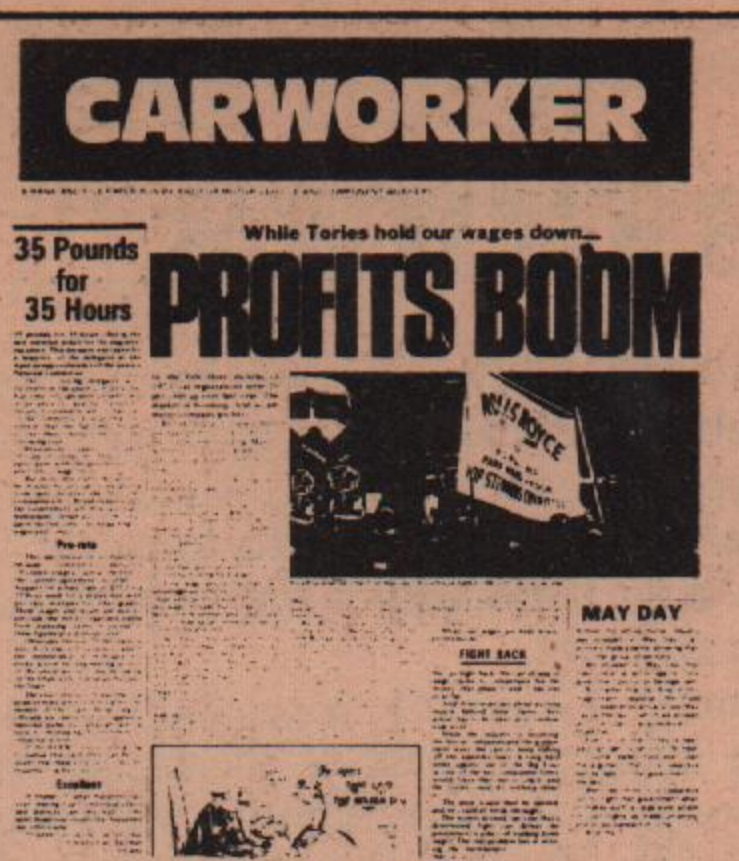
The difference between 'mugging' and exploitation of workers is only a question of sophistication in the methods used to extract profits.-DAVE WALSH, Bexleyheath, Kent.

PINSTRIPED UNION CRIES WOLF...

INTERESTING light is thrown on the Industrial Relations Act by a circular issued by the right-wing executive of the Institute of Professional Civil Servants last week. The institute has been one of the few unions to register, but the executive has now been complaining about various rule changes the government-appointed registrar is demanding. If it does not make these changes, it could be thrown off the registrar.

It has been told that it must strengthen the executive's control over the branches and introduce rule changes to prevent any increase in union dues without a two-thirds majority. The executive has described the changes as meaning a move from 'an organisation based on persuasion and consent' to 'what is in substance an authoritarian organisation'.

The union is not very democratic—all its full-time officials are appointed not elected. The registrar is clearly concerned to stamp out even the few remaining areas of democracy in the unions.



CARWORKER
While Tories hold our wages down...
35 Pounds for 35 Hours
PROFITS BOOM
MAY DAY

THE latest issue of The Carworker, the rank and file paper for motor workers, was published last week. It covers all the recent struggles in the car and car components industry, with reports from Dagenham, Halewood and Leamington on the Ford struggle and a centre page spread on this year's campaign for a wage increase in the Chrysler combine.

Copies can be obtained from 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10. A subscription for 12 issues costs 60p.

CPSA NOT SO CIVIL OVER PENSIONERS

MARGATE:—This year's conference of the Civil and Public Services Association exploded in controversy on its first day last week.

An emergency motion calling on civil servants not to pay out this year's pension and supplementary benefit increases until their pay claim

is met in full was passed by a 17-vote majority.

The decision was greeted by an immediate walk-out by the union's post and telecommunications group. This was thought to be connected with the group's leaders' wish to break away to join the Post Office Engineering Union.

The only clear cut opposition to the counter-productive 'Don't pay the pensioners' policy came from the rank and file group Redder Tape. Its members briefly joined the walk-out from conference, and for the rest of the week held meetings and issued leaflets calling for the reversal of the policy.

The Redder Tape bulletins pointed out that for years the CPSA's method of winning wage increases was to follow on behind other workers involved in struggle. Now, it seemed, the CPSA was to do it on the backs of pensioners, which played right into the hands of the government and the Tory press.

A spokesman for the group told Socialist Worker: 'The left in the union has tremendous opportunities for a fight with this government. But we regard it as a point of principle that if you're going to fight, you must make some kind of sacrifice in the process.'

LOOPHOLE

'This decision called on the pensioner to make the sacrifices. We recognise that the problem arises out of a natural resentment and frustration against the failure of the national executive to organise the kind of all-out strike action that would defeat the government. We are determined to fight against the implementation of the decision and for genuine action against the Tory incomes policy.'

By the end of the week the executive had found a constitutional loophole which enabled them to reverse the decision.

Although the conference was dominated by this one issue, there were useful signs of the union's future course. On the basic issue of pay, hours, holidays and other conditions, militant motions from the branches had been buried in non-militant composite motions calling on the union leaders to 'conduct research', 'negotiate', 'continue efforts' and the

like. Not one single motion calling for industrial action in support of a specific demand was allowed to be debated. So the executive were permitted to leave the conference looking forward to another year of comparative peace and quiet.

The need for militant rank and file organisation is becoming increasingly clear to large groups of members. The most heartening event of the week was the total rejection of productivity deals under any circumstances. In the face of determined opposition from the national executive, rank and file members completely exposed the dangers of such bargaining and obtained an overwhelming vote in favour of killing them off as any part of future CPSA policy.

National Front man defends blackleg

LEICESTER:—John Kynaston, National Front candidate for Aylestone ward, Leicester, has been 'severely reprimanded' by the AUEW district committee for defending a union scab before the local Industrial Relations Court.

R F Weston had tried to break the closed shop at the New Bridge Street factory of the Bentley Engineering Group by leaving the union. Kynaston, as his shop steward, represented him without informing his convener.

Kynaston has had to resign as steward, and also promise not to break union policy in future. This incident has shown the National Front's role as an anti-union front for scabs.

Strike as Alligator shows its bite

STOCKPORT:—Machinists and cutters at Alligator Rainwear came out on strike and picketed the firm after a girl was sacked for refusing to take a £6-a-week wage cut by being changed from piece-work to time-rate. The workers see this as the beginning of an assault on pay and they're determined to fight.

Police evict sit-in

STOCKPORT:—Workers from local factories organised a mass picket outside the Bason-Pasco factory on Monday morning after the sit-in strikers were evicted by 33 bailiffs and police. The firm has so far made no attempt to move back into the factory or bring in blackleg labour.

Strikers still solid in pay claim farce

LONDON:—The three-week-old strike at Beetonsons on the Park Royal estate in North West London remains solid and the 250 strikers are determined to win. The strike is over the management's refusal to grant even the paltry maximum increase allowed under phase two.

Beetonsons, part of the giant 600 Group, had decided to deduct increases won under the national holiday credits agreement from the £1 plus 4 per cent. This deal was signed in August, long before the freeze.

The firm attempted to intimidate the strikers by sending letters explaining that the Pay Board has agreed that the £1 plus four per cent cannot be paid in full. On advice from the strike committee all the letters have been sent back marked 'return to sender'.

A mass meeting of the two unions involved, the engineering union and the automotive section of the transport workers union, decided last Friday to continue the struggle. It is obvious to many workers that if they have to strike to get the £1 plus four per cent, they might as well have fought for their original claim of 20 per cent.

Beetonsons is part of the Engineering

Employers Federation and if the management win here workers in other factories will be confronted with the same ultimatum. The strike must get full support from other engineering workers.

In particular the dispute shows the need for a combine organisation within the 600 Group. If that existed, workers in its different factories could bring the bosses to their knees.

Donations and messages of support to J Jackson, 40 Ealing Park Gardens, Ealing, London W5.

Office workers out after steward suspended

HEBBURN, County Durham:—20 members of APEX, the office workers' union, at RW Transmissions struck last Wednesday over the suspension of a shop steward. Union members had been refusing to answer the telephone in their campaign to gain a closed shop among clerical grades. The company is using the Industrial Relations Act to protect two non-union members, although TASS won full trade union membership for the draughtsmen last year.

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday morning. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

IS MEETINGS

WALTHAMSTOW IS
Open meeting
Harry Wicks—Why I am a Revolutionary Socialist
Thursday 24 May at 8.00pm
Grove Tavern, Grove Road
London E17

GOOLE public meeting
WHY WE NEED A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE
Speaker Tony Cliff (IS national committee)
Monday 21 May, 1pm
Railway Tavern, Boothferry Road

IS IRISH FORUM
The National Question and Permanent Revolution
Speaker Tony Cliff
Friday 25 May, 7.30pm
The Plough, Museum St, London WC1 (nearest tube station Holborn)
ALL WELCOME

LONDON ATTI IS FRACTION meeting:
This Sunday 20 May, 8pm, 133 Highbury New Park, N5. Please note date.

TOWER HAMLETS IS public meeting:
What is a Revolutionary Party? Speaker Jim Higgins, IS national secretary. Thurs 24 May, 8pm, Central Library, Bancroft Rd (next to Mile End Hospital).

LAMBETH IS public meeting: Social Class —a Marxist View. Speaker Sam Farber of Los Angeles IS. Wednesday 23 May, 8pm, Brixton Training Centre, 2 St Mathews Rd (near Lambeth Town Hall). Brixton tube.

STRETFORD IS public meeting: The Struggle for Socialism. Speaker Tony Cliff. Friday 18 May, 8pm, Dog and Partridge, Chester Road, Manchester.

PAISLEY IS public meeting: Can the Wage Freeze be broken? Speakers: Steve Jefferys (Clydeside IS organiser, ex-Chrysler shop steward) and Alec Maeberry (SOGAT, Stimur). Wednesday 23 May, 7.30pm, Baker Rooms, George Place (off George Street).

BIRMINGHAM IS public meeting: Socialists and our work in the trade unions—a meeting for industrial workers. Speaker Wally Preston (AUEW). Saturday 19 May, 12 noon, White Lion, Horsefair, Holloway Head, Birmingham.

SOUTH BIRMINGHAM IS public meeting: The Millionaire Press. Speaker Roger Protz (editor, Socialist Worker). Thursday 24 May, 7.30pm, The Wellington, corner of Bristol St and Bromsgrove St, Birmingham.

CAMBOURNE public meeting: Why we need a Rank and File Organisation. Speakers Wally Preston (AUEW) and Jimmy Role (AUEW senior shop steward, Holmans). Tuesday 22 May, 8pm, Cambourne Community Centre.

NEWHAM IS public meeting
CAN THE LABOUR PARTY BRING SOCIALISM?
A debate between STAN NEWENS, ex-Labour Party MP, and DUNCAN HALLAS of IS
Wednesday 23 May, 8pm
The Castle, Greengate, Barking Road
London E13
ALL WELCOME

LONDON REGION IS SOCIAL
Saturday 26 May, 8pm
New Merlin's Cave, Margery St, WC1 (nearest tube: Kings Cross)
New play by CAST
Rock to THE SPLINTER
Bar extension—admission 50p

HIGH PEAK/HYDE public meeting
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM
Speaker Bob Light, TGWU shop steward
London Royal Group Docks
Sunday 27 May, 8pm
Glossop Labour Club, Chapel Street (near Town Hall)

WOOLWICH IS public meeting
THE ENGINEERS' CLAIM AND PHASE TWO
Speaker Bob Bengé (Camden No 3 AUEW)
Monday 21 May, 8pm
Charlton House, Hornfair Road
London SE7

HACKNEY IS public meeting
AFTER MAY DAY, WHAT NEXT?
Monday 21 May, 8pm
The Rose and Crown, corner of Albion Road and Church Street
London N16 (opposite Town Hall/bus 73)

OTHER MEETINGS

LONDON CSE CONFERENCE
M Barrett Brown speaks on BRITISH CAPITALISM followed by panel discussion
Saturday 19 May, 1.30pm
Birkbeck College, Annexe, 7-15 Gresse St (near Tottenham Court Road tube)

LATIN AMERICAN SOCIETY, with the Latin American Front Organisation, is sponsoring a number of weekly talks. The first will be: Argentine Peronism, Monday 21 May, 7pm, Room 509, Main building, London School of Economics.

HOSPITAL WORKER newspaper supporters conference: Sunday 27 May, 2pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Credentials from 86 Mountgrove Road, London N5.

CONFERENCE ON TRADE UNIONS AND RACIALISM called by the Mansfield Hosiery Mills Strike Committee. Sat 2 June, 11am-6pm, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham. Details from B Bunsee, 20:03 Victoria Centre, Nottingham. Phone Nottingham 46307.

ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE CONFERENCE
The British Labour Movement and the British Army in Ireland
Saturday 19 May, 10am-9pm
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London WC1
Sessions on The Politics of Repression, The Theory and Practice of Repression, The Technology of Repression, and The Irish Struggle and the British Labour Movement
Further details from M Maguire, 88 Roslyn Rd, London N15

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FESTIVAL
sponsored by TGWU international workers branch
Saturday 26 May
Porchester Hall, Porchester Road
Queensway, London W2
1pm - 3pm

CONFERENCE: IMMIGRANTS AND THE TRADE UNIONS
3.30 - 4.30 Film
5-8pm Folk Concert
8.30 - 11pm Dancing
Tickets 50p each from TGWU International Workers Branch 21 Theobalds Road, London WC1

RANK AND FILE TEACHER
All London meeting
DEMOCRACY UNDER ATTACK
Discussion on democracy in the NUT, current trends etc.
Speaker Dick North
Thursday 24 May, 7.30pm
NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, WC1

NOTICES

SOCIALIST WORKER requires part-time typist on Mondays and Tuesdays to take down telephoned copy as well as general typing jobs. Fast accurate typing essential with experience of taking copy by phone an advantage. Contact the editor, 01-739 9043.

PRINTING TYPESET
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One room in friendly quiet house in North London, suitable for studying, for IS woman
Phone 01-458 6828 mornings, or write to 39 Basing Hill, London NW11

JUMBLE SALE
All Saints Church Hall
Clydesdale Road, London W11
Saturday 19 May, 11am-5pm
Plenty of good bargains!

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS head office requires van driver capable of driving 2½-ton Austin. No HGV required. Apply Jim Nichol, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

IS BOOKS requires a bookshop manager to deal with developing mail order, bulk and retail sales. Applications from IS members stating experience, if any, to Jim Nichol, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

IS BOOKS telephone number has changed to 01-739 6273.

CAST member, wife, two small children, urgently need flat in London north of the river. Sharing extensive premises would be ideal. At least two rooms plus kitchen needed. Contact CAST, 11c Hyde Park Mansions, Cabbell Street, London NW1. Phone 01-402 6087.

FOR SALE: Mini Traveller, red, G registration. MOT March 74, £430, Phone 01-452 5546.

COMING SOON: Important film on struggle in Ireland made by Italian group Lotta Continua and People's Democracy to be shown in London, 29 May-9 June. Information from P Doherty, 34 Dalston Lane, London E8. Further details later.

STOKE NEWINGTON 5 Welfare Committee, which involves parents and friends of the five, urgently needs funds to buy them books, rugs, cassette tapes, etc. Any donation will be used to benefit the five and not to pay committee administration costs. Please send to 54 Harcombe Road, London N16—and ask any groups you know that might help.

LARGE YORKSHIRE ATTIC (bedsit) to spare from October. Cheap in return for minimal reliable companionship of two small girls after school 4-6. Might suit part-time student, writer, etc. Send for details: Carey, 6 Granville Terrace, Bingley.

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The Stoke Newington Five protest march: carrying the banner is Angela Weir, who was tried with the Five and acquitted.
PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

500 MARCH IN PROTEST AT JAILINGS

LONDON:—More than 500 people marched last Saturday to protest against the imprisonment of the Stoke Newington Five, jailed after a long political trial in connection with the so-called 'Angry Brigade' bombings.

In the evening the Conway Hall, in Red Lion Square, was packed with protesters who heard speeches attacking the imprisonment of the five and the increase in repressive measures by the state.

The speakers included Paul Foot (IS) who said that the conspiracy charges against building workers in Shrewsbury and Birmingham showed that these dictatorial laws were being used not only against 'fringe' groups, Irishmen and blacks, but also against working-class resistance.

Union leaders forced to retreat

by Colwyn Williamson

THE annual conference of ASTMS, the technical and supervisory staffs union, showed increased conflict between the rank and file and the Clive Jenkins leadership last weekend. But there was no decisive victory or defeat for either side.

The main concerns of the conference were dictated by the continuing government attack on the trade unions and by the unwillingness of union leaders to conduct an all-out struggle against this.

An important victory for the rank and file was won on the first morning of conference when a resolution was passed committing ASTMS to a policy of outright hostility not only to the Tories' incomes policy but also to the Labour Party scheme for a 'fair' incomes policy and to the TUC's collaboration with the government.

This resolution instructs ASTMS leaders 'completely to reject any form of co-operation with such policies', but many delegates said openly they feared that despite this instruction Jenkins would co-operate with the freeze by going to the Pay Board.

This victory was followed by an equally significant defeat. Last year's conference pledged ASTMS to total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act. But throughout the year Jenkins has co-operated with the Industrial Relations Court. A resolution censuring him for flouting conference decisions was ruled out of order by ASTMS president Ian Mikardo on the unusual grounds that it was identical with another resolution which did not censure Jenkins.

Defeated

Throughout the conference Mikardo, a leading light in the 'left-wing' Tribune group in the Labour Party, aroused delegates' anger by the way he used his powers as chairman to repress discussion critical of the union's executive.

A further resolution seeking to prevent ASTMS leaders from further co-operation with the court was fought tooth and nail by the executive. They argued that they must always be left free to defend members' interests in any way possible, and the resolution was finally defeated.

The second day of conference saw a crucial struggle over the union's rules. The executive introduced a proposal that branches should no longer have the right to try to amend any of the rule changes put forward by the executive. Most delegates found this just too much to swallow.

Feelings ran high and after a stormy debate, the executive proposal was overwhelmingly rejected.

The final day of conference was marked by an interesting incident. Throughout the weekend delegates from Hereford, where ASTMS members are on strike against Henry Wiggin Ltd, had been trying to get a firm commitment from the executive that Henry Wiggin products would be blacked. As a last desperate measure a petition was circulated calling for an emergency motion putting the black on the company's products.

This petition was signed by virtually all the delegates. Predictably, it was ruled out of order by Mikardo. Less predictably, Clive Jenkins, already enraged by Socialist Worker revelations about his property speculations and wildly threatening legal action against the paper, delivered a passionate denunciation of the 'politicians' (he meant International Socialists) who were really behind this move to get support for the strikers.

The petition stayed ruled out of order and vanished on the platform. The Henry Wiggin strikers were not allowed to speak.

SHIPYARD LOCKS OUT 2300 IN BONUS ROW

BELFAST:—2300 steelworkers have been locked out at the Harland and Wolff shipyards in a dispute over the non-payment of productivity bonuses.

The men, all members of the Boilermakers' Society, banned overtime in February in protest at management's refusal to pay bonuses tied to a 50 per cent productivity rise over two years.

Management started sacking them at the beginning of April, using the excuse of 'industrial misconduct' to ensure they got no unemployment or social security benefit.

Hoppe, the managing director, denies that productivity has increased and has refused to negotiate. Instead he has offered a £1 plus 4 per cent rise in basic rates, the maximum under phase two of the wage freeze.

by Mike Miller

The steelworkers will not negotiate a wage rise until the bonus has been paid. The inadequacy of Hoppe's offer is clear—Belfast shipyard workers are paid up to £12 a week less than those in Britain.

Management aims to double output from the yard with only a 30 per cent increase in the workforce. This has meant widespread work study to ensure that every last drop of labour is squeezed out of the men.

The Boilermakers' Society leaders are playing a worse than useless role. Its president, Dan McGarvey, ordered the men to return to work and negotiate on Hoppe's terms.

The union's executive said they could do nothing under the pay freeze, thus accepting not only Hoppe's arguments but those of the Tory government as well.

The dispute is complicated by several problems. The steelworkers' section at the

yard has always separated itself from the rest of the workers. Sandy Scott, the steelworkers' chief steward, has consistently refused to take part in the works committee, and so have all other members of his union.

A new pay deal for the outfitters has been pushed through and one is under negotiation for the ancillary workers. None of these workers will now want to rock the boat, but since the steelworkers did not themselves set up the fight when the sackings began, they can hardly call on other workers to support them with militant action—even if genuine links had been built.

There is a hint of religious sectarianism in the dispute too, although it has not surfaced. The steelworkers' section has always been exclusively Protestant, with its own Orange Lodge. Last year 600 steelmen were taken on as trainees, some

of them Catholics, and there was resentment over what was seen as infiltration of a traditional Orange stronghold by 'rebels'.

Now Hoppe has included these men in his productivity calculations. As trainees they are obviously less productive than other workers.

On top of this, the steelworkers have formed a sort of alliance with a section of local shipyard management—again a traditional stronghold of the Orange Order—that feels threatened by the increase of Scandinavian staff at the yard. Hoppe once managed a yard in Denmark. The steelmen's steward is blaming the Scandinavians for the trouble.

The role of the Communist Party has been shameful.

CRUCIAL

The chairman of the Irish Communist Party, Andy Barr, is also the chairman of the local confederation of shipbuilding and engineering unions and is one of the men most deeply involved in the present dispute, although his section is not itself involved. Yet the Party's weekly paper, Unity, at first refused to comment on the dispute, saying it knew nothing about it, and then—without offering a single idea—remarked that 'somewhere there must be an answer and that answer must be found.'

That is all it has to say about what is the most crucial industrial struggle in Belfast for many years.

Negotiations between unions and management mean there will be no more lay-offs in other sections of the yard for the time being. But with all the steelmen out and little sign of anyone coming to their aid with determined action, it appears they are in for a long trial of strength. The men are determined enough and Sandy Scott says they can win.

Whatever happens, the lessons for the future are clear: no more productivity deals, links with other yard workers must take priority over sectionalism and alliance with managers, rank and file control over the unions must be fought for.

Gas board attacks 300 militant fitters

GLASGOW:—The 300 gas fitters, members of the electricians and plumbers union, who formed the core of militant Scottish gasworkers during the recent dispute are under attack from the Gas Board.

The move appears to be a deliberate attempt to worsen working conditions to try to get workers to leave—to allow even more work to go to private contractors.

Area management met the senior shop stewards and told them that as from the Monday any man not wearing the full issue of protective clothing—overalls, a nylon jacket and carrying a pair of nylon trousers—would not be given work.

The stewards objected vigorously. Management replied they had made an agreement with the General and Municipal Workers' Union, and they were sticking to their orders.

The 300 fitters held a mass meeting as soon as management began locking out

workers, refusing them work, on the Monday. They decided to stay out as long as men were being locked out, and remained out the whole of the week. Talks throughout the week got absolutely nowhere.

Then the stewards and full-time official recommended a return to work under protest, with non-co-operation and work to rule.

But since a fight was on the cards, they decided they should fight for something really worthwhile: the right to negotiate wages and conditions—something so far denied because the GMWU has always negotiated for all Scottish fitters, even though all fitters in Glasgow, Dundee and Greenock are members of the EEPFU.

GMWU areas around Glasgow have promised no GMWU members will come into Glasgow to do the work, and GMWU van drivers and porters at Livingston, just outside Glasgow, have agreed that all contractors' deliveries in Glasgow would be blacked. After one week of the work-to-rule, gas fitting in Glasgow is grinding to a halt.

Dockers' stewards surrender

LIVERPOOL:—The docks shop stewards committee has voted by a narrow majority to accept the employers' proposals to introduce casuals in the docks.

Since the Jones-Aldington betrayal, 2500 of Liverpool's registered dockers have accepted voluntary redundancy. There is now a shortage of labour.

But at all costs the employers want to refuse to re-open the register to permanent recruitment. They asked for 500 casuals and got their proposals accepted by the Communist Party-dominated shop stewards committee.

Some members of the committee misguidedly swallowed the employers' propaganda about how this move would help the unemployed of Merseyside. In fact casual workers can be laid off at any time.

The re-introduction of casuals in the registered docks is only one prong of the employers' and supervisors' national strategy. The other is working trade to create unorganised men. This is a strategy designed to break the power of the shop stewards.

The introduction of casuals is a direct result of the employers' strategy to break the power of the shop stewards and to create unorganised men. This is a strategy designed to break the power of the shop stewards. These are for job security, recruitment of more registered workers a shorter working week, earlier retirement on full pay and nationalisation of the ports industry.

'CHEAP LABOUR' FIGHT

The management have offered £1.63 which is the maximum they are willing to offer under the freeze, when in fact they could offer much more and still be within the government's limit.

TASS union officials are giving the strike strong support and a joint shop stewards committee is expected to be formed. Workers from other factories have been helping on the picket lines.



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Building workers from the Worlds End project in Chelsea, London, delivered a coffin to Kensington and Chelsea Town Hall last Friday. The council has relieved the main contractors, Cubitts, from their obligation to finish the urgently-needed council housing project, which is already four years behind schedule. Last week all the building workers were finally sacked. The UCATT members are demanding priority for jobs when the site reopens.

BIG STEEL BLACKLIST EXPOSED

by Peter Ingham

SHOP STEWARDS on the Anchor steelworks site, near Scunthorpe, have discovered a blacklist used against active trade unionists.

The list, drawn up by Redpath Dorman Long, a British Steel Corporation subsidiary, names 378 men employed as steel erectors during June 1970 to April 1971.

Each man on the list is marked A, B or C for ability, from 1 to 4 for time keeping, and X, Y or Z for general conduct and trade union behaviour.

Stewards have identified those marked Z for behaviour as being mostly trade union activists or stewards. A total mark of C4Z has been given to a number of known shop stewards, including some of the safety stewards who recently mounted a campaign against unattended safety hazards that led to several deaths on the site.

Of 60 men on the list with a grading of Z, 17 have been made redundant after less than two years employment. The men have no means of querying or appealing against these gradings, which will go against them when they seek other jobs, despite the fact that they left the Anchor site for no other reason than redundancy according to the public records.

The secret verdict of the BSC management is passed on only to the next employer. This subtle form of punishment without trial is proven by the fact that of 98 men given a good grading of X, not one was made redundant in the same period. So much for the government's ruling that only jobs become redundant, not the men that do them!

'GRADING'

When told of the BSC grading scheme, a lecturer at Sheffield University said that the value of the ability rating marks was very dubious indeed. He said that it was impossible to assess the complex of skills and abilities required by a steel erector by such a mark.

Proof of this is shown in the case of one steward who was given a C4Z grading. While on the Anchor site this man was studying at night school for a diploma in engineering, which he later obtained despite the fact that BSC marked him bottom of the class.

But the real false nature of this 'grading' scheme-cum-blacklist, is shown by the figures it gives for labour turnover. For the list also shows the high rate of voluntary resignations of steel erectors from the Anchor site. Of the 378 men recruited in the nine months, 89 had resigned from the job after less than one year, which represents a labour turnover rate of 31 per cent each year.

Of those who left the Anchor site voluntarily within the year, four in every five were graded as of good or satisfactory behaviour by BSC. So in reality, those who are graded as of bad conduct are more likely to stick at the job longer and fight to improve the conditions of work.

Shop stewards are carefully going through the Anchor site blacklist and intend to raise the question of such lists with the union. They will fight against the use of these underhand methods devised by management to weaken trade union organisation.

* Socialist Worker

Six on plot charges held in solitary

COVENTRY:—The six people charged with conspiring to cause an explosion have been remanded in custody for the fifth time. No date has been fixed for committal proceedings.

All six are being held in solitary confinement in Birmingham jail. One wrote in a letter: 'We are having the time of our lives here. We are just like battery hens. We are locked up on our own all day. They are supposed to give us one hour a day exercise. But for three days last week we did not get half an hour. And today I have not had any at all.'

Their big event of the week is the journey to Coventry to be remanded. Here a law and order spectacle is organised by the police. Roads are blocked off and the court guarded by armed police.

Of what substance are the charges? If the rumours circulated in Coventry by the authorities are to be believed, then Coventry police have discovered an IRA unit. But if the charges are examined, a different picture emerges.

The police allege they have discovered ingredients for incendiary devices to be used in Coventry and have uncovered an IRA intelligence network extending from Coventry to Lancashire. But they are not producing any evidence that any of the men made or used explosives. The 'conspiracy' charge is very hollow.

However, in Coventry the 1939 IRA bomb attack which killed five people is kept alive by the Coventry Evening Telegraph. Then anti-Irish strikes, marches and intimidation were common.

Police action is widespread with allotments being dug and floorboards ripped up. Coventry International Socialists are fighting to raise this example of repression in the labour movement throughout the city.

PICKET LINES

GLASGOW:—70 workers at M and C Switchgear, Kirkintilloch, are now in the third week of their strike against the victimisation of three shop stewards and 13 other workers. The men were sacked for refusing to accept management-imposed bonus times for work on new panels.

SHREWSBURY:—Five of the 24 Flintshire building workers facing conspiracy and other charges for picketing were to come up in court on Friday for committal. This followed a defence application that proceedings against 19 others should be postponed. They will now appear for committal on Friday 15 June.

GLASGOW:—The parity strike at the Caterpillar factory by 80 Boilermaker Society members is now in its third week. A strike committee has been set up, has printed a leaflet for other trade unionists in the plant, and is trying to make arrangements to travel to the Newcastle factory where 400 Boilermakers members are employed.

Binmen are told 'You stay sacked'

STRETFORD:—Binmen who have been occupying their depot for three weeks in protest against the sacking of 22 of their members saw their appeals turned down by Labour-controlled Stretford Council on Monday.

The Labour councillors washed their hands of the affair. A kangaroo court, after five minutes deliberation, dismissed the appeals of the men.

Seven were sacked for 'doing a foreigner'—clearing rubbish outside a borough boundary. Fourteen others, including the shop steward, were sacked when they occupied the depot in protest against the sackings. The men firmly believe the real reason for the sackings was to reduce the workforce and break the increasing organisation of the workers.

James Kay, the public health inspector who made the sackings, referred to the appeals court to a fire at the depot two weeks ago. Lorries were set alight by someone, obviously intent on discrediting

the occupation, but Kay put the blame on the strikers.

The council is applying for a court order to reoccupy the premises and the men were being taken to Preston Crown Court on Thursday.

The United Road Transport Union has given the men no backing whatsoever. If defeated in court, the men must pay their own expenses. The union official told steward Jim Matley that during the occupation the only way the men would get any money would be by taking part-time jobs. Said Jim Matley: 'The union sounds more like an employment agency than a fighting organisation.'

In spite of these setbacks, the men have received money from collections in the Manchester area. They are determined to hold out.

Send donations and messages of support immediately to J Matley, 551 Mauldeth Road, West Chorlton, Manchester 21.

PAY FREEZERS POCKET LOOT

from page one

of his most useful assets where Lonrho was concerned.

Lonrho's multi-millionaire chief executive, 'Tiny' Rowland, was quick to see how much profit could accrue from the investment of billions of Arabian oil money in the tender African markets which his company already controlled.

Mr Rowland, who owns more than a fifth of the shares in Lonrho, is paying himself about £10,000 a week in dividends alone. His business

partner, Mr Angus Ogilvy, who is married to Princess Alexandra, was hiding away not much less than that, and apparently still is.

The bulk of Ogilvy's shareholding was shifted out of Rhodesia into the Bahamas, with the permission of the British (Labour) government.

Supporting Mr Rowland and Mr Sandys in the boardroom row which hit the headlines last week is the chairman of the 'influential' Conservative backbench 1922 Committee, Mr Edward Du Cann.

When not in the House of Commons, Mr Du Cann is active in the City of London, where he is chairman of the Keyser Ullman bank. In January 1972 Mr Du Cann made some £85,000 profit when his bank, Keyser Ullman, took over another of his companies, Central and District Properties.

SPECULATORS

In April 1972, Keyser became advisers to Lonrho and Du Cann built up a shareholding worth about £500,000.

Opposing Sandys, Rowland and Du Cann in the Lonrho boardroom row is Sir Basil Smallpeice. Sir Basil was chairman of BOAC when Mr Sandys was Minister of Aviation. He was chairman of Cunard when that company was taken over by property speculators, Trafalgar House Investments.

Smallpeice joined the board of Trafalgar House Investments at a

reported fee of £20,000 a year. When Sir Basil finally left Trafalgar, compensation was of the order of £35,000.

Sir Basil differs from Du Cann and Rowland on the running of Lonrho, but he is one hundred per cent behind the government in its attempt to ensure that hospital workers and gas workers earn as much in a year as he 'makes' in a week.

While the bickering about £130,000 consultancy fees, £350,000 country houses, sanctions busting in Rhodesia, tax avoidance in the Cayman Islands and champagne dinners under the stars continues behind the closed doors of courtrooms and shareholders' meetings, a growing army is gathering angrily outside.

These are the workers who produce all the wealth and are sick to death of watching it being squandered by squabbling tycoons, who prattle about national pride, national responsibility and, above all, national sacrifice.

Lace boss breaks pledge

NOTTINGHAM:—The strike by 35 Pakistani and Indian workers at the small lace and elastic firm of E Jaffe and Son for union recognition and the reinstatement of one of their fellow workers continues. A meeting with management and a Department of Employment official on Monday ended without result, although management agreed in principle to reinstate Mohammed

Sarwar, the sacked worker—but then said they would suspend him. The strikers say they will stop out until he is fully back at work.

A public meeting in support of the strike is being arranged for Sunday 20 May to start a strike fund.

Contributions to Mushtaq Hussein, 15 Goldswong Terrace, Nottingham.

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