Lonrho row proves hypocrisy of top Tories

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 of all those who are against 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 of MPs at that time by this Companion of Honour who 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

Sundays' campaign against sanctions continued up to and after September 1971, when he was appointed a consultant to Lonrho at a standard fee of £2,500. In fact, in January 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 'loss of 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 £135,000, 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 hands out for one Companion of Honour.

When the secrecy of the deal was exposed the Companion of Honour paid back the £43,000 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 shikikins of the Pencil Gun.

Sandys' intimate relations with the dictators of South Arabia was one of the reasons he was offered the chairmanship of Lonrho. Unfortunately for him, the company's profits have not lived up to his expectations.

Hotel men want union rights

Picture: Peter Homan (Report)

The fight for union recognition and an end to the harassment of workers in the highly profitable Maxwell Joseph Grand Met, luxury hotel empire has got off the ground in the last week.

Grand Met specializes in employing Spanish and Portuguese workers to run their hotels. Grand Met pays its workers a pittance and intimidates some and victimizes others who have been striving for union recognition.

Pedro Marin, a Transport and General Workers Union international branch activist, at the plush Mount St Mary's Hotel in Marble Arch, London, was asked on trumped-up charges last week. International branch members from other Grand Met Hotels, backed by workers from the rank and file, have been petitioning the Crown office to demand Mr Martin's reinstatement.

Grand Met has consistently refused to recognize the TGWU international branch.

Support

Belfast 10

Rally and march

Sunday 20 May

Meet Clapham Common 2pm

March to Brixton Prison

No Irish political prisoners in British jails

Organized by Belfast 10 Defence Committee

Photo: HM Prison Service
AT 6.50pm last Thursday 65 yards of the Dyffryn Main D22 unit face at Seafield colliery near Kirkcaldy, Fife, collapsed. 1600 feet below the Firth of Forth and three miles from the sea, many 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.

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 tracked their way towards them up the steep incline under an unsupported roof.

Reluctant

Angus Guthrie died two days before his 60th birthday. He leaves a widowed mother. It was his first day working as a driller. 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, 42, 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 coal board officials who went crocodile tears over the dead men may well be fighting in a few months to avoid paying a single penny compensation.

But the following facts are clear:

It is normal mining practice to leave a coal and floor of coal at the face. At this face the cutter was cutting into bare rock at the roof.

In the week before the collapse, inspectors had twice found the area of the disaster and some of the supports should have led to the suspension of cutting. They gave a good indication of the dangers of the disaster.

The powered supports were being used with wooden blocks below and above to prevent them from reaching 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 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 Cowdenhead workshops.

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

The fact which collapsed was more than 500 feet long and stopped at such a rate that one end was more than 300 feet higher than the other. The slab of rock fell extending along 1800 feet of the face, was 4 feet thick, and reached back 20 feet behind the face.

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

One miner was killed by such a fall in 1971 at the Barn, Craig 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.

The management of Seafield proudly describes 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 pressure 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. There is no thought of promotion 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 the space maker in the Coal Board’s productivity story.

Unions are well aware that the safety record in pits amounts to 0.50 per cent. Miners 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 a good deputy who is the representative 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 Louthie do not happen again.

Ken Anderson, Alan Campbell and Chris Stephenson

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

What this means is that members of the union who are also members of the International Socialist Society cannot stand as candidates for local, regional, national or any other body to which the union is affiliated.

The prostration 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 prostration 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 Prisort (Leeds) stated that while he disagreed with many of the positions ISS adopts, he was in principle opposed to the use and extension of the prostration system.

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

‘There is no prostration 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 Grancham advanced some evidence on the activities of ISS 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.

Grancham 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.

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Army smashed up Belfast school claim

EYEWITNESS evidence that the British Army was responsible for a secondary school in the Falls Road area on the night of 28 April has been revealed by members of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Mr. Dromey, a director of Socialist Worker, said: "On Easter Sunday, 29 April, I was in St. Paul's School and I saw numerous, clearly-dressed army patrol officers confining some of the pupils in the school 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. I had been taught not to believe the army walkie-talkie radio sets in use in the school ground and heard the defence minister saying the school was being vandalised.'

The damage to the school was reported as being done by the headmaster to be between £3000 and £5000.

Mr. Dromey, refusing to come to the school in protest, said: "The incident is one of many that the people in the working class minority groups in Ulster is now at its most intense level since the 1970s.'

Mr. Dromey went on: 'There are widespread allegations of brutality in the army and the minority population feel that the army is an occupied class. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the army ignores judicial procedure and utilise the force of terror to prevent us from living our normal lives.'

There was no evidence, he said, that Mondi O'Rawe and another of the four local council police refused to come to the school for the investigation into the incident.

The northern Ireland countrywide cover-up and Ministers like the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. James Prior, have all been ever present in the minds of the Ulster community.'

MADAM

The northern Ireland countrywide cover-up and Ministers like the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. James Prior, have all been ever present in the minds of the Ulster community.'

by Brian Trench

ELECTED for different districts in Northern Ireland on 30 May are of great significance, even though the new councils will have to perform more than their equivalents in Britain.

For the elections are the first to be held in Northern Ireland for four years and the first elections under the new Proportional Representation system for more than 40 years.

They could be a test of the British government's success in stabilising the province. They could also be a trial for the 'reasonable' and 'progressive' moderate parties on both sides of the sectarian divide in Newry and Armagh and in the 'normalisation of the province.'

Derry and a number of other areas will have an anti-Sinn Féin majority for the first time in the history of the Six Counties.

With the introduction of Proportional Representation, the end of the old Unionist gerrymander, one-party rule is at an end.

MODERATE

The Unionists are not even more united in their protestations of a united face or much chance of holding on to power in the elected councils. The Ulster Unionist Associations are putting forward candidates on an anti-White Paper and anti-Faisal ticket.

William Craig's new organisation, the Ulster Unionist Party, is boycotting elections. Peter Robinson is putting up candidates, although it seems unlikely they will win a few weeks ago they would not.

On the other side of the Unionist bloc, the Alliance Party which has called for a vote against the Alliance Party, the moderate middle-class party, which is to have full support for the White Paper and for Britain's plans for Ulster.

Alliance is contesting its first elections but has nearly as many candidates as the Nationalists.
BRIEFING

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

Taking the 1972 figures, unemployment in Britain (12.5 per cent) was surpassed only by Ireland (16 per cent) and Italy (12.2 per cent); Germany had 6.7 per cent and France 2.2 per cent. In housing, too, Britain is near the bottom of the league. Only 16 houses per thousand people were 10.4 in the Netherlands, in Germany, 9.3 in France, and 9.1 in Germany.

6.7 in Italy, and 6.5 in Britain. Only Ireland (5.7) and Belgium (4.4) came below our own "affordable rate."

THE campaign in Australia against the "white Australia" policy is great, but facts and figures have the support of 38 major trade unions, of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and its president Robert Hawke, vicechairman 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, air services, motor car agencies, and financial services are included, although Prime Minister de Gaulle has been quoted as saying they would not be "mutilations" to be exempted because they were "moral and economic activities needing no formal withdrawal at the International Court of Justice at the Hague."

Besides French imports to Australia (worth £90 million in 1970), car imports, which are especially large, French jewellery and wine, which are the hardest hit in Australia, the Banque Nationale de Paris, a major French bank, and the Renault, Peugeot, Citroen, Simca, and Citroen dealerships in Australia are blacklisted. The industries hardest hit are car-making, tobacco, and steel.

According to The Age, the newspaper of Melbourne, the French government's boycott of Australian film and television programs is causing a lot of anxiety in the film industry. The French film producers are out of work and the Australian film producers are having a hard time finding distributors for their films. The French government's boycott of Australian films is causing a lot of anxiety in the film industry. The French film producers are out of work and the Australian film producers are having a hard time finding distributors for their films. The French government's boycott of Australian films is causing a lot of anxiety in the film industry. The French film producers are out of work and the Australian film producers are having a hard time finding distributors for their films. The French government's boycott of Australian films is causing a lot of anxiety in the film industry.
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 misused £70 million in overcharging on supplies of mining machinery (charges made, incidentally, by two employees of the National Coal Board) is Eric Hamilton, 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 popular products of Hawker's products for the NCB are the new '300 tonne' mechanised loaders. The Coal Board buys large numbers of Doso machines from Hawker Siddeley, it also hires Dosos complete with operators from a firm called the Doso Mining Group Ltd, which is registered in Edinburgh but whose headquarters are in Southam on Trent, Nottinghamshire.

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

Consultant to Caledonium is Mr Andrew Bryan, who is also chief mining consultant to the National Coal Board. Mr Bryan's office is on 2nd floor (the 'directions' rooms) of Hobar House, the NCB's head-quarters in London.

One area where the Coal Board seems to have got a handle is from Caledonium, is Dosear, the head of which- until his recent premature dismissal was Mr J H Siddeley. In 1969, under the NCB award scheme, Mr Stone won £1,000 from the Coal Board as a prize for his 'house system of mining'.

The stone system, which has now been abandoned, depended on the use of one of these systems, called Webber Stone Development, one of whose directors is Mr J H Siddeley, former deputy general director—purchasing and stores at the National Coal Board.

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

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

If 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 1962 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.

BRYAN: The coal double

Vic's pick

I'M SURE workers everywhere are enjoying the series entitled Financial Figures which is running in the Guardian, a City periodical. The issue after May Day (4 May) contained an article on the Tuesday of the week Vic Feather, Feather's interviewee reported: "Feather's advice to his members union, which holds some £25 million in investments on the Stock Exchange, 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 backed by the ASLEF after they agreed to pay the £50,000 fine imposed on the union by the Industrial Relations Court. The interview also comments on 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 the part of the industrial management", although disagreeing with his methods, Mr Feather describes the asset stripper "piles 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 likely to have a greater effect on the ordinary British citizen than any recent event as the temporary election of a new Government." The Economist, Editorial, 5 May.

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, and in general prefers them to buy blue chips."

Tories ride shotgun for the bosses

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 Briton Prison is not squinting about revealing the political views of his political prisoners even before their trials. As Mr Roberts is concerned, the Belfast 10 are "IRA prisoners", and that's that.

NO HIGHWAYMEN

MARPLES RIDGWAY, contractors on the London 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. Some of the consequences were being poured, killing three men and seriously injuring another.

Recently Marples has provided facilities on site for one of the vultures who generally appear in the wake of disasters. This gentleman is on an agent of the Combined Insurance Company of America. He is operating from the time checkers' hut on the London site, and has sold about 36-month-six-month cover insurance policies to workers. These cost £2 a time, generally paid in one installment.

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 'baddie or a 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 uniquely qualities of his own breed of mummified jumbo called 'Positive Thinking'. The suddenness of the conversion was probably doubtless helped by a Mr and Mrs Clement Stone's $200,000 dollar contribution to a Nixon shad fund in the run-up to 1968 election.

It is thought that the president has turned increasingly to the Stone philosophy over recent weeks.
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 Applanalp, 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 tycoon he rapidly became the biggest tyre recoverer 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 Fisher Island off Miami and started to develop it in a grand real estate enterprise. Rebozo put $76,000 into the operation, and sold his shares for $15,000,000 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, had 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 Fisher Island.

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

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

Rebozo is a representative of the get-rich-quick property speculators, oil men and defence contractors from the ’sunbelt’, 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 capitalism are framed in order to sanction wealth and privilege and to suppress the aspirations of the people who have neither wealth nor power.

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL

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 dreamed of by the Mafia.

President Nixon’s impecunious opposition to the mildest governmental controls or restrictions on property speculation or oil profiteering has resulted in robbery far more inexcusable than the most extensive Mafia-organized protection racket.

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

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

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 $90,000 dollars to the Committee to Re-elect the President, he hoped that Nixon’s re-election would allow him to escape prosecution for one of the most fantastic frauds in modern times—the stripping of the failing

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 with the ruling class of a get-rich-quick, ultra-rich caste whose wealth is dependent on government or local authority handouts—are in evidence in all private enterprises, state and local authorities.

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

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

The Smith-Poulson partnership in turn worked hand in hand with Britain’s biggest building contractors, Taylor Woodrow, Laing and Bovis, and ‘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 the 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 fascist offices in London in the search for information to smear anti-racist campaigns. The Tory government has refused even to protest.

Similarly, the Litfinjohn brothers, on trial in Dublin for the biggest
The politics of 'Keep out politics!' by DUNCAN HALLAS

The TUC officially stands for the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. That is a political position. 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 policies on all three. It regards an incomes policy, a policy of curtailing 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 reeducate 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 union laws have been passed with the aim of curtailing 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 all the trade union leaders. They have had a bellyful 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 waterfront 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. That is exactly what Jackson and his friends want to stop at all costs.

THE POLICIES OF

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 accused a swimming pool costing £40,000 from the American Embassy in London, Mr Walter Annenberg.

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

The chief difference between British and American Watergate is that 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 Regional Rauding is being rehabilitated as a public figure of national importance.

Mr Annenberg's swimming pool is hailed as an example of American generosity.

For more than its American counterpart, the British press is subject to the self-censorship imposed by its proprietors, who, in the main, are the most famous 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 'O' 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.

TOM JACKSON: He wants to keep out the politics of the militants to his own advantage.

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. At everybody knows, independent trade unions were once 'illegal organisations'. Criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade was in use in this country. They did not become legally unlawful until 1875.

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 China.

The TUC itself developed out of the struggle for the legalising of trade union activities in the late 1860s. It established in the leading body a Parliamentary Committee, the General Council was a product of the 1870s - because the Liberals' History of Trade Unionism points out.

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.

The TUC officially stands for the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. That is a political position. 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 policies on all three. It regards an incomes policy, a policy of curtailing 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 reeducate democratic control by union members and increase the power of the officials - an aim wholly acceptable to the vast majority of union chiefs.

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While the juketing 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 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 driving 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 Arab states 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.

It should be remembered that the State of Israel was founded on the destruction of the Palestinian Arab people of what was once the Arab village of Mahlouj. The village of Nahal took the place of Mahlouj. . . . Gitat took the place of fifty . . . . 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 Shakur, 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.'

Germany already has too many Jews. Zionists were prepared to cooperate with anti-Semitic politicians who saw a Jewish state as a way of getting rid of their Jewish problems. Thus Herzl, the founder of Zionism, made an agreement with von Pilvery, the Russian Tsar's minister who was responsible for organizing pogroms in Russia, 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 in this in an Enoch Powell-type campaign by Tory MPs against Jewish immigration into Britain.

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 are the dominant theme in Israeli schools.

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 racism 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.'

In the end Britain agreed to sponsor the Zionist idea, in the hope that a Jewish state would block Britain in the Middle East and similarly to Russia, France and Turkey.

Socialist Worker special analy
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 demographic change can hardly be overestimated.’

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 turn Arab ‘villages into fortified...’ Begin writes: ‘The legend of Deir Yassin helped us particularly in the war of 1956 to neutralise the threat from Egypt and the conquest of Haifa... All the Jewish forces proceeded in advance through Haifa like a knife through butter.’

The Arabs began to flee in panic, shouting ‘Deir Yassin’. Arabs throughout the country... were isolated with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a managed uncontrollable stampede.

In the Arab towns of Lydda and Ramle, the inhabitants were rounded up, given two hours to either leave the region, and deported to the Arab lines by Israeli troops.

EARNINGS

As a result of such measures as these, Israel took over 388 Arab lands in the country, and in the town of Jaffa, nearly half the buildings in Palestine, 10,000 shops, businesses and farms were seized. The Arabs were forced to leave their citrus groves, from which they drew a quarter of their income, and to switch to other exchange earnings.

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

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, and it is a matter of time before another 20,000 workers will have 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 the 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 rules would be performed by Jews.

There is instead a trend to a Southern Israel with Arab import as cultural labour from the ‘bantuizations’ on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This means, of course, a huge loss of mental and low-paid jobs.

In this book first published in 1934, Murphy considers the role and success of the revolutionary left 50 years ago and its later influence. The author was a key figure in this first step towards Jewish self-determination.

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PLUTO PRESS
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The party that is the university of the working class

The workers, more than any other class, have shown for over 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 helped into the new factory system 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 few.

But capitalism instills its own ideas into the minds of the workers, so that the struggle develops unevenly. If people's understanding of the system's injustices could develop evenly, socialism would come quite smoothly. Inevitably, the advanced workers having to fight the backward element of the working class, the strike-breakers, policemen and soldiers, the workers who would have to deal only with the ruling class.

But the rulers themselves are a tiny minority, most of whom would be useless without the support of arms to preserve their power. The government and police by giving its members a common outlook and tradition, a belief in the capitalist system, work in their own right to save. This is done through many institutions, public, educational, universities, businessmen's clubs, the officers' milieu.

The struggle

A revolutionary party is needed to do the same for the advanced working-class militants. It is the 'university' of the workers, the place where they learn to think and act. It is a place where the workers' tasks are to sustain militants in their socialist belief, to encourage them to spread revolutionary ideas, to help them to be confident workers and to heighten their confidence by developing the struggles on all the immediate issues within the workplace. But while workers have been taught to think collectively and to act on the needs of the ruling class, most see their struggles in narrow terms. They are left to think politics and economics are separate, for example, has been drummed out so often that while workers fight 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 a struggle in support of the demand conceived reality, a pay claim. But at a deeper level, workers fighting the boss do see 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 living lines. Many strikes break out because a foreman has sworn at a worker, because workers are determined to resist speed-up or to defend a victimized militant, or because they reject the indignity of being told how long they can spend in the toilet.

Control

Even in many strikes over pay 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 stirs even 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 realize what the long-term result of their struggle 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 others. The more conscious workers will be more aware of the deeper meaning of today's struggles, to point to those in the way in which social revolution will eventually be won.

A struggle is decided by the politicians in parliament. So a strike is taken by most workers involved as a struggle in support of the demand conceived of in terms of the need to relate it to the final victory. But militants can only effectively establish this link in the minds of workers if they because involved in a revolutionary organization whose goal is workers' power.

The miners' next step

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 B. Merton Jones, 200p.

The story of the First World War was known as the 'time of the labour unrest'. Hundreds of thousands of workers were involved in those struggles against a background of rising prices and the compulsory purchase of war loans.

This was not simply a spontaneous, emotional outburst, but an expression of the class consciousness which the Labour Party had so carefully bred.

So the struggle was a constant stream of agitational pamphlets, the most obvious of which was The Miners' Next Step, published early in 1912 by the Miners' Federation of South Wales, and later in 1912 by the miners in Australia.

In the first edition was published a suggested scheme for the reorganization of trade unions, an early form of the ideas of critic of trade union leaders on the miners, and also the original report on union re-organization and the more detailed proposals on union re-organization.

Although it was not the work of one person but the result of a great deal of discussion in local meetings and district committees and the pamphlet unifying theme is the idea of the self-management of the working class. The miners union leaders, firmly wedded to a position of 'conciliation' with the owners, were seen as occupying a position that was inevitable given the way the mining industry was vested in a conflict of interests with those of the owners.

Against the policy of simply changing the union's structure, a group of leaders set out to establish a party to further their aims. They formed the Miners' Federation of South Wales, and later in 1912 by the miners in Australia.

Walter Reade, the current leader of the party's ability to control their own lives also underlie the facts of the criticism that the pamphlet makes.

Boogie without the kernel

Boogie, by Joe Hyams, Mayflower, 40p.

This is a silly book, in the worst traditions of Hollywood prophetic biography. Strange that such a shoddy piece of work should be published by a major publishing house. A complete waste of time.

Another man, Peter Alphons, has repeatedly claimed that he would destroy the mining industry, but his recent book, The Goon Falls, is a complete failure, and yet it is now being published by a major publishing house. A complete waste of time.

With his latest book, David Clearwater, the author of the 'all-night' book The Gown Falls, has written a mystery with the added incentive of being true. It is the same old story, but this time it is about a group of hooligans who are working as waiters in the new mining town of South Wales.

The bylines of our Norman faction for his non-appearance last week. Blame the Post Office, not us.

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A glib record of the works and the characters he tells you the truth about the real world. Bogie's crass crass in the figure of the ancient comrade McCarthy, widowed by the early days of the Miners' Federation, 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 the Federation, but suddenly backed out because he felt that it was being 'used' by the miners. But what Bogie's opposition made the final page of the Daily Worker. Did he expect the Worker to ignore him?

And Bogie didn't bother to analyse the exceptions when the most unique, role of Bogie in the Hollywood drama factory. Why is that? It is that, years after his death, many of his films command enormous attention throughout the world and the titles and the characters are currently on the lips of a generation still in their childhood.

Bogie, born an affluent, upper-class family, had never experienced real hardship or struggle.

BOGIE: The most beautiful actor

BOGIE: Smoking cure

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ARCHIVE-DIGGERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

THE annual History Workshops at Runkin 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 characterizes meetings of professional historians. On the other hand, there has often been a tendency to gloss over the complexities of real history in favour of caricatural 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 Davie on Women in the Chinese revolution, Christopher Hill on theato, and the sex in the English Civil War and aristocratic colour of the position of women in a contemporary context. But in most cases, it was simply because the speakers' foot—once managed to give us an idea of the role of women in the Dublin strike of 1913 while failing to mention who was on strike.

But much of the fault lies with the organizers. For it was clear that many of those who turned up to the conference were more interested in a broader history, and then in the opportunities for discussion, that the actual content of the conference.

The worst offenders were the so-called Radical Feminists, who believe that sex oppression is more fundamental than class oppression and that women's liberation movement has not always advanced with the advance of the labour movement, despite the labour movement's not always involved for women in the past.

Perhaps the best section of the whole weekend was the one on women who were actually involved in the women's liberation movement today. This was largely a result of the pre-conference workshop, but not for a history nge of the mass.

One of the reasons why this section was so good was the fact that the presenters had gathered the necessary information about the activities of women in other periods of history. Hopefully it if does nothing else, the workshop may provoke more people to engage in such diggings.

Barry Almeida

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Chapple congratulates blackleggers

FRANK CHAPPLE, general secretary of the electricians’ and plumbers’ union, has paid glowing tribute to the solidarity for his part in the long-running St Thomas’ Hospital dispute in London.

As reported in Socialist Worker three weeks ago, the dispute has been a classic example of how we can carry out a war on blacklegging. The union’s analysis and the subsequent industrial action of the workers, Phoenix Electrical, were taken as a sign of Frank’s struggle to “wren” a way through the pay cut.

He has now gone one better. He has written a personal letter to all the blacklegs on the site congratulating him on their stand against “arncarry”. 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 entirely, Frank Chapple”, reads as follows: “On the 12th February I wrote to all upstairs employed on the St Thomas’ Hospital site by Phoenix Electrical Ltd.

Bossses use armoured truck to break picket

From Socialist Worker, 24 March

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

A resolution which declared the deleterious introduction bonus schemes was thrown out and then another resolution passed after heated debate demanding that no further schemes start until they are endorsed at the annual conference by all the TUL members.

Delegate after delegate condemned the schemes already introduced. Andrew Thomas, of Corby, introduced the resolution, said bonus schemes reduced union effectiveness in the fight for better conditions. Delegates spoke of the squalor and loss of time, the pressure of speed-up and dustmen running on the job and about the bitterness of division created among workers.

Patrick Henry, of Stroud, 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 working conditions.

But the union’s general secretary, Mr K. A. S. Fox, in his closing speech, stated that policy the union had been pushing for the past six years. He said it was difficult to see how increases in basic rates could be won, bosses 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 £60 basic.”

The conference had earlier decided to go beyond its £50, £55, £60 of this by the end of the year, and for a 35-hour week. It has delegated voted unanimously for early retirement and increased pensions. It also called for a 15% pay claim for a better deal for nurses.

Out of the action

THE executive of the engineering section of the AEUW 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 a substitute for union officials who have given absolutely no leadership for the past nine months.

The main reason for this is that the engineering section’s disinclination is that it is looking over its shoulder waiting to see which way the Transport Union is going. It is not clear whether breaking the strike action in the face of Ford cuts is policy.

The AEUW represents the negotiating committee. He was not present at the meeting last week.

Buch 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.

ALAN FISHER: Tell of ‘gory 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 caution after conference. Stuart Hill, of Tﻫesside, said during the debate on higher pensions: “It is not enough to relieve our consciences by passing resolutions. Pensions need solidarity not sympathy.”

Tony Cross, of Oxford University branch, said of the claim for higher wages: “It has gone out and bloody well fight for them.”

DESIGN REVIVER

Many of this militancy was a reflection of what militants had learnt during the hospital strike. Mrs Katie Roper, of Norwich Hospitals, discussing a successful resolution for a common settlement for hospital and public sector workers said: “We are important people—we were the last, during this time it was all.”

Indeed Alan Fisher spoke of the hospital strike as being “in the golden pages of trade unionism.” On the strike report, he shifted the debate and held the militants down while people putted him on the back. He took up half of the debate telling hospital workers how magnificently they had fought their defeat. He said justice alone was not what we were looking for.

But Keith Taylor, Sally Oak Hospital branch, pointed to the need for clear national leadership. “Hospital workers have to learn to fight more effectively. The time is now to work and plan for future action, which can come as early as December,” he said.

OPPOSITION

Despite failure to look at the lessons and mistakes of the hospital strike, which was one of the first where the leadership did not lead.

The defeat for the executive on the strike was a clear-cut one, but executive opposition to an end to percentage terms was systematic, and it paid heavily. The key was that the militancy paid.

Militants left the conference confident that the impact they have had, but determined to fight in their branches for an even greater victory. Militant was encouraged by the pressure to see that the decisions are put into action.
Profit drive behind rising accidents toll
TONY CONWAY (25 April) said that factory managers are more worried about "sens of inadvertency" on the part of the worker. Quite the contrary. In fact, many managers will turn a blind eye to any agreed safety standards if they retard production.
I don't know if Tony has ever seen the workers of steel mills or factories prior to a visit from the factory inspector, with forms in hand, running around fixing machine guards, clearing the floor 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 5 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 could be put down to the workers concerned.
The difference between 'mugging' and exploitation is a question of sophistication in the methods to extract profits.

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 TASS which was by far the most progressive, fighting and industrial militant. 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 its parts. Our union is not the only one to suffer.
The Communist Party has been good for our union and has provided many brilliant officials. But such our union would have been 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 abhorrence 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 leadership. This is simply the end of the road.

A puritan view on the arts
JOHN PENNEY's criticisms of the Jerwood artists are right (16 May) (the purist believes 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 criticism to the handful of writers and producers who at least attempt some effort to expose our disgusting society?
On the Picasso obituary, I believe that the artist showed more creativity and general concern for humanity than a gallerfil of the bourgeois obituary writers. I question the carding of Socialist Worker of this issue. The 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 organizations in the localities to rally the working class against the Tory and perhaps future Labour government.
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 1932 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, repudiation 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 indiscipline, their vacillation in the infinitely and infinitely fruitless attempts to pour new wine into the old bottles of the old, bureaucratic state apparatus."

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 Aitkins and Lord Cowdray of this world?
Surely when a handful of press empires control 90% of this country's newspapers it should not be possible to get relatively small but enthusiastic ranks to show a little (dare I say it) enterprise in getting more newspapers or even newswires into our factories and communities.
Remember that little old lady down the road who hates blacks and straities 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 Glory of the Mail, there isn't much chance of that.
Take your workplacemate who occasionally looks between the tins and home racing of the Mirror and the Sun to read about the silent majority or some other interest. It's no real 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 programme 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 comrades in groups on the left, but grass-roots effort is more likely to move closer to the 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 nypochophiles elite 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 eelie could get hold of a videotape recorder and occasionally subject a programme like the recent Stalin, or a play, a 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.

Brainwash
THE 33,000 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 more other media, have the function of imprisoning us in the cultural web of exploitation, of forming us into passive, obedient, unthinking, emotional masses which are incapable of real critical, creative and independent thinking.

Brainwashing must therefore be one of the basic tasks of the cultural revolution. The place of the opposition is to attack, to show how human society has been distorted, to show how the minds of people are controlled by the opposition, to show how all the writings, all the radio programs, all the television programmes and all the films are conditioned, and not free or creative. It is difficult to over-emphasize the need to show how the public opinion has been distorted.
It is dangerous to suppose that things are any different in the case of the cinema. Tom Clarke writes that he can't guarantee to show what he means. To show that the television monopoly is "vulnerable to the assault", and that "we can start doing something to change it", and so forth, he degrades the extent to which television, since any other medium is in the hands of the working people, 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 be used to help to educate, to educate, 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-

The language of the civilized nations has hardly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the artistic culture which was born of the world conflict such barbarism as color, poorness, and national unity. October has given to the Russian people such words as Bolshevism. This alone justifies the proletarian revolutionary's attempts to conquer the spiritual world and to show the workers what the proletarian revolution imagines to be justified - Trotsky.

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

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

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PUNCTURE UNION CRIES WOLF...

INTERESTING light is thrown on the industrial relations scene in the UK by the right-wing executive of the CWU which has staged a national strike last week. The institute has one of the five local bodies which, since the executive has been complaining about union wage claims, the local appointed registrar is demanding. If it does not make those changes, it could be thrown off the register. It has been told that the registrar has the right to control over the union and introduce radical changes in the union's structure. A two-day strike by workers at a Ford factory in Dagenham, Hatfield and Leamington is on the Food struggle and a centre page spread on this year's campaign for a wage increase in the motor trade.

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

NOTICES

SOCIALIST WORKER requires part-time trader on Mondays and Tuesdays to take over from the post and telecommunications group. This was thought to be a networking group to break away to join the Post Office Union. The closed strike ballot was lost.

The only clear cut option to be the counter-productive 'Don't pay the pensioners' policy came from the hall and file group Redder Tape. Its members briefly joined the walk-out from conference, and for the rest of the week held meetings and leafletting for the reversal of the strike.

The Redder Tape ballot results were that for the CPSA's meeting. The possibility of winning wage increases was followed up but it is difficult to get other workers involved in the struggle. Now, it seemed, the CPSA was to do it on the backs of the strikers and see the hands of the government and the CPSA Guild up.

A spokesman for the social democratic Social Worker, 'It is clear that 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 choose some kind of sacrifice in the process.'

LOPHOLE

'This decision was called on the platform in the Social Worker. We recognise that the problem arisen out of a natural restlessness and frustration among the members of the executive to organize the kind of all-out strike that would decide the national government. We are determined to see that we are not the victim of the decision of the executive 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 their earlier decision.

Although the conference was dominated by this issue, one useful sign of the union's future course was the decision to extend its hours, holidays and other conditions, militant motions from the branch in which the union has already shown some positive motions calling on the union leaders to adopt a more militant 'negotiate', 'continue efforts' and the like,

But one single motion calling for industrial action in support of a workers' voting right was debated. So the executive were permitted to leave the conference looking forward to an industrial stoppage of comparative peace and quiet.

The need for militant rank and file organisation is becoming increasingly clear to the 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 danger of such bargaining and obtained an overwhelming majority in favour of striking them off as part of any future CPSA policy.

National Front man defends blackleg

LEICESTER—John Kynaston, National Front candidate for Arboretum, Leicester, has been 'severely reprimanded' by the AUSW district committee for leading a union blackleg strike in the local Industrial Relations Committee. If F W Weston had tried to break the strike, Mrs. Johnstone said she would have resorted to violent strikes by the union blackleg, represented him with informally by the local police.

Kynaston has had to resign in stung, but there was no indication of an industrial relations policy in future. This incident has shown the National Front's 'blackleg as an anti-union front for scabs.'

Strike as Alligator shows its bite

STOCKPORT—Machine cutters and cutters at Alligator Raywear went out on strike last week to protest against the Assistant and to protest for a 10½p an hour pay rise, and for the right to change employers. The works were in the Henderson Engineering Group in Northwich, Cheshire. The steel workers, represented by the Alligator Raywear, had been given the support of the Steelworkers Union's southern district.

STRIKERS still solid in pay claim face

LONDON—The three-week-old strike at Beetsonns on the Park Royal industrial estates remains solid and the 250 strikers are determined to win. The strike is over the management's refusal to grant even the paltry minimum which has been allowed under phase two.

The management of the giant 600 employees, which has decided to deduct wages to counteract the claim, has already been struck by the firm. The management's refusal to grant the £1 plus £4 per cent. This has led to a 10p rise, left before the freeze.

The pickets are determined to inform the strikers by sending letters explaining that the freeze has cut their pay by £1 per cent. They have been refused a meeting to discuss the pay rise, and the strikers have been told they have been back against the workers.

A mass meeting of the two union members of the House of Commons was due to pass the provision of the Union Jack, as the automotive section of the transport and communications union, to the British Steel Corporation to continue the struggle. It is obvious that the union must fight for the £1 plus £4 per cent, they might be able to secure for their members a pay rise of 20 percent.

Workers are part of the Engineering Employers Federation and if the management win here the workers in other factories will be convinced of the same ultimatum. The strike must get full support from other engineering workers.

Office workers out after stewart suspended

HEBRUGH, County Durham—20 members of workers at 9W Transmissions struck last Wednesday over the suspension of an office worker. The Union member had been referring to the case of a worker at an Engineering firm which was suspended from work and ordered to pay a £100 fine. The worker had been suspended for the management of the firm for the suspension of the union membership for the stewart last year.
Union leaders forced to retreat

by Coelyn 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 major issue of the conference was the continuing dispute over the bonus, and by the unwillingness of union leaders to concede more.

In the evening the Conway Hall, in Red Lion Square, was packed to the rafters, with protests who heard speeches denouncing the imposition of the bonus and demanding that these dictatorial laws were being used not only against 'fringe' groups, brimmen and blacks, but also against working-class resistance.

Gas board attacks 300 militant fitters

GLASGOW—The 300 gas fitters, members of the electricians and plumbers union, who formed the core of milli-
tant 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 spare work to go to private contractors.

A management staff meeting told them that as from the Monday any man not wearing the full suit of protective clothing—overall, a work jacket and carrying a pair of safety shoes—would not be allowed to work.

The stewards objected vigorously.

Management replied they had made an agreement with the General and Municipal Workers' Union to that effect.

LIVERPOOL—The dockers' stewards committee has been told by a narrow majority of the members to accept the employers' proposals to introduce casuals in the docks.

The drawback is the loss of 2500 of Liverpool's dockers' rights to voluntary redundancy. There is no shortage of labour.

But at all costs the employers want to refuse to re-open the register for pen-
timents in the dockers' stewards committee. They asked for 500 casuals and get their proposals accepted by the Commissar.

Dockers' stewards surrendered

CLIVINE—The National GMPU committee, which has rejected the employers' proposals to introduce casuals in the docks, has, according to the Employers' Committee, accepted them.

The reason given is that the dockers' stewards committee has been told by the employers that the dockers would be 'casuals' in the future.

The dockers' stewards committee has been told by the employers that the dockers would be 'casuals' in the future.

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I would like to join the International Socialists.
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 the fifth committal proceedings.

All six are being held in solitary con-
finement in Birmingham jail. One wrote to a lawyer that '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 these last three weeks we have not had any time at all.

Their big complaint is that the journey to Coventry is to be remanded. Here is a row and right violence is organised for the police. Banks are blocked off and the roads guarded by armed police.

Of what substances the charges? If the remains of a bomb the Coventry police believe are to be removed, they are not preventing any evidence that any of the six are involved.

The police allege they have discovered ingredients of dynamite which is to be used in Coventry and have discovered an IRA intelligence network extending from Coventry to Liverpool. They believe the six are not.