

# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

## Eyewitness report from South Africa

# Murder used

### Black miners' strike solid

At least 320,000 black miners are now in the middle of the second week of the greatest and perhaps most important strike in South African history.

The miners' union, the NUM, has already faced repression as the state and the mine bosses attempt to beat down the strikers.

According to Marcel Golding, the NUM assistant general secretary, "Police have been involved in setting up road blocks and have harassed and arrested workers since the inception of the strike".

Shaft stewards have been abducted by mine security and the police are patrolling some hostels.

A suspected bomb was found at the NUM's Klerksdorp offices last Wednesday (12th) and the union's Free State offices were surrounded by police.

Pressure on the strikers has been concentrated on the best organised and largest mines in an attempt to knock the union off balance from the start of the dispute.

However, since the strike began it has got stronger. As Marcel Golding put it: "No strike in the mining industry has continued longer than two days. If we go through this we can survive a long stretch. Then a long strike becomes a reality."

The strike has been consolidated. Detained union officials have been replaced by rank and file workers. When the police arrested 78 members of the regional strike committee at Klerksdorp they were soon replaced by a rank and file interim committee.

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Photo: IDAF

# to break strike



Massive vigilante terror has been unleashed against striking South African chemical workers, who had hoped to open up a second front alongside the striking black miners.

After a long period of preparation, 12,000 workers, members of the powerful Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), were due to take strike action this Monday, 17th, at the massive SASOL coal-into-oil and colliery complex at Secunda.

It was then that the vigilantes and security guards stepped in.

The vigilantes are thugs — "basically lumpen elements" as one trade unionist described them — who are often brought in from the rural areas to "discipline" trade unionists and

militant youth.

An organiser from the CWIU describes the events that followed:

"Last night and this morning (Monday 17th) vigilantes were attacking and preparing to attack our members.

"As a result the strike has been aborted, though fighting between strikers and vigilantes is still continuing in the collieries.

"The vigilantes have been brought in by bus from the rural areas of Kwazulu and Pondoland. The company say they are not vigilantes but just new recruits. This is strange because the vigilantes arrived over the weekend and the company doesn't usually recruit people at the weekend.

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# 12 days of heroic struggle

## Thursday 6 August

Black miners refused to go down the shaft for the night shift at Maatla colliery thus beginning the biggest wages strike in South African history.

The NUM issues a code of conduct for its striking members which includes:

\*Elected strike committees to run the dispute.

\*Workers to stay in their rooms and to leave only when instructed to do so by the strike committee.

\*No drinking of alcohol.

## Friday 7 August

Strikes spread across gold and coal mines in advance of NUM's official call.

## Saturday 8 August

The NUM leadership direct their

members to pack their bags and return home in anticipation of a drawn-out battle. It is left up to local strike committees to carry out this directive. Many workers decide to stay on the compounds.

## Monday 10 August

340,000 miners back the NUM strike call on 44 out of 46 targeted mines. At least 80,000 non-union members support the action in the mines which produce half of South Africa's gold and 20% of its coal.

Miners forced to work at gunpoint at the Harmony gold mine in the Orange Free State and at Welkom near Johannesburg. Six miners injured at Vaal Reef's gold mine as police fire on strikers. Six miners hurt in battles between scabs and strikers at Kinross gold mine.

Other black workers promise

solidarity action, particularly at the Richards Bay coal terminal and the SASOL Coal to Oil plant.

NUM officials on all mines not involved in the dispute — including platinum, uranium and diamond mines — begin moves to hold strike ballots.

## Tuesday 11 August

More miners join the dispute. All 46 mines targeted by the NUM are closed. White miners' union officials admit that Gencor (the state mining company) and Anglo American are paying bonuses of up to £25 a shift to whites scabbing on strike-bound mines.

Anglo also attack union control of the compounds, accusing NUM shaft stewards of "interfering with access to hostels, preventing workers from exercising their desire to work and

obstructing delivery of food supplies".

South African state radio warns that the unions "were putting at risk" the limited reforms in labour legislation and workers' rights won over the last ten years.

The total number of victims of security force action against miners rises to 14. At least 15 NUM strike committee members are arrested.

Mine bosses declare that a black miner was "apparently murdered for refusing to join the stoppage". The NUM makes no comment.

## Wednesday 12 August

Police break up a NUM meeting of 300 strikers at Klerksdorp. 78 miners, all members of the NUM strike committee, are to be charged with attempted murder and other charges under the Internal Security Act.

The total of detained miners since

the start of the strike rises to 177. Arrests are apparently arbitrary, including 15 strikers picked up waiting for taxis.

## Thursday 13 August

The number of miners affected by the dispute rises to 52. Around 150 workers making gold bars at the Rand Refinery join the strike. The heavily guarded refinery is vital to South African gold exports.

1,800 miners at Consolidated Murchison join the battle, the first NUM organised plant outside the gold and coal industries to do so.

## Friday 14 August

Anglo American threaten to sack 5,000 miners on three "marginal" mines if they do not return to work by Tuesday 18 August.

225 miners have so far been injured as a result of security forces action. Over 200 have been arrested, including at least 80 union officials.

## Saturday 15 August

24 strikers injured by security guards at Vaal Reef after the guards burst into a hostel and opened fire with rubber bullets and teargas.

## Sunday 16 August

NUM strike committees meet to assess progress of the dispute. Cyril Ramaphosa calls on the mine bosses to allow lawyers into the mine compounds to assess situations of violence.

An estimated 240 union activists have been injured since the strike began. A striker at the Maatla colliery was shot in the testicles after a confrontation with police.

## Monday 17 August

Leaders of the NUM start negotiations with employers' representatives.

A member of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) is killed and many injured as vigilantes attack workers preparing to strike at the giant SASOL coal-into-oil and colliery complex.

## Tuesday 18 August

NUM calls off negotiations after strikers shot. Municipal workers' meeting in Soweto attacked by the police.

## Facts about the strike.

The number of miners backing the union's strike call is disputed. The union has claimed 350,000, whereas the Chamber of Mines says 220,000 are out. The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) — which produces accurate figures for most workers' struggles, believes that roughly 320,000 miners are on strike.

Both the union and the LMG report very little drift back to work.

## Cost of the strike

At least R90 million (about £30 million) potential profits have been lost by Anglo American, Gencor and JTI, the three major companies in the dispute.

The mining bosses are losing an average of R17 million per working day. Gencor (the state mining company and until last year an area of weak union organisation) has lost 80% of potential profit — a little over R16 million.

The difference between the union's demand and management's offer is roughly equivalent to nine days lost profit.

## The NUM's demands:

- \*A 30% wage increase.
  - \*30 days paid leave.
  - \*June 16 — the anniversary of the Soweto uprising — as a paid holiday.
  - \*Danger Pay.
  - \*Five years pay as death benefit.
- The NUM's battle is part of the Congress of South African Trade Unions' living wage campaign.



Miners at rally in Soweto last year. Photo IDAF.

## Murder used to break strike

From page 1

"These people were marching past the workers' hostels, calling on people to return to work and not to go on strike. They had all kinds of weapons — spears, batons, pangas and reinforced steel rods. Workers on the spot report that two white security men were seen directing the vigilante gang. At least one of our members has been murdered.

"The union needs to regroup. Despite these attacks our fight is far from over. In the last few minutes we have received a telex from management saying that the majority of our members have gone to work — and that the rest of our strikers have until 6 am Wednesday to return to work.

"SASOL is also threatening to sue the union if we suggest management



collusion in the violence against our members. We were expecting an attack on our strike though not a full-scale onslaught.

"This morning's events show clearly which side the state is on. They are with the bosses. It also shows how serious the attacks on the union movement are becoming. The chemical employers now have a secret club which meets once a month to hammer out a strategy to use against the union".

"British workers and miners in particular can help us by campaigning to stop the recruitment of British miners for the South African industry."

## Strike still solid

From page 1

The mine bosses have clearly been shocked by the response to the strike. The promise of solidarity action from other workers in the great union federation COSATU, will put even more pressure on the Chamber of Mines.

Already members of COSATU's construction workers' union have refused to do work on the mines or mine buildings.

16,000 postal workers are on strike throughout the country in a separate dispute, and have closed down telephone exchanges and halted mail in some areas.

Solidarity action is on the cards from dockers and from COSATU centrally.

There is a powerful shop stewards committee — which covers several industries — organising COSATU members who work for the mining giant Anglo American and its subsidiaries.

There are significant strikes in the metal and food sectors and the possibility of a new round of action in the metalworkers' national wage dispute.

Significantly, the attack on the

SASOL workers this Monday (see front page) may well indicate that the mine bosses and the state are determined to stop any major second front opening up alongside the NUM.

The outcome of this strike will shape the future of the workers' struggle in South Africa.

The British labour movement must rally to the South African NUM. Boycott South African gold and coal shipments!

For background to the dispute see centre pages.

**Support the South African NUM! Send donations to: NUM, St. James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield S1 2EX. (Make cheques payable to SANUM).**

**Send messages of support to: NUM, PO Box 2424, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa. Telex 095 9 450 654. Telephone 01027 11 337 6660.**

# Defend the right to tell the truth

**THE COSTS** awarded against the *Daily Star* and in favour of Jeffrey Archer make scarcely believable reading.

On top of the £500,000 damages to Archer, the *Star* had to pay £700,000 in court costs.

What this shows is that the libel laws are a rich person's option. The rich have immense privileges. If you dare to publish the truth about someone rich enough to take you to a libel court, you must either retract — that is, lie under compulsion — and pay limited damages, or risk facing the sort of costs the Archer case totted up.

If you are sued for libel and you are too poor to mount a defence, you automatically lose. But to get even a minimal legal case mounted, you need a lot of money.

## Establishment

It has nothing to do with the rights and wrongs of the case. Money decides. Together with the Official Secrets Act, the current libel law is a major bulwark of the secrets of the Establishment.

Every newspaper operates within these constraints. But working-class newspapers, which are poor and exist only through the sacrifices of their supporters, are at a great disadvantage.

*Socialist Organiser* might have faced costs like those the *Daily Star* will have to pay — or, anyway, costs that would have been crippling even at one-tenth of the *Star's* figure. A case of libel brought against *Socialist Organiser* by the actress Vanessa Redgrave is still on the court lists.

We want to appeal to the court to remove it from the lists. To do that we need your support. It is a question of support for the right to free expression.

Why were we sued for libel by Ms Redgrave? Ms Redgrave was a prominent member of the Workers' Revolutionary Party. The WRP (formerly SLL) was the major Trotskyist group in Britain throughout the '50s and '60s, and until the early '70s. But it was always organised as

## EDITORIAL

an autocratic sect, and in the '60s it progressively went mad until by the mid '70s it established friendly (and, according to much circumstantial evidence, lucrative) links with Colonel Gaddafi's Islamic dictatorship in Libya. It declined dramatically, effectively withdrawing from the labour movement into its own shell.

In 1981 it made a lurch back to the labour movement. That movement was in disarray provoked by Thatcher's election victory in 1979.

How should the left respond in local government, where it held positions in the 'local state'?

Before Thatcher's victory, the left had a clear answer. The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory (SCLV), which started *Socialist Organiser* and had Ken Livingstone and Ted Knight prominent in it, said: 'Freeze rents and rates. Use council positions to mobilise the local working class in struggle'.

After June 1979 Ted Knight and others argued that left Labour councils must raise rates to compensate for central government cuts. Our side of the SCLV and *SO* argued that such rate rises meant indirectly passing on the Tory cuts. To choose rate rises was to choose to manage the 'local state' within the limits set by the Tories, and to turn away from class struggle.

We won a big majority of *SO* supporters to our view, but we were in a minority within the broader left wing that had emerged after Labour's 1979 general election defeat. In early 1980 people like Ken Livingstone seceded from *SO* and founded *Labour Briefing*. With them went people like *Labour Briefing* editor Graham Bash, who believed that rate rises were somehow a necessary stage of a struggle for local working-class 'power'.

The Labour local government left embarked on a course of trimming and fudging that culminated in collapse, with maximum ignominy and confusion, in 1985.

Into this situation came the WRP. Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, was a former member of the WRP, who would soon resume an association with the WRP so close that it would have made no difference if he had rejoined. A labour movement conference was called by Lambeth council in early 1981, at which policy was to be thrashed out.

Knight was the pioneer of 'left-wing' cuts. He had proposed cuts in Lambeth as early as July 1979. By early 1981 he was talking defiance, but he needed to keep his options open. An earlier conference in November 1980 had taken a hard line. Knight faced defeat. So he made a deal with the WRP.

The WRP duly helped to pack the



## Seeking sanctuary from deportation

**Renukaben Lakhani with her four month old child Riya, seeking sanctuary in a Hindu temple in Leicester to avoid being deported to India. She is with her husband, Vipin Lakhani. Photo: John Harris, IFL.**

conference, and Knight's link with the WRP would soon lead him and his then close associate Ken Livingstone to start a weekly paper, *Labour Herald*, which was printed by the WRP press on terms that enabled it to survive with few paid sales and had WRP Central Committee member Steve Miller as executive editor.

In response to the sudden appearance of the WRP at the January 1981 conference, *Socialist Organiser* editor John O'Mahony wrote an article (under the Gaelic version of his name, Sean Matgamna) denouncing the WRP and explaining what it was. Under the title 'Gaddafi's Foreign Legion Comes to Knight's Rescue', the article referred to the WRP's links with Libya and condemned the WRP's regime and methods of operation in terms that a few years later would become commonplace, but were then unusually forthright.

The reference to Libya was ignored, but within a few days Matgamna was sued for libel by Ms Redgrave on behalf of the WRP. Other writs followed. John Bloxam, the organiser of the SCLV, was sued for a circular to supporters explaining what the issues were; our printers were sued; and so on.

*Socialist Organiser* is able to appear only through the voluntary efforts of its supporters and those who work on it, none of whom are rich. Vanessa Redgrave is a millionaire. What were we to do?

We had no doubt that we were right in what Matgamna had written. So either we faced the risk of financial ruin, or we complied with Ms Redgrave's lawyers' demand that we publicly tell what we knew to be lies.

Only one choice was possible. We could not tell lies to order and continue publishing *SO* as an honest newspaper.

So we decided, penniless, to fight Ms Redgrave in the libel courts. We launched the Labour Movement Press Defence Fund, with Jonathan Hammond, president of the National Union of Journalists, as its treasurer. We got a petition going. We took the issue to the NUJ. We proposed a labour movement inquiry instead of resort to the courts.

The case dragged on for years. The WRP had silenced other critics by the mere threat of libel action, but once defied they were not keen to go to court. We had assembled a number of witnesses to the WRP's methods. The WRP did not want those witnesses heard. For them, the court case was just a means of harassing us, and of forcing us to pay out a lot of money to keep the legal proceedings ticking over.

## Libya

In 1983 the BBC 'Money Programme' did an expose of the WRP's financial links with Libya. Sean Matgamna reviewed the programme in *SO*, and naturally he did not attack the BBC for saying things that he himself had said in *SO* long before.

There followed a two-month campaign against *SO* in the daily WRP paper *Newsline*. Every day a number of people would write articles and letters to fill a page in the paper. The labour movement's hostility to the bourgeois media was exploited to get Labour Party and union bodies to condemn the BBC... and *SO*.

After that it would probably have been difficult for the WRP — however expensive their lawyers — to go into court. But still they held the court case over our heads.

Then the WRP broke up. In late 1985 its long-time dictatorial leader, Gerry Healy, was expelled. His opponents said that he had assaulted and raped female WRP members over many years. They said many other things, all of them backing up, providing detail for, and indeed going further than what Sean Matgamna had written in 1981.

Most important, they said, plausibly, that Healy had 'fingered' Iraqi Communist Party members to the Iraqi regime, which gave him money, and used the *Newsline's* photographers to spy on Iraqis in Britain. These activities had led to the murder of a number of would-be communists by the Iraqi state.

By the end of 1985 the WRP's case was in tatters. Vanessa Redgrave had gone with Gerry Healy. The end of the story? No. The built-in inequality of the libel laws still operates against *SO*. Vanessa Redgrave's case against Sean Matgamna and John Bloxam is still, more than six years later, on the court lists.

To get it off the lists — to get the case off our backs, and to recover the thousands of pounds we have already spent in legal costs — we need money. We need £1000.

Help us to raise the money and re-establish the right of free reporting and comment within the labour movement.

**Send donations to: Labour Movement Press Defence Fund, c/o PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.**

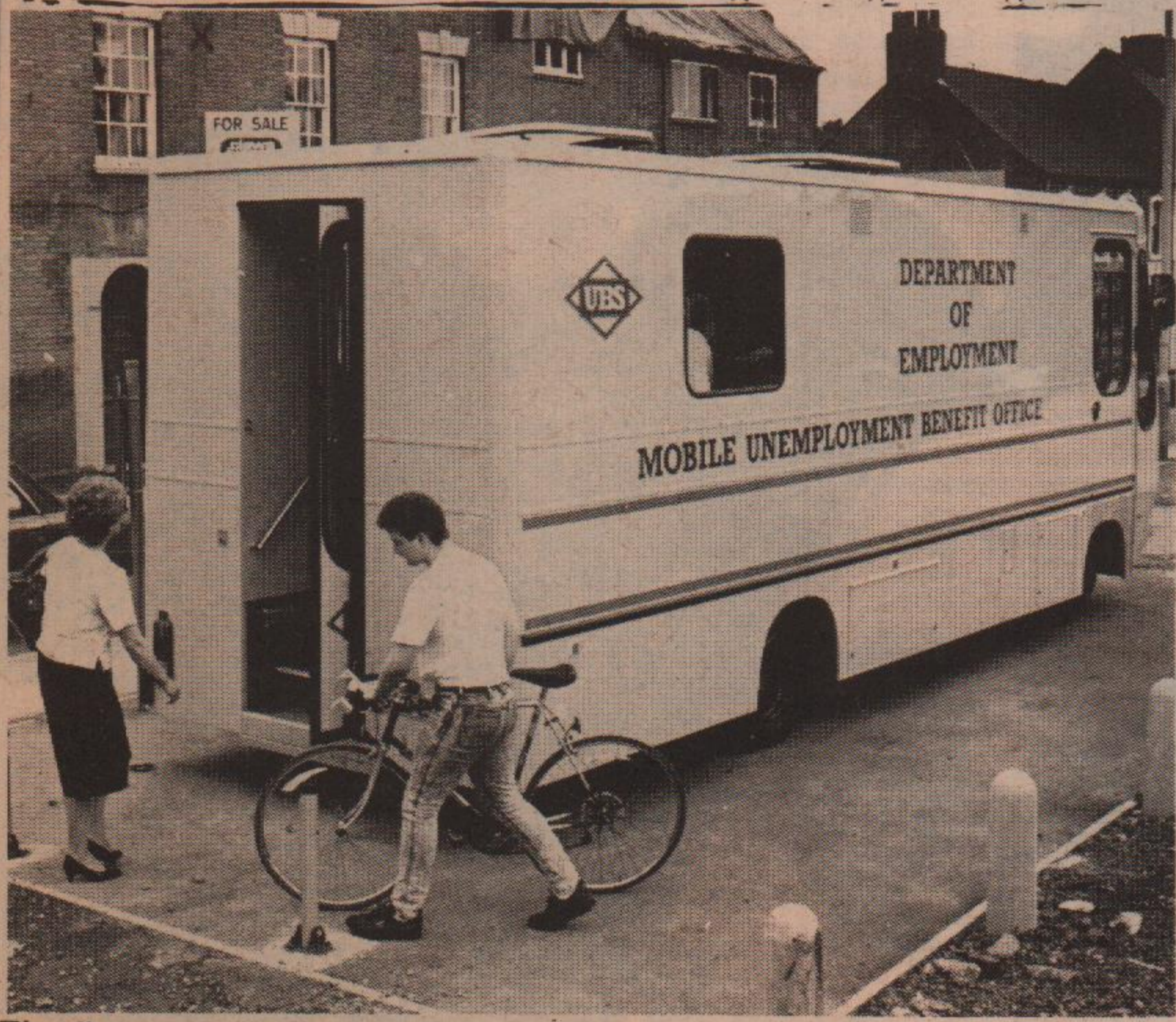
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# GRAFFITI



The first ever dole office on wheels. Photo: John Harris, IFL

## A good deal worse off

Still reckon it's a good deal to buy your council house or flat? Consider the experience of Mrs Debbie Parker of the Avondale Square Estate, South London.

She bought her flat in 1982, and now she has to pay £3,695 a year in service charges to the estate landlord.

The estate is run, not by some 'loony left', 'wasteful', Labour council, but by the City of London Corporation, which is elected by the bankers and financiers of the City.

Like many other estates of the 1960s, it is built in huge concrete blocks of flats. Big building firms put a lot of pressure on councils to build that way, because it enabled the firms to make most profits, quickest. But those 1960s blocks now need a lot of very expensive maintenance.

Of course some council house-buyers have been lucky and got good, problem-free houses very

cheap. Which is all very well — except that it means that there is less good, cheap rented housing available, and finding a home becomes a choice between buying (for those who have the money and can offer the necessary guarantees to get a loan) and sordid, run-down estates (for the worse-off).

## Immigration checks

Social security staff could be made to act as immigration police under new government plans. The DHSS's draft questionnaire for people claiming Income Support — which will replace supplementary benefit next year — would ask claimants whether they have come to the UK recently, and what their nationality is. It also provides for further interviews on this point.

Similar checks were pro-

posed in the government's first draft of its plans for revising social security, but last year the government promised that it would drop them.

## AIDS

You can be sacked because of ignorant prejudice and that's OK, according to the courts.

A law journal surveying recent cases reports that a cinema projectionist sacked because he had AIDS and co-workers refused to work with him was "fairly" dismissed.

In fact there is no risk of catching AIDS from someone by working with them or ordinary social contact.

The principle goes further than AIDS victims. The law journal also reports that a warehouseman lost a claim for unfair dismissal when he had been sacked because a customer said he was dishonest — although in fact he wasn't.

## Intellect

The British company Consolidated Goldfields refuses to employ black people as managers in its South African associate, Gold Fields of South Africa, because it believes that black people are "unable to compete intellectually" with whites.

Probably not many black people would want to compete intellectually with the white bosses who drafted this policy...

## Nuclear guinea-pigs

Nearly 1500 members of the British Nuclear Test Veterans' Association, who suffer from cancer and other diseases, are pressing ahead with a long-drawn-out legal battle for compensation.

In the late 1950s thousands of soldiers were

exposed to British nuclear tests in the Pacific. They claim they were used deliberately as guinea-pigs.

The Government says it has no obligation to compensate the ex-soldiers for their suffering because a 1947 law protects it. That law was repealed last year, after a long campaign.

## Poll tax

Members of the Tory Cabinet will be £1000 a year better off, on average, when rates are replaced by the poll tax, according to calculations by Labour Party staff.

The figure is an underestimate, because it is calculated only from what the Tory ministers have to pay on their London homes, without counting their country houses.

Meanwhile public finance experts have challenged the Tories' claim that poll tax will

make councils more accountable. Because of the peculiarities of the way that councils get money from central government, some councils would end up spending more and charging less in poll tax, while others would have to charge more in poll tax even while spending less.

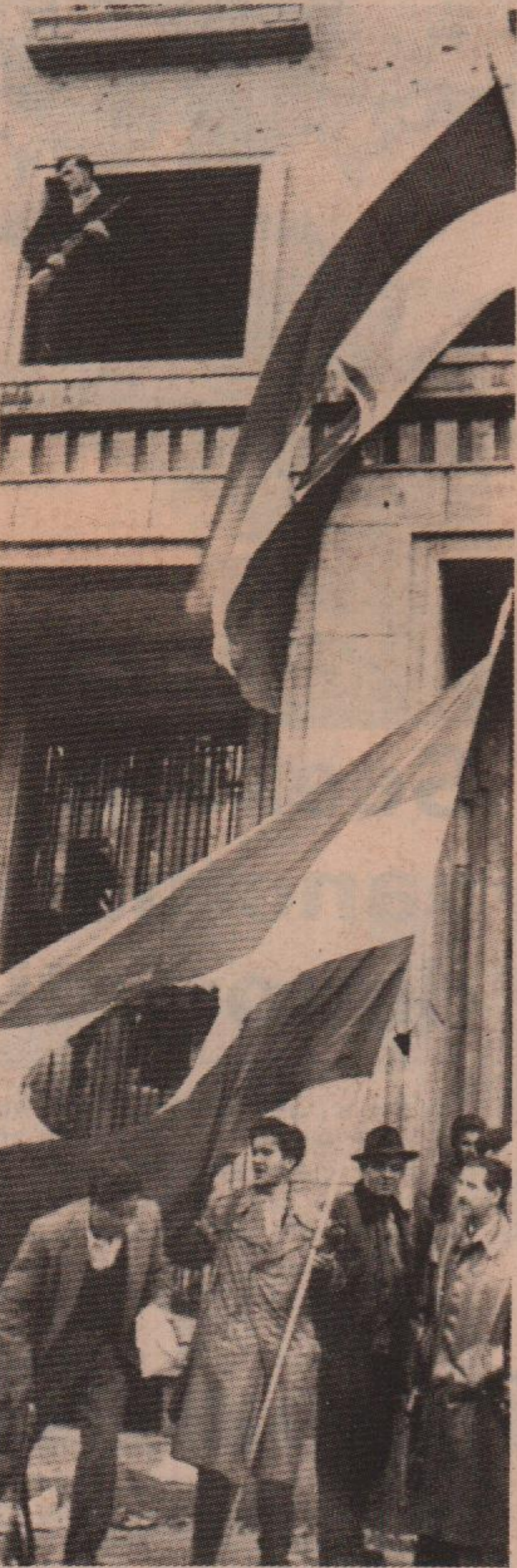
No prizes for guessing how it works out. Poll tax will be high in Labour-controlled inner-London boroughs, and low in the Tory areas of outer London and the Home Counties.

# Workers, yes!

November 7th this year marks one of the greatest days in the history of the working class. For it was on this day, 70 years ago, that the Russian working class under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party overthrew the existing bourgeois order and established the first workers' republic in history.

## Momentous

To mark this momentous occasion, the magazine Workers' Liberty, along with a number of academics, trade unionists, Members of Parliament and numerous other individuals like Eric Heffer, Dr Steve Smith, John McIlroy and



Hungarian flags with CP emblem removed



Czechs compare Soviet invasion of 1968 with Nazi invasion of 1939

## Tony Jain, one of the organisers of the November 7 conference in support of free trade unions in the Eastern Bloc, explains what the conference will do.

others, is holding a conference at the Polytechnic of Central London.

The purpose of the conference is not simply to remember the great events of 1917 and the ideas that flowed from the revolution, important as they are, but also to establish what we hope will become a serious initiative inside the British labour and trade union movement to build solidarity with all oppressed workers in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc today.

Since the triumph of Stalinism in the mid-1920s inside Russia and its expansion to conquer large areas of Eastern Europe after World War II, countless working class opposition movements have risen up to challenge Stalinism's tyrannical rule.

In East Germany in 1953 workers rioted against appalling food shortages and long hours. Their rebellion soon developed into one which demanded greater political freedom from the regime. This proved too much for the East German bureaucracy and its Kremlin backers and the Russian army was called in to crush the workers' uprising by force.

In recent weeks East German youth have been making the same demands at the foot of the Berlin wall.

## Resistance

The Polish working class at Poznan in 1956, 1971 and 1980 has a long history of resistance to Stalinist rule. On each occasion that they have rebelled their actions have led to the removal of successive general secretaries, and the granting of short-term reforms by the regime.

However, in 1980 the actions of workers at Gdansk went much further and led to the establishment of Solidarnosc — the first free trade union in any Eastern Bloc country since before World War 2. The bureaucracy was forced for some time to accept this working class movement.

Hungary 1956 saw a massive uprising of workers, first against their Stalinist rulers and then against the Kremlin tanks which had invaded the country to restore order by the barrel of a gun.

During the course of their heroic

struggle, Hungarian workers established workers' councils in many areas of the country, including Budapest, the capital. These councils controlled production, the supply of food, etc., despite the massive Russian presence.

Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, too, have seen fierce resistance to the despotic rule of a succession of Stalinist tyrants by the working class.

In 1968 Czechoslovakian workers took advantage of the liberalisation being orchestrated by 'reform communists' like Alexander Dubcek, to re-establish on a small scale old style unions and other independent unions.

In 1978-9, miners in Rumania were involved in one of the bitterest and most bloody industrial disputes seen anywhere in Eastern Europe over wages, conditions and political freedoms.

## Reforms

The Kremlin bureaucracy, too, has not escaped fierce working class resistance to its rule. Although information is difficult to obtain, large areas of the country, particularly the non-Russian ones like the Ukraine, Estonia and Latvia, have been the scene of scores of industrial disputes which have developed into ones where workers have been demanding wider political reforms like free speech and freedom of assembly.

One such example was the uprising in the town of Noverchensk in 1962 where workers originally struck at the massive increase in food prices announced by Krushchev and the poor conditions in the workplace, but soon began demanding other reforms. The response of the regime was to gun down scores of them as they held a demonstration through the town.

In recent years workers like Klebanov and Nitkin have formed themselves into trade unions like the Free Trade Union Association (FTUA) and SMOT which still survives today despite heavy repression. If the latter is ever to develop into a large scale movement like Solidarnosc they need and deserve our solidarity.

By launching this conference on 7

# Gorbachev, no!



Russian tanks on Czech streets

November, Workers' Liberty hopes to fill this yawning gap and reclaim for the left the mantle that is rightfully ours — that of defenders and champions of the interests of East European workers. In the not-too-distant future we hope, as a result of our campaign, that taking solidarity action inside the British labour movement in support of East European workers will be as basic as not crossing a picket line.

## Success

To ensure the conference is a success we need you, the readers of Workers' Liberty and Socialist Organiser, to help us in a number of ways.

First, by getting your trade union branch, Labour Party, LPYS branch, etc., to agree to sponsor the conference.

Second, by distributing in your area some of the leaflets we are producing for the conference.

Third, by coming to the conference yourself, and bringing along any interested workmates, friends, etc.

For more details write to Mark Osborn at PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA or phone him on 01-639 7965.

## CONFERENCE Solidarity with workers in the Eastern bloc

Saturday 7 November  
Polytechnic of Central London

More details: Mark Osborn, PO Box 823, London  
SE15 4NA. Phone: 01-639 7967.

# 1917

YEAR OF REVOLUTION

## The Bolsheviks under pressure

### Friday 28 July

A 6,000-strong meeting of workers of the Putilov works (Petrograd) passes a resolution in support of the Bolsheviks and condemning the policies of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. An 800-strong meeting of workers of the Perun factory (Petrograd) calls for all power to the soviets, abolition of the death penalty, and dissolution of the State Duma and Council of State. A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Moscow regional railwayworkers' soviet condemns the reintroduction of the death penalty at the front.

The Provisional Government empowers the War Minister and the Minister of the Interior to shut down any meetings or congresses held during time of war which could pose a threat to the military capabilities of the state.

Factory meetings in Tsaritsyn condemn the closure of the Bolsheviks' local paper and demand the release of imprisoned Bolsheviks. In elections for places on the Bryansk district soviet executive committee, the Bolsheviks win six places, the Mensheviks ten places, and the Social-Revolutionaries seven places. The Kyshtymsky district soviet condemns the government's decision to reintroduce the death penalty.

### Saturday 29 July

A meeting of the Narvsky regional soviet (Petrograd) rejects demands that workers should be disarmed due to an alleged shortage of weapons at the front, and instead adopts a Bolshevik resolution advocating the disarming of counter-revolutionaries. The Central Council of the Petrograd metalworkers union unanimously agrees to send a message of solidarity to the Bolshevik party congress still underway in Petrograd. In Vladimir the provincial soviet of soldiers' deputies demands immediate withdrawal of the death penalty at the front. In Tsaritsyn further meetings pass resolutions demanding immediate release of imprisoned Bolsheviks. A joint meeting of the Kiev Soviets of Workers' Deputies and of Soldiers' Deputies votes down a Bolshevik resolution condemning the Provisional Government and advocating soviet power.

On the Northern front a general meeting of soldiers of the 5th Company of the 8th Lettish Rifles regiment condemns the reintroduction of the death penalty, the dissolution of regiments which disobey orders, and the closure of revolutionary newspapers. On the Western front the committee of the 3rd Army Corps protests at the closure of the newspaper "Voice of the X Army" and its replacement by the "Bulletin of the Chief Committee of the Union of Officers of the Army and Fleet". In Verny 145 soldiers refuse orders to leave the town for the front.

### Sunday 30 July

The Provisional Government extends the decree on reintroduction of the death penalty to cover the fleet as well as the front. The Executive Committee of the Riga Soviet publishes a protest against the closure of Trenches Pravda and the raid carried out on its editorial offices. A 6,000-strong meeting in Revel of sailors, soldiers and workers calls on the Central Executive Committee of Soviets to dissolve the State Duma, and condemns the closure of revolutionary papers, the reintroduction of the death penalty and the dissolution of revolutionary military units by the Provisional Government. The Tomsk Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies passes a resolution of no confidence in the Provisional Government. In the elections to the Vladimir City Duma the Bolsheviks win six seats, the Social Revolutionaries 22, the Mensheviks 10, and the Cadets 15. In the Kovrov Duma elections the Bolsheviks win 9 seats, the Menshevik-Social Revolu-

tionary bloc 15, and the Cadets 4. In the Tula Duma elections the Bolsheviks win 5 seats, the Menshevik-Social Revolutionary bloc 85, and the Cadets 7.

### Monday 31 July

The Centrobalt (Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet) declares that no decree concerning the fleet may be published without prior consideration of it by the Centrobalt. A joint meeting of committees representing three ships' crews of the Baltic Fleet protests against the eviction of the Bolshevik paper Surf from its offices by order of the Navy minister. The Sokolnichesky regional soviet (Moscow) condemns the reintroduction of the death penalty. A court martial of soldiers of the 693rd Infantry regiment on the Western front sentences three of them to death, one to indefinite hard labour in Siberia, three to 20 years hard labour, two to 15 years hard labour, four to 8 years hard labour and six to 6 years hard labour. The Ekaterinburg Soviet adopts a Bolshevik resolution advocating soviet power. A meeting in Tomsk of Soldiers of the 38th and 39th Siberian Reserve Rifles regiments passes a resolution calling for the tranference of all power to the soviets.

### Tuesday 1 August

A meeting of the Petrograd council of trade unions resolves to send a delegate to the Bolsheviks' Sixth Party Congress, in order to express a message of solidarity and participate in debates concerning the trade union movement. The first All-Russian Congress of Workers' Co-operatives opens in Petrograd, attended by 206 delegates representing 511,665 members of co-operatives.

In Revel the first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper Zvezda appears, replacing the Morning of Truth paper, shut down by the Provisional Government. The Smolensk Soviet passes a resolution of support for the second coalition Provisional Government. General Kornilov issues new orders to prevent fraternisation at the front: for the use of artillery and machine-gun fire to break up large-scale fraternisation, and for the immediate shooting on the spot of small numbers of German troops appearing in Russian positions in order to fraternise. The Pavlov Soviet resolves to arrest the factory owner Poditladkin for refusing to implement decisions of the soviet and for slandering the soviet. The Verkhneudinsk Soviet demands abolition of the State Duma and the Council of State.

### Wednesday 2 August

The 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party discusses the organisation of youth and adopts a resolution stressing the need to create unions of youth which are not organisationally subordinate to it but ideologically led by it. The Tiflis Bolshevik Committee lays down rules for the Bolshevik members of the city Duma: they form a fraction under the control of the committee; they do not take any posts on any sub-committees of the Duma, and they do not enter into any blocs with counter-revolutionary or defencist parties represented in the Duma.

The Provisional Government resolves to empower the Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior to arrest anyone whose activity constitutes a threat to the defence of the state or its internal security. The Tula Soviet bans agitation by Bolsheviks among soldiers of the Tula garrison. A meeting of the Central Bureau of trade unions in Kiev condemns the destruction of democratic liberties, and demands abolition of the death penalty and dissolution of the State Duma and Council of State. The Gorodskoy regional Soviet (Moscow) passes a resolution condemning the government's policies as counter-revolutionary.

### Thursday 3 August

In Petrograd the first meeting of the Central Bureau of Political Prisoners' Aid is held, organised by the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee, trade unions and factory committees. 38 soldiers and sailors in the Ushakovsky guardhouse in Petrograd begin a hunger-strike, later joined by all 177 other prisoners, demanding that they be put on trial or released.

The first meeting of the re-elected Nishny Novgorod Soviet is held, consisting of 54 Social Revolutionaries, 36 Mensheviks, 28 Bolsheviks and 10 members of the Bund.

The Tsaritsyn Soviet condemns the continuing presence in the town of a detachment of pro-government troops sent to crush "unrest" and resolves to protest to the Central Executive Committee of Soviets and to the Provisional Government. The Executive Committee of the Ufa Soviet adopts a Menshevik-Social

Continued on page 10

# Why black mine

**Adequate reportage of conditions of mining life is difficult given the tight security at mines and the half-truths which emanate from management.**

The mining industry, virtually from its inception, required large supplies of cheap migrant labour recruited from all parts of Southern Africa. This still remains the dominant feature.

However, certain mining groups such as Rand Mines are developing a settled labour force — a major shift from the general employment pattern of the industry, housing workers in both married and single quarters. Part of the strategy is to encourage the ethos of a "career miner", committed to the industry, and to attempt to co-opt certain sections (e.g. team leaders and clerks).

However this is the exception. The majority of workers are migrants — who have to return annually or when their contract expires to their places of origin — and are housed in single sex compounds; institutions well known for control and coercion.

The conditions are notoriously bad. It is not uncommon to have 20 workers in a room, sleeping on triple steel bunks often with poor ventilation.

At Kloof Mine, owned by Goldfields of South Africa, workers complain that no ceilings exist in the rooms making them extremely cold in winter and very hot in summer. Washing facilities are often just "big halls with showers and toilets which are terrible", said one worker. There is no privacy, and after work there is very little to do.

At Rietspruit mine recreational and residential facilities are reasonably good.

At most mines workers are "encouraged" to play sport which, in itself, has sometimes divisive effects. Some, for example, who excel, are given special privileges dividing them off from the rest of the workers; they become reluctant to attend union meetings and, it seems, form part of the strategy to divide workers.

Workers are housed along ethnic/tribal lines and the induna system remains an institutional feature of the industry. One worker said sarcastically of the indunas: "Their function is to police the workers, discourage mixing with other workers and disorganise us.

## Marcel Golding of the South African NUM looks at the terrible conditions under which black miners work in South Africa.

They are management's puppets and watchdogs".

Assisting them are the "tribal representatives", a euphemism for mine police. They control the gates and patrol around in their khaki uniforms armed with a stick. Together they frequently engage in raids of workers' lockers undermining what little privacy workers have. The century old induna system is a source of immense dissatisfaction and many struggles are fought around the powers of the indunas. For mineworkers it is a system which must be abolished. During periods of unrest, tribal police and the indunas are important targets for the mineworkers because they are symbols of management domination.

### Food

**Food is a major source of grievance and has recently been successfully used to mobilise miners.**

One worker remarked about the quality of the food: "We often have to eat raw porridge, fish with scales and vegetables that are not properly cooked". At another mine, a shaft steward described a typical mealtime.

"We all have to queue. You start by the biggest pot with pap. It is dished up with a small spade they call a spoon. The pap is never properly done, either very stiff or very watery. You get a lump placed on the plate.

Next the dirty vegetables...a spoonful. Next, the beans, which are full of small stones and wood particles are added. To the meat pot next...a piece the size of a matchbox and that includes the bone. You end off with a spoon of tasteless gravy...You are forced to eat everything because the tribal representatives patrol while you eat.

They are there to make sure you don't leave the stones and wood pieces on the table!"

Because of bad food the majority of workers cook their own food in their rooms. But this is both costly and dangerous.

Workers generally have two meals a day — breakfast and supper. Underground there is no food. Most mines operate on a 3-shift system — a morning, afternoon and evening shift. At some mines workers have struggled successfully to have food improved but the general situation is still appalling, as mine bosses try to keep costs low.

### Wages

**The strikes in September 1984-5 were over wages. Wages and mine safety remain the two issues mineworkers are most readily prepared to strike over.**

But issues such as racial abuse, assaults and hostel conditions are

**"When we start the 3 am shift we are up well before 2 am. When we go down we are tightly packed like sardines in the cage. The whites come down in the last cage but leave with the first. Many of them bring their newspapers and sit reading while we work."**

also the focus of militant action by workers.

Wages on the whole are generally low, for a rockface worker as low as R53 (£14) per week. The following figures were given by a worker from East Driefontein Gold Mine: locomotive drivers, winch drivers,

machine operators and loaders all earn R64 per week; a general team leader earns R78 per week, while special team leaders and construction team leaders earn R113 per week; section team leaders with one star earn R121 per week and section team leaders with 2 stars earn R134 per week.

In the mining industry wages are uneven: gold miners will earn different rates from coal or platinum miners, while different mining houses also pay different rates. Some pay the minimum prescribed by the Chamber of Mines while others, particularly Anglo American, pay more. Uneven wages have often sparked off strikes, for example the 1982 mine strikes, and recently when only certain mine employees received increases at Vaal Reefs, owned by Anglo American.

For the majority of workers money has to be sent to Bantustans where family and dependents reside. Inflation has constantly eroded workers' wages. With the union they are more confident that wages will improve. Another feature is that workers are often paid well below the rates their job description demands. For example, a male nurse interviewed was doing nursing work but was classified as a "dresser" and earned R242 per month after 17 years' service. If he worked overtime (that includes every Sunday) this increased to R329 per

dress us".

When workers elaborate there is bitterness in their voices, reflecting the years of hardship and abuse they have had to endure. Antagonisms have been exacerbated over the recent period as white miners realise that they are replaceable.

In addition workers are increasingly challenging the abuse and, through the union and their unity, they have grown more confident. As workers organise and threaten militant action, mine bosses are likely to put pressure on their "labour lieutenants" (the white miners) because strikes and the destruction of mine property would be too high a price to pay for continued tolerance of racist bigotry.

Relations with white miners were summarised by one worker from Kloof Mine, to the approval of his colleagues:

"When we start the 3 am shift we are up well before 2am. When we go down we are tightly packed like sardines in the cage. The whites come down in the last cage but leave with the first. Many of them bring their newspapers along and sit reading while we work. When our shift is over we have to wait hours for the cage, while they are gone. Often we work well over 10 hours.

### Work hazards

**Hazardous working conditions remains an area of dissatisfaction and struggle.**

When speaking to mineworkers their impressions are clear: they are often sent to work in dangerous and unsafe areas, while the white miner sits in safety. Increasingly this is being challenged. Struggles against unsafe working conditions are reflected in various ways. At West Driefontein in September 1983 workers refused to work in conditions they believed to be hazardous. At Rietspruit Colliery miners requested a two-hour break to attend the memorial service of a colleague; a demonstrative act against unsafe working conditions — it was the second death to occur on the mine in the space of a year.

Injuries on duty are rife. The stories by a male nurse at Randfontein Estate Gold Mine and a dresser at a first aid depot at one of the shafts are revealing. They talk of bad lacerations, amputations, eye problems and hearing problems which workers complain about.

Very often, they say, when workers are referred for more intensive medical treatment, some of the white miners and engineers refuse permission. Workers are accused of obtaining these injuries at the hostel or some other place. Adequate medical attention for black mineworkers is denied. The powers of white miners seem immense and the nurses have very little power. To disobey white miners is considered "insubordination" and workers can lose their jobs.

Underground humidity is excessive and conditions claustrophobic with noise making communication virtually impossible. When asked whether they had any break, many retorted: "what breaks...you must work when you are down there!"

### Unionisation

**Unionisation has been sharply resisted on the mines for decades. Even with the access agreements enjoyed by mine unions, (e.g. by NUM and the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union) security remains tight and many controls are exercised (for example management must be informed when the organiser visits).**

## Workers stand and fight

**Many people were surprised by the NUM leadership's call to the striking miners to pack up their bags and return home for the duration of the strike.**

The union leadership's reasoning was simple. Previous strikes on the mines have been badly defeated when the superior physical forces of the mine bosses and the state have been mobilised to force miners back to work. The heroic miners' strike of 1946 was defeated in this way.

The cramped conditions at the mine compound provide a situation in which it is relatively easy to force miners back down the shafts or provoke a fight if they refuse. The strikers are trapped.

The union leadership hoped to avoid these dangers by instructing the miners to return home — either to the "homelands" inside South Africa or to neighbouring black states — and to ensure that the strike was of some duration.

### By Ann Mack

It is difficult to put together an accurate picture, but so far — one and a half weeks into the strike — it appears that the vast majority of miners have *not* returned home. Though rather more South African than "foreign" miners have done so.

The cost for many who come from Mozambique or Malawi may be too great. They fear that if they return to their distant homes they might lose their jobs. Their anxieties have been increased by the agitation of the white miners' leaders for a ban on "foreign" miners because of the AIDS epidemic in Africa.

The call for miners to return home may well have been a gamble on the part of the NUM leadership to force further concessions out of the Chamber of Mines at the eleventh hour when it became clear that the battle was likely to be a protracted one.

There are other problems with the "pack your bags and go home" approach. It makes it very difficult to involve the rank and file of the union in the strike when they are dispersed across the whole of Southern Africa. It also makes it very difficult to organise effective pickets to stop scabs. Picketing has already had to be organised in some places.

It seems that most NUM strike committees have decided *not* to call on miners to go home but have instead decided to stand firm by COSATU's policy of self-defence in the face of management and state repression.

As the COSATU leadership argued in their New Year message to members:

"We have to organise our own defence to protect ourselves and our struggle against attacks. Already in many areas COSATU workers are starting to defend themselves. We have to strengthen this a hundred times over...No one else will defend our struggle. We must do it."

### Relationship with white miners

**Maltreatment of black mineworkers by white miners is common. Assaults and verbal abuse often characterise instruction: "kaffir or boy are our names", was the way one worker put it, "this is how the whites ad-**

# ers fight back



The power to destroy apartheid. Photo: IDAF

Organising conditions differ from mine to mine. But what is becoming increasingly prevalent is the self-organisation of mine workers themselves.

Although they realise that unionisation is legal, management remains hostile. Victimization and harassment of union activists is meant to disorganise and demoralise workers. Besides the threats of dismissal, one favoured form of victimisation is to send surface workers underground.

For years the induna system was used to "settle" grievances, and later the works committee, but both have been decisively rejected by mineworkers. Unionisation has filled

the gap.

There are several reasons for NUM's rapid growth:

- \*the success rate of strike action by the union;

- \*the immense publicity it has received, which workers have read about;

- \*participation of workers as recruiters and organisers;

- \*general awareness amongst mineworkers;

- \*the general political climate.

Many of the recently unionised are young workers — militant, articulate and extremely confident — who understand the value of organisation. Although the leadership of the union is predominantly surface employees

(e.g. clerks) — sections which management often attempts to co-opt — this has not inhibited the militancy of the union. The structures of branch, region and national executives, combined with rank and file shaft steward committees have ensured democracy, participation and accountability at all levels. And the union is still young.

Severe criticism from senior industry spokesmen of "irresponsibility" is to be expected. Mine unionisation has unleashed a social force which is seriously challenging management's domination.

From the South African Labour Bulletin.

## Unions face repression

**Do the mine bosses organised in the Chamber of Mines want to use the current strike to weaken the NUM? The answer must surely be yes.**

Gavin Relly, the "liberal" head of Anglo American — the largest employer affected by the current strike — has already made it clear that the independent black unions can expect strong action from the state because of their opposition to the "free-enterprise system".

Over the last few months there has been a worrying escalation in the number and intensity of physical attacks on the workers' movement.

The three most dramatic are:

- \*The state's attempt to hang the metalworkers' union general secretary Moses Mayekiso. His "crime" is building a democratic community organisation in Alexandra township.

- \*The shooting of six trade unionists during the recent rail strike.

- \*The bombing of COSATU headquarters by "persons unknown" during the same strike. At the moment the bomb went off, making the building unusable, a policeman a few blocks away was heard to say "There goes COSATU".

There are scores of other cases of detentions, beatings, torture and murder of trade unionists carried out by black vigilantes and/or the security forces. COSATU meetings, campaigns and publications have been banned. Many union offices have been raided or vandalised. Over 750 trade unionists have been detained over the last year.

On top of all this there has been talk from government ministers, including Pik Botha, about the need for "tough" new labour laws to curb the political stance and militancy of the unions.

Many of these attacks have been directed against the NUM.

In one incident thugs from Chief Buthelezi's "peaceful" quasi-fascist tribal organisation Inkatha, walked past mine security and shot dead an NUM official in his office.

**However, it is not at all clear that either the Chamber of Mines or the government have a coherent strategy to deal with the workers' movement.**

They have vacillated between reforms and concessions on the one hand and repression on the other.

It seems that their aim is to weaken and discredit the NUM. Hoping to soften it up for further attacks in the future.

The massive support for the strike so far (70% more than the NUM's target figure of 200,000 strikers) must surely worry the mine bosses.

In this situation a full-scale clamp-down on the South African workers' movement — on the lines of martial law in Poland in 1981 — would be a major gamble for the ruling class. A gamble that they are unlikely to take right now.

**The bosses will become more willing to contemplate drastic action the longer the strike goes on and the more it hits their profits.**

If the state uses the tactics it deployed against the township revolt of 1984-6, then it is much more likely to sit out the present battle — looking for opportunities to bash the NUM where that is possible — and hope that the present wave of industrial militancy which has swept South Africa reaches its own built-in limitations.

To stop that happening the black workers' movement will have to work out how to consolidate the gains that have been made during the present unprecedented strike wave and move on from that basis to work out a strategy for the seizure of power by the working class.

Writing some 67 years ago Gramsci, the great Italian Marxist' described a situation very similar to South Africa today — of working class militancy facing a mobilising reaction — and commented:

"The present phase of the class struggle in Italy is the phase that precedes either the conquest of political power by the revolutionary proletariat...or a tremendous reaction by the capitalists and the governing caste. Every kind of violence will be used to subjugate the agricultural and industrial working class."

That is the situation which now faces the South African workers' movement.

The outcome of the present miners' strike will be extremely important in shaping the conditions in which the South African workers face up to that task.

### SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN COAL

**A one day delegate conference.  
10.00 am — 5.00 pm  
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September  
Speakers include  
Cyril Ramaphosa,  
general secretary,  
South African  
National Union of  
Miners**

**Sheffield City Town Hall,  
Surrey Street Entrance,  
Sheffield, Yorks.**

# Perdition rewritten

## Jim Allen in retreat

Last January the Royal Court Theatre cancelled at the last minute a scheduled production of a new play "Perdition", by socialist writer Jim Allen.

Perdition dealt with the Nazi massacre of the Jews. Its central message was that the Jewish nationalist Zionist movement had "collaborated" with the Nazis in the killing of hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews in 1944.

It had an immediate political target — Allen boasted about it publicly — see below — the state of Israel, whose founders were thereby held to share responsibility with the Nazis for the murder of six million Jews.

Publicity in the Guardian and elsewhere about Perdition's message led Jews and others to demand that the play should not be produced. Max Stafford Clarke, the Royal Court's artistic director finally decided that he did not have sufficient faith in the play to produce it in these circumstances and cancelled the production.

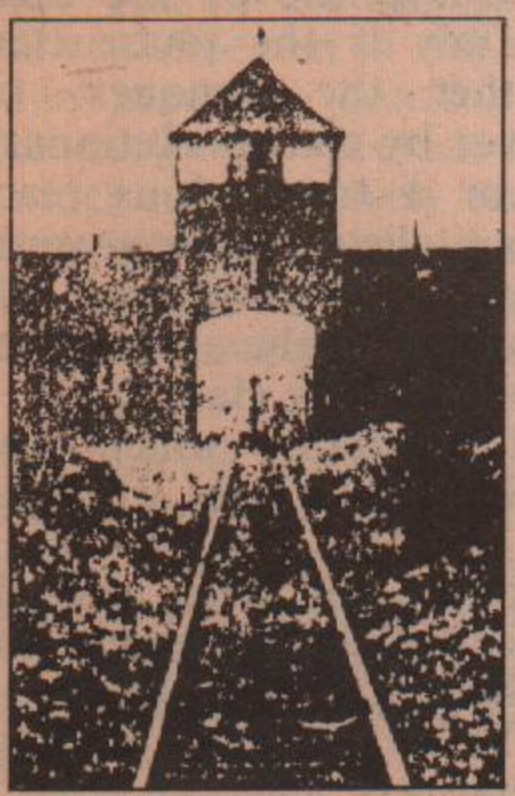
For quite a while now the idea of Zionist-Nazi "collaboration" has been creeping into the body of accepted wisdom shared by most of the "Trotskyist" left — though in fact it originated as part of the Stalinists' anti-semitic campaign in the late 1940s and 1950s. Naturally those who shared Allen's views rushed to his defence, denouncing the "ban" on Perdition.

The campaign to present things like that has been very effective: on Monday 17 August when BBC Breakfast Time TV announced noteworthy events of the day it mentioned a reading of Perdition due in Edinburgh that night, describing Perdition as the "banned" play...

Now Itihca Press have published a heavily revised edition of the play, together with some of the criticism made of it and two long essays by "experts" to back up Allen's thesis.

STAN CROOKE reviews the published version of Perdition and explains the issues.

### PERDITION



A Play in Two Acts by JIM ALLEN



A contingent of deportees leaving for the extermination centre at Mardanek.

Many socialists have reacted to the controversy surrounding 'Perdition' with a crude knee-jerk response. Reactionary people in the Establishment, like Lord Goodman and Bernard Levin, and arch-Tory papers like the Daily Telegraph, have condemned 'Perdition' as anti-semitic. "Therefore" the Left must rally and defend the play.

This is not only a crude response, but also a wrong one. Socialists should develop their own analysis of the play, from their own political standpoint, rather than simply putting a tick wherever reactionary individuals and newspapers put a cross.

### Play

The play takes the form of a libel case brought by "Yaron", a surviving Hungarian Jewish leader, against Ruth Kaplan, the author of a pamphlet accusing him of collaborating in the destruction of the Hungarian Jewish community in 1944. In versions one and two of the play (the text contained in the Ithaca Press edition of the play is the fourth version), Jim Allen's treatment of this episode is certainly pretty dubious.

For example:

- Yaron is portrayed as an agent of Zionism, and his alleged "collaboration" as "Zionist collaboration" — yet most references in the play to his motives attribute his "collaboration" to a desire to save his skin.
- Zionism is portrayed as something outside of the Jewish community, as the machinations of a small and alien minority, rather than as what it was (and is): an organic part of the Jewish communities.
- The play fails to adequately portray the dilemma faced by leaders of the Hungarian Jewish community in 1944 (though it does not ignore it completely). In retrospect, of course, it is easy, and probably correct, to argue that all-out defiance of the Nazis would have saved more lives in the end, even though the refusal to comply with Nazi instructions would have been the immediate signal for mass slaughter of Jews — who were surrounded by both the Nazis and Hungarian anti-semitism.

Some of these inadequacies have arguably been amended, at least partially, in the fourth version of the play.

Passages deleted from the current version of the play include:

- Inaccurate references to the status



Jim Allen

of women in Israel;

- Racist stereotyping of Jews ("the all-powerful American Jewry", "the road to Golgotha [the place where Christ was crucified!] (which) passes along Park Avenue");
- Lengthy passages on Zionism and the origins of the state of Israel.

In the fourth version of 'Perdition', the expression "collaboration" has often been replaced by "cooperation". There are also numerous additions. Essentially, Allen has incorporated many of the criticisms of the first three drafts into the fourth to make it appear less one-sided.

Jim Allen has lamely explained these changes as simply part of "the process of editing" and the "necessary creative process". Given the extent and significance of some of the changes, this is a very weak defence. And the changes in the play's text are a flat contradiction of Allen's earlier insistence that everything in the previous versions of the play was true and accurate.

### Time Out

Remember what he told 'Time Out' when the furor was at its height at the beginning of the year. "Without any undue humility I'm saying that this is the most lethal attack on Zionism ever written, because it touches at the heart of the most abiding myth of modern history, the Holocaust. Because it says quite plainly that privileged Jewish leaders collaborated in the extermination of their own kind in order to help bring about a Zionist state, Israel, a state which is itself racist. I know what I'm doing and I stand by my research and my analysis. I've had to get this right because I know how serious a subject

it is".

Someone who goes into battle trumpeting such a message cannot allow his critics to rewrite him, as Allen has done, without implicitly admitting a great deal.

The contents of 'Perdition' are inseparable from a particular political view of the conflict in the Middle East today. Jim Allen wrote the play because he is concerned with the Middle East today, not Hungary in 1944.

The conventional wisdom on the left about the Middle East conflict is that the 'solution' is the creation of a 'democratic, secular state of Palestine'. Given that much of the site targeted for this new state is present-day Israel, this demand is inevitably a denial of the Israeli Jews' right to self-determination.

Instead of the entirely justified demand that the Palestinian Arabs should have the right to their own state, free of Israeli oppression, it is proposing that the Israeli Jews must be overrun and made, at best, a subject minority in an Arab state.

This bigoted attitude is justified by redefining Israel as a 'Zionist state', created by Zionists in 'collaboration' with the Nazis. It must be 'smashed' if the original sin of 'Zionism' is to be purged.

### Demonology

This demonological view of 'Zionism' was at the heart of earlier versions of 'Perdition'. The unexpurgated version referred to "Eichman's Trojan Horse, the Zionist knife in the Nazi fist". Yaron's lawyer asked rhetorically, "Why not go the whole hog and accuse the entire Israeli cabinet of collaboration?" The judge conjectured

that "it can be argued that Israel exists today as a direct result of the actions of David Ben Gurion and men like Doctor Yaron". That is actions to help Nazis murder Jews.

Kaplan's lawyer asks her: "Did the Zionists fight Hitler?" She replied, "No. That was not their function".

By the fourth version of the play, however, Allen has discovered that Zionists did fight the Nazis. The new interchange between Scott and Kaplan reads: "Did the Zionists ever fight Hitler?" "Many did, as individuals, yes, but not the leadership". And all the passages quoted above have been deleted entirely. It is pushing credulity rather too far to believe that such deletions are merely part of the "necessary creative process".

The earlier versions of the play were inseparable from a thoroughly reactionary view of Zionism — that is of most Jews and of the identity events have shaped for them in the 20th Century — and of the current Middle East conflict. They were as reactionary as the conventional left wisdoms about the Middle East.

What of the current, fourth, version of the play, taken as a whole? What hasn't change, is the 'message' of the play, its underlying thesis. Nor has its political purpose been changed. For all the deletions, the basic argument of the play remains unchanged: while not welcoming (!) the Holocaust, the Zionist leaders sacrificed diaspora Jewry because in some unexplained way this helped the creation of the Israeli state. Israel therefore remains the product of Zionist-Nazi collaboration.

### Deletions

After Allen's deletions, this message is not as explicit as in earlier versions. But it remains the central point of the play. And, despite all the deletions, it is still sometimes explicit.

"Perhaps without men like Doctor Yaron, there may not have been a Jewish state" (Kaplan's lawyer); "To him (Yaron), this act of collaboration was justified in terms of building the Jewish Homeland" (Kaplan); "The Jews of Hungary were murdered not just by the force of German arms, but by the calculated (sic) treachery of their own Jewish leaders" (Kaplan's lawyer).

So we should continue to condemn the play. But we should not support it being banned. (Though, of course, it has not been banned!) On the contrary, however shabby and pernicious the play may be, socialists should defend its right to be performed — while making our criticisms clear.

But the precondition for socialists providing an accurate criticism of the play is that they rid their analysis of the Middle East conflict of all elements of Arab-nationalist demonology and revanchism masquerading as 'anti-Zionism'.

This article was given out as a leaflet at the "Reading" cum-political-meeting in Edinburgh.

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# Just paper dolls

**Belinda Weaver reviews 'Black Widow'**

'Black Widow' is a wasted opportunity. Director Bob Rafelson has made good movies in the past, but he should draw the line at female psychology. It's obvious he knows nothing about it. What could have been a murder mystery with an interesting twist ends up going nowhere.

He has done a bit of high talk in interviews that no one really knows why people do certain things. That must be why Black Widow cops out on providing motivation. It does make the scriptwriter's job easier, of course. If you aren't prepared to give any reasons why a woman would murder a succession of rich husbands, then you needn't make the characters any more than cardboard cutouts. It's a pain to watch, though.

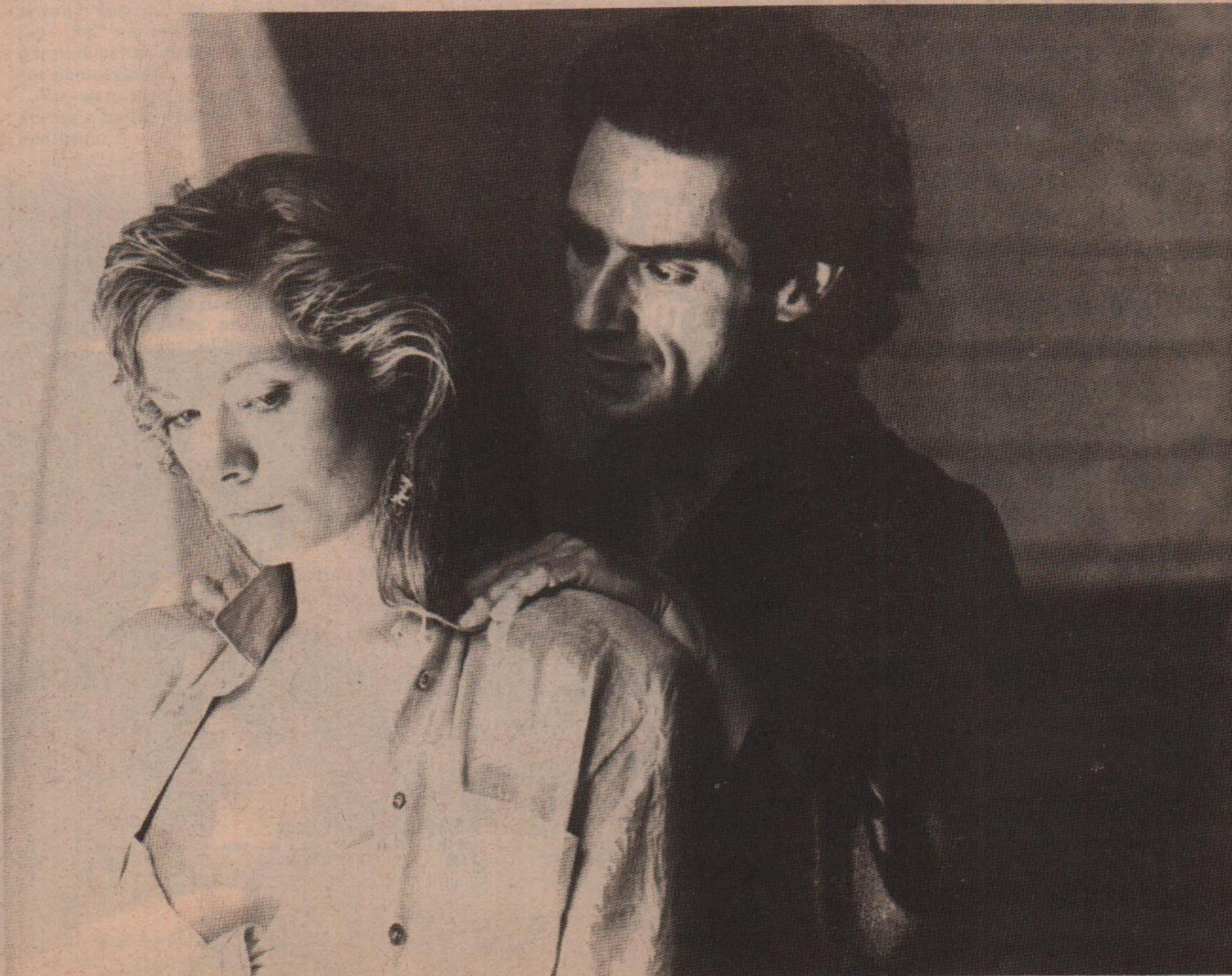
## Fizzle

There are a few ideas in 'Black Widow' which, while they aren't exactly profound, could have been developed to make it better than the mess it is. But the ideas in the film don't go anywhere. Things get off to a promising start, then they fizzle.

It's frustrating, since the two actresses in the lead roles, Theresa Russell as Catherine, the femme fatale, and Debra Winger as Alex the investigator, can act. But they're given nothing to do.

It's supposed to be a murder mystery, but all the pleasures of that kind of movie have been emptied out. It's usual in this type of movie for the (generally male) investigator to get entangled with a femme fatale who's mixed up in the murder somehow. We agonise along with him about whether she's just playing him a sucker or not.

But in Black Widow we are never in any doubt that Catherine has bumped off her wealthy husbands — we even see her doing it. So where's



the mystery?

## Mystery

At first, I thought the mystery would be why she does it. We see her shedding a few tears over the demise of hubby no. 1, and she goes around depressed looking after no. 3 turns up his toes, too. Does this black widow have a heart? Maybe the film should have been titled 'The Girl Can't Help It'.

But the motive angle is a dead end. Pretty soon, it's obvious the filmmakers haven't got a clue as to why she does it.

So what else is there? The film could have investigated how Alex, having stumbled by chance on to the pattern in the murders, finally gets focused on Catherine. But that's a dead end too. Alex's computer does all the work for her. She manages to find Catherine in five minutes flat. Alex has a sign on her machine which reads 'I hate this computer'. It seems a bit ungrateful. After all, the computer has saved her a lot of wasted leg work and effort.

## Twist

The twist in the movie is that the

investigator is a woman, instead of the usual tough talking male private detective or cop. We look forward to what develops between Catherine and Alex for interest. This does look promising for a while. Alex is presented as shy and frumpy, and scared of men. Catherine is all glossy and pampered and she doesn't have any trouble attracting men, especially rich ones.

## Obsession

Is this why Alex seems to be fascinated by Catherine to the point of obsession? Does Alex want to be like Catherine? Will her involvement with Catherine make Alex forget her mission? Will the women fall in love? What is Catherine up to when she lines up a lover for Alex? Will Catherine catch on to what Alex is doing? Is Alex in danger?

Well, not much happens with any of this and the picture just suddenly comes to a halt after a while. Incredibly, Rafelson doesn't bother with suspense, so we can't even feel keyed up.

There could have been a good movie in there. Without going into a sociological documentary, we could have been given some reason why Catherine needs to go on marrying and murdering men long after she's fabulously rich.

Even if Rafelson came up with some really wild or crazy ideas, it might have been more fun.

At one point, Catherine tells Alex how she saw being attractive and desirable as her 'job' in marriage. Perhaps Catherine could have been rebelling against that with all her murdering. But Rafelson can't come up with any ideas, so he just goes for gloss instead. The film is full of fancy interiors, cars and clothes.

The male characters in the film register much more sharply than the women do, though the men get dispatched pretty smartly. Dennis Hopper as husband no. 2 and Nicol Williamson as no. 3 make a real impact in a way the women don't.

Much more care has gone into providing identities for the men. The women are just paper dolls. Rafelson obviously has no idea what makes women tick. He can't bring the female characters to life at all, and the film just uses the women for their looks. It's exploitative in that way.



The King? God?

## The Elvis industry

By Jim Denham

IN CASE you hadn't noticed, it's the tenth anniversary of the King's death.

'The King' is the official title, but for many of the thousands who descended on Graceland last week to mark his passing, 'God' is clearly a more appropriate rank for Elvis.

They talked to reporters with true born-again fervour — "Life is given meaning by His presence, and youth kept eternal by His memory".

For the music business, Elvis Presley's death was a more prosaic matter: the bloated, incontinent drug addict is worth a great deal more dead than he ever was alive. "Together we'll make him Number One again", proclaims RCA in their hype for the three-record album called 'The All-Time Greats', while the video industry churns out re-issues of his abysmal films and increasingly grotesque concert appearances.

The TV companies compete to produce the most gut-wrenching 'tributes', with our own Central TV probably winning the prize with last week's 'Love Me Tender', featuring a cast of singers too young to know any better (Boy George, Ruby Turner, Kim Wilde) plus some of Presley's contemporaries (Carl Perkins, Duane Eddy) who are clearly old enough to know a fast buck when they see one.

Collectively, they committed blue murder upon 'Blue Suede Shoes' and gave a whole new meaning to 'Don't Be Cruel'.

The BBC's two-part documentary, 'Presley', at least gave us some historical perspective by which to attempt an understanding of the phenomenon. Sam Phillips, who 'discovered' Presley for Sun Records, gave a clear indication of Elvis's true significance for the music industry: they needed a white singer with the drive and sexuality of the black R&B performers.

Bill Haley's Comets never came close, but Elvis did. When he appeared on the Ed Sullivan show, they filmed him from the waist up to protect God-fearing Americans from the vision of those gyrating hips.

When Elvis received his call-up papers in 1958, Colonel Parker seized the opportunity to revamp the Presley image. He became safe, wholesome, and patriotic. His voice lost its edge, and his material became sentimental, corny and often patriotic.

In a sense, the last 17 years of Presley's career were a grovelling apology for the first five — an assurance to Middle America that he was a good boy really. In retrospect, 'Wooden Heart' was the last real Elvis record.

Colonel Tom Parker, Presley's manager/Svengali, is said to have greeted the news of his death with the words: "It don't mean a damn thing. It's just like when he was away in the Army". Parker was right in a way: by then it was just another phase in the King's career as a product of the music industry.

Dead cult figures are worth a lot more than live middle-aged has-beens. Monroe and James Dean knew when to check out. Elvis was in danger of sticking round for too long.

Since 1977 the likes of Colonel Parker and RCA Records have been able to exploit the Elvis myth to the full, unencumbered by the embarrassment of his actual physical presence. For *their* Elvis, Meatloaf's horrible 'Glory Hallelujah' on 'Love Me Tender' was a truly appropriate tribute.

## Desperately seeking stardom

By Tracy Williams

Madonna Lousie Cicconi is worth millions of dollars. She sells magazines, newspapers, TV programmes, records, badges, t-shirts, sunglasses, but most of all she sells sex — sex as availability, sex as a weapon.

Initially a dancer and trendy on the New York club scene, Madonna hasn't always commanded the sort of respect from the music business she is now accustomed to. At the Hacienda Club in Manchester some four years ago, I saw her as the street-wise New York kid, all chewing-gum, smudged mascara and laddered tights, trying to fulfill the Andy Warhol dream that everyone could make it as a star and escape from their working class roots.

From strutting through the streets, Madonna is now caressing the catwalks of the world on her current tour — yes, Madonna has finally made it, despite the flop of 'Shanghai Surprise', despite the embarrassments that her jailed husband Sean Penn has caused her, despite the fact that rumours are once again rife about Madonna's "porno" background.

No one really cares much because a) it sells and b) the porn angle adds further titillation to an already sex-



Madonna embodied package.

Madonna's not just a singer or a dancer or an actress, she's a star —

the female star of the moment.

Quite simply, Madonna is brilliant at what she does, and she has successfully epitomised a new breed of woman in the music business. She said in the US magazine 'Cosmopolitan': "Marilyn Monroe was a victim, I'm not. I know what I'm doing and what I want."

Others in the same style include Tina Turner — ditched by her brute of a husband, Ike, she came back bigger and better on her own — Janet Jackson, who made an album titled "Control"; and closer to home, we've got Sam Fox singing "Nothing's Gonna Stop Me Now".

But why Madonna? Why this 'material girl'? Well, as long as beauty and capitalism are tied hand in hand she's got it all.

Madonna is white, blond, slim yet busty, high-heeled and corseted, the flirting, flaunting whore-cum-virgin epitome of womanhood.

People love it. The 'desire me, lust after me, dream to want to be like me', the 'look but don't touch' syndrome.

Some men go mad over Madonna because she portrays the ideal image of women and women are supposed to want to be like her — rich, commanding and inviting.

Well, Papa doesn't preach to Madonna anymore. She's the preacher, and her converts are eagerly waiting in the aisles for her to come.

1917

YEAR OF REVOLUTION

# Women, work and war

## From page 5

Revolutionary resolution approving the introduction of the death penalty at the front. Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries dominate the second Far Eastern Congress of Soviets in Khabarovsk: out of 86 delegates, 57 are Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and 13 are Bolsheviks.

## Friday 4 August

The Shuya Soviet passes a resolution protesting at the support of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets for the new offensive and re-introduction of the death penalty. A mass meeting of workers at the Dobrovoy and Nabgolts factory (Moscow) and meetings of workers of eight factories in the Danilovsky region (Moscow) pass resolutions condemning re-introduction of the death penalty. In place of the banned newspaper "Struggle", the Tsaritsyn Bolshevik Committee publishes the first issue of the illegal bulletin "Struggle".

In Ufa, Bolsheviks publish the first issue of the paper "Alga" ("Forwards") in the Tatar language. At the first meeting of the newly-elected Voronezh City Duma, Bolshevik members refuse to vote in elections for head of the Duma and the Duma Executive Committee, in protest at the counter-revolutionary policies of the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries, who constitute a majority in the Duma. In Grozny a detachment of Cossacks sent to restore discipline amongst local troops imposes a curfew on the town, bans all meetings, occupies the offices of the local soviet, and cuts off the phones of all local democratic organisations.

## Saturday 5 August

The Moscow Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies publishes a resolution condemning any further withdrawal of troops from the city as a threat to the preservation of democracy in Moscow and leaving it open to an offensive by the counter-revolution. The Tambov provincial governor telegrams the commander of the Moscow military district appealing for Cossacks to be sent to quell peasant unrest. The Minsk Soviet calls for the declaration of a democratic republic in Russia, the immediate and definitive abolition of the death penalty, and the liquidation of the State Duma and Council of State. In Ufa a general meeting of representatives of factory committees in the town and local trade union leaders demands immediate abolition of the death penalty. Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries dominate the provincial congress of soviets in Ekaterinoslav, which calls on the Provisional Government to defend the gains of the revolution and to resolve the economic crisis. A general meeting of Kharkov railway workers passes a resolution demanding withdrawal of the Provisional Government's decree banning political demonstrations and strikes by railway workers.

## Sunday 6 August

In the elections to the Revel Duma the Bolsheviks win 31 places, the Social Revolutionaries 22 places, the Radical Socialists 18, and the Mensheviks 12. In the Lugansk Duma elections the Bolsheviks win 29 seats and the Social Revolutionaries and the United Jewish Socialist Workers Party 18 seats, with the other 28 seats split amongst nine other organisations, including 11 seats for the home-owners' party.

In the Ekaterinodar Duma elections, the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks win 62 seats, the Bolsheviks 16, the Cadets 10, the union of home-owners 8, and other organisations winning five seats.

War Minister Kerensky empowers commander-in-chief of the army Kornilov to ban all meetings, agitation and publication of papers by the Bolsheviks, and to use all means necessary, including use of weapons, to restore order in the army on the Northern front. The Bolshevik paper "Voronezh Worker" is shut down by order of the Provisional Government. The Aleksandrov Soviet passes a resolution advocating abolition of the death penalty and transference of all power to the soviets.

**Sue Hill looks at the way American women were drawn into the industrial labour force during the Second World War**

**Women became riveters, welders and shipfitters, challenging traditional sexual stereotypes of 'women's work'**

As it developed, capitalism forced increasing numbers of women into the labour force, but women workers still continued to bear the full weight of family responsibilities too. Female wage labour was superimposed upon domestic labour. In practice, working women became segregated in low paid 'women's work'

What this could mean in industrial life can be seen if we examine what happened during World War Two in the USA when the need to maintain and increase industrial production while millions of men were in the army disrupted the old sexual division of labour and, for a while, led to radical changes.

Between 1941 and 1944 the number of women in the United States labour force increased by five million from 14 to 19 million. The shortage of male labour, combined with the demand for higher levels of production, led to a disruption of traditional sex-based working patterns and heavy industry was forced to take on women to do what had traditionally been men's work. As well as the demand for women to do 'men's' jobs, war production created an increased demand for women workers in general.

Within a year, 1942-3, women increased their share of industrial jobs from around 14% to 27%. The increase was startling in some heavy industries where there had been virtually no women workers prior to the war. In the car industry the number of women increased by 600%. Women became riveters, welders and shipfitters, challenging traditional sexual stereotypes.

World War Two did not transform the working life of US women, however. Women in these non-traditional jobs were still only about a quarter of the female labour force. Moreover, these women were not fully integrated into the labour force of



Woman miner in US

these heavy industries. Even in the war period employers did not respond to women workers in a new way — and neither, crucially, did the bulk of the male dominated labour movement. Women were just a temporary solution to labour shortages, and that was how they were treated.

## Problems

Yet the government did recognise that it had to do something about the problems women workers faced discharging their domestic responsibilities if production targets were to be filled. So, to reduce absenteeism, women workers got help on a temporary basis. But, of course, there was no challenge to the distribution of domestic labour between men and women. Nor was the US government willing to get involved in direct services, as for example the British government did at that time.

Paid for out of emergency war funds, the public childcare programme was inadequate and temporary, its appeal limited because of

its generally low standard.

But in the short term war industry badly needed women workers. So though the social changes were either kept to the minimum or else defined as temporary, the public image of women in government propaganda was adjusted. In a massive mobilisation campaign, women were exhorted to become industrial workers. The official propaganda portrayed women as if women were going into the factory for the first time. Of course this was obviously untrue. It was, however, the first time factory work for women was given such positive connotations. Yet, even so, the idea presented by the imagery employed was designed to reinforce the official explanation of what was happening: women were stepping out of their 'natural' functions as a special patriotic act for the emergency; their natural and normal role was to be outside the labour force!

## Trivialised

Though women were publicly encouraged to go into the factories, women's capacity to do factory jobs was nevertheless also trivialised. Women could only do factory jobs of a special sort and in special conditions. The propaganda emphasised the idea that the factory jobs were being specially adapted for the new women employees. Jobs were said to be particularly suitable for women if they involved repetitive tasks requiring finger dexterity and patience. Women were 'reassured' they would not lose their 'femininity' through 'masculine' factory work: the pictures used in the mobilisation campaign nearly always showed standardly neat, slim and attractive women workers.

Nevertheless the war did in fact broaden out the categories of work open to women. For instance women entered the shipyards for the first time, outside of the offices. They penetrated traditional male industries, and also traditional male occupations. The women who took advantage of this disruption in the sexual division of labour were those who were already in the labour force

before the war. They seized the opportunity to move out of the low paid female sectors of the workforce (like domestic and service work) and into higher paying industrial jobs.

For black women especially the wartime labour shortages provided a rare opportunity to leave the low paid ghetto. Over 40,000 workers left domestic service jobs, and most of these were black. But, black women had to wait longer than white women for industrial openings. In Detroit black women led a series of demonstrations against discrimination in housing and jobs, but only a token number of black women had been taken on by the end of 1942. The Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) had power to withdraw war contracts from employers shown to discriminate racially, but in fact racism continued practically unchallenged in employment.

The FEPC's power was rarely used because the government placed greater priority on keeping up production. And sometimes production targets could lose priority to racist stereotyping. For instance, in Baltimore in mid-1943 when the shortage of female labour was holding war production down, black women were still being sent to domestic service, food services jobs and to hospitals as menials by the government's employment service.

So though the labour shortage helped black women, it did not necessarily secure them access to factory work; it was only late in the war that black women made some inroads into new jobs. This meant that, being 'last in' they would be 'first out' — because they lacked 'seniority' — easy targets for the first post-war layoffs.

And though the proportion of black women in factory work did increase fourfold, black women were disproportionately forced into dirty, heavy and undesirable jobs, such as janitor, sweeper and material handler. Women in industry remained in the lowest jobs, given the minimal training necessary to do the job.

## Patterns

As women were taken into traditionally male industries new patterns of segregation were established. A woman might have been hired for a 'male' job, but she was usually working in a mainly female department, or job classification. New categories of 'women's jobs' were established for the duration. A 1943 government survey of Detroit's auto plants found women in only five of 72 job classifications.

The greater numbers of women in industry did mean that more women were in unionised jobs, benefitting from better rates of pay and better working conditions. The proportion of women as members of trade unions increased from 9% in 1940 to 22% in 1944 (a large leap when we consider that women make up only about 30% today).

While this was only about one-fifth of all women in the labour force, it was an unprecedented figure, possible only because of the development of the mass industrial unions in the middle and late 1930s.

But many of the women who became members of these unions during the war did not do so as a result of positive efforts made by the unions to recruit women. The trade union leaders traded a no-wartime-strike pledge for greater basic security. By 1945, 87% of all unionised manufacturing workers were covered by closed shop, union shop or maintenance-of-membership agreements. These gave the unions a steady automatic increase in membership as war industry expanded. So, for many women a job meant also getting a union card.

**Continued next week**





# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

# RESOLUTE



## Reagan and Thatcher play war in the Gulf

**NOW BRITAIN is tied in to Ronald Reagan's escapade in the Gulf. Four British minesweepers and a support ship have been sent out to work with the US forces.**

No-one knows what the situation will be when they arrive in Oman in four weeks' time, but the flag-wavers and Empire Loyalists are already war-happy. "I am terribly excited", said Commander Tim Hildesley, the officer in charge of the British ships. "This is what I joined for".

On one level the US exercise in the Gulf is a farce. The US Navy, with all its multi-million dollar technology,

has been thrown into great agitation by mines made in Tsarist Russia in 1908, sold off by Stalin to North Korea, and then traded to Iran!

On another level, it is an excuse to show the US flag in the area and bolster the US's military alliances. The US government is planning to sell £1 billion worth of arms to Saudi Arabia, justifying it by the operation to guard the tankers.

Most of all, it is a gambit for domestic US politics. Presidential elections are coming up. Reagan has been severely embarrassed by the revelations of the undercover activities of people like Oliver North,

and his attempts to do deals with those whom he sees as 'moderates' in the Iranian government.

The Gulf exercise is an attempt to divert attention from Irangate and to show that the Reagan administration is ready to use a big stick against Iran. For such things the US government is ready to risk lives.

It was not because of the threat to civilian shipping that the US moved. The 'tanker war' has been going since 1984. Tankers have been hit many times in the three years since then, though not so many times as to cripple the flow of oil through the Gulf. Most of them have been hit by

Iraq, which started the 'tanker war'. Iraq sends its oil by pipeline to Turkish and Saudi ports, while Iran has to export its through the Gulf, so Iran can only hit back against the ships of Iraq's semi-ally Kuwait.

Indeed, it was an Iraqi Exocet missile that hit a US warship this May, killing 38 soldiers.

The US is concerned now to stop the war between Iraq and Iran tilting too much in Iran's favour. But there is nothing good to be said about either Iraq's or Iran's part in the war.

When Khomeini and the Islamic leaders took over in Iran, after a revolution overthrew the hated Shah

in 1979, they started trying to whip up Iraqi Muslims belonging to Khomeini's own Shi'a brand of Islam against the Iraqi government.

The Iraqi government is also, in its own way, the product of a revolution (in 1958). But it is no less totalitarian and repressive than the fanatically reactionary Islamic Republic of Iran has become.

In September 1980 the Iraqi government calculated that a swift offensive could topple Khomeini's government and enable Iraq to become the dominant power in the region. It calculated wrongly. Iraq is now suing for peace, while Iran declares its determination to press on until the Iraqi regime is crushed. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed. Both governments trample recklessly on the rights of the Kurds, a separate but oppressed nation who occupy much of the border area between the two countries.

Most of the big powers have tried to balance between Iran and Iraq, wanting neither to win and become over-mighty. Meanwhile they have profited by selling arms to one power or another — or both!

The workers of Iran, of Iraq, of the US and of Britain have nothing to gain from this bloody conflict of capitalist interests.

### Fight JTS!

**Youth Fightback supporters in the Labour Party Young Socialists picketed the central London branch of the Sight and Sound training agency last week to protest about their involvement with the Tories' Job Training Scheme.**

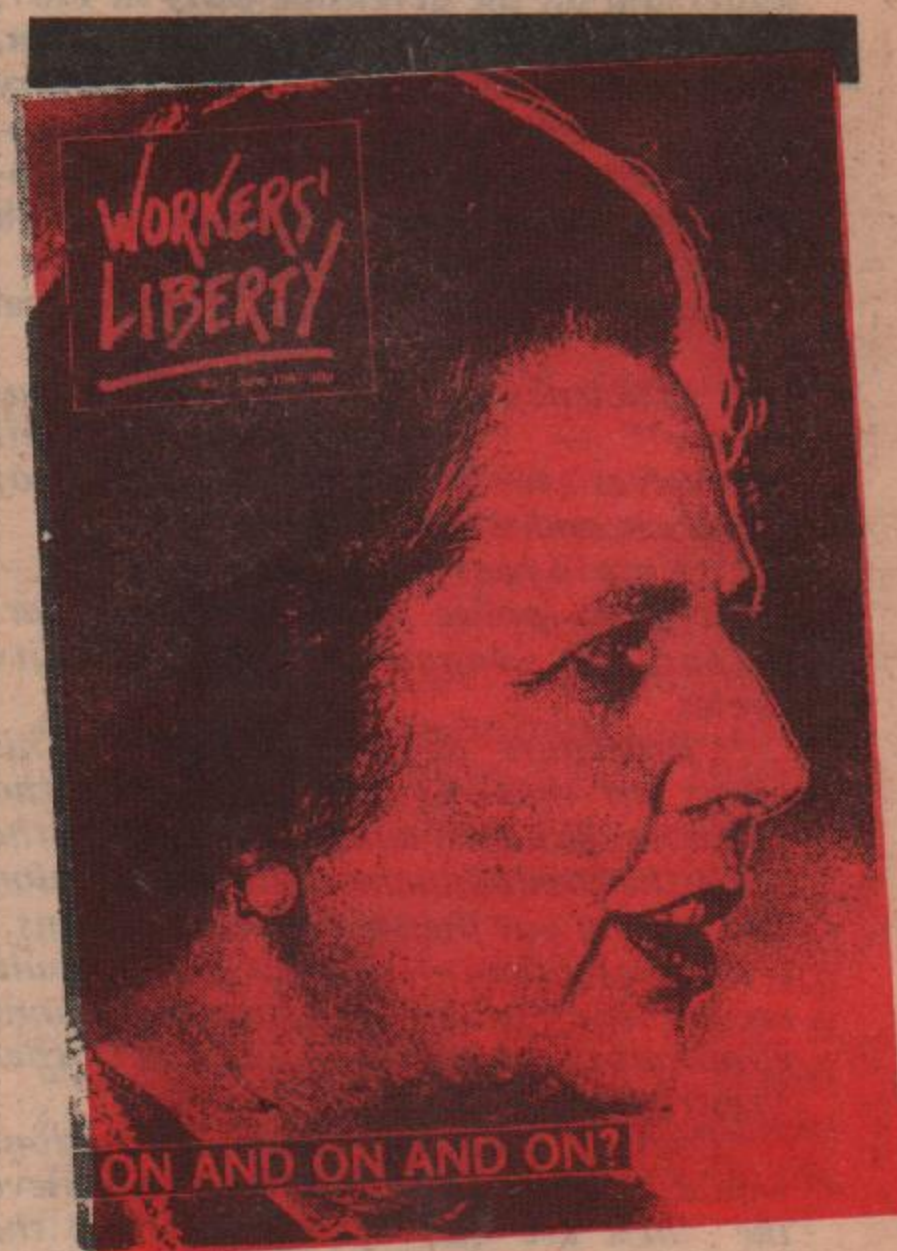
Sight and Sound make vast amounts of money by acting as managing agents for the JTS.

The Young Socialist activists tried to present a 15,000-signature petition to the centre's managing director, Jeffrey Kean (pictured left), as a token of their disgust. The petition demanded jobs and decent pay in place of phoney schemes.

Unfortunately Jeffrey lost his rag and ran off back to the safety of his office.



Photo: Ian Swindale.



### Where now for the left?

Workers' Liberty no.7 available for 90p plus 20p p&p from SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.