

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 226 26 JUNE 1971 2½p

JOB: 100,000 SCOTS SHOW HOW TO FIGHT

Bengal —new attack

by Nigel Harris

THE BAYONETS are out again in East Bengal. A new wave of repression has been launched by the West Pakistan generals, strongly supported by their secret army of thugs, the Razakars and the militia recruited in the West.

They are striking out wildly in an attempt to frighten people back to work. But it is too late. The ordinary Bengalis are already too terrified and hostile to begin the army's plan of 'reconstruction'.

Still half the city population has not returned from the villages where they fled to escape the army. Still the railways and docks are not properly back to work. Still the government offices are half empty.

And in the countryside, the guerrilla opposition is being formed. Already sabotage operations are adding a further hazard to the military aim of cowing 73 million Bengalis. Now the monsoon is lashing the land, turning it into a marsh which will swallow up the West Pakistan tanks and artillery.

The results of the repression on the other side of the border, in West Bengal, are a further flood of refugees. The Indian government is increasingly nervous of its new waves of guests and wary of its earlier enthusiasm for Bangla Desh. It gives nothing more than 'moral' support to the Mukti Fauj (the Liberation Army of Bangla Desh).

Seized weapons

In addition, the government is said to have seized all the heavy weapons captured by the Mukti Fauj from the Pakistan army, leaving the guerrillas with only ancient .303 rifles. This is supposedly a 'purely temporary security measure' to prevent the arms getting into the hands of the Indian guerrillas in West Bengal.

The Indian government is also increasingly alarmed at the two equal terrors of either a war with Pakistan or an independent socialist republic of Bangla Desh, either of which could overturn the fragile stability of Eastern India.

For West Pakistan, the economic disaster grows daily more pressing. This week, in Paris, the Western powers discuss whether to continue to give aid to Pakistan. Without aid, the Pakistan economy will, at least temporarily, come to a halt, and the generals could then be forced to do a deal on East Bengal.

But important though the aid issue is, even if a stoppage could be made complete—and China will continue to give aid, regardless of the Paris talks—it will not produce an independent Bangla Desh.

That needs the Mukti Fauj, recapturing its arms from India (and stealing as many more as it can) and setting up bases in East Bengal where it is no longer tied to the strings of Delhi.



Clydeside Boilermakers on the march against the closure of UCS. Wednesday's strikes and demonstration were a magnificent example of working-class solidarity. UCS sit-in: page 3

THE HALF-DAY STRIKE by 100,000 West of Scotland workers on Wednesday, backed by a huge demonstration in Glasgow, shows the growing determination of working people to fight back against the Tory-employer onslaught on jobs and wages.

The strikes and marches were a massive protest at the appalling level of unemployment in Scotland—there are 35,000 without jobs in Glasgow alone—and a show of solidarity with the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' campaign to stop the closure of the yards and the axing of thousands more jobs.

The Scots workers have shown the rest of the trade union movement the way to start the fight-back against the Tories. The cold and callous determination of Heath and company to throw tens of thousands onto the dole queues can only be resisted by nation-wide industrial action.

The workers' case will not be fought for them in parliament. The Labour Party carried out identical policies when it was in power.

FORCE

Neither will the TUC lead a militant campaign—unless they are forced to by the rank and file. The TUC plan a series of demonstrations in the autumn but, just as in the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill, Feather and co are anxious to clamp down on 'unofficial' action outside their control.

Wednesday's strikes and demonstration were a stirring example of class solidarity. The old slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all' has not been forgotten.

The threat to close UCS has met with a solid wall of resistance by the Scottish labour movement, underlined by the shipyard workers' declaration that they will occupy their places of work if necessary to save their jobs.

But the fight can not be confined to Scotland. The Tory attempt to boost profits at the expense of ordinary working people threatens to turn many areas into wastelands—South Wales, the North-East, the South-West and the North-West.

The trade union movement must be

forced into action to stop the dreadful scourge of unemployment, the old bosses' method of threatening those with jobs to accept lower wages and worsening conditions with the spectre of the dole queue.

A nation-wide campaign must be launched to unite employed and unemployed workers around the demands:

No more productivity deals that lead to redundancies.

A 35 hour working week without loss of pay.

Five days' work or five days' pay.

Work-sharing instead of redundancies.

A complete overtime ban in any company that declares redundancies.

Nationalisation under workers' control and without compensation of any firm that shuts its factories.

The campaign must be a political one. We are not fighting just a government, but a system owned and controlled by a tiny minority whose sole interest is making profits at the expense of the majority.

Clydeside workers' leaders who opposed political slogans on the march and invited Labour turn-coat Wedgwood Benn to speak are closing their eyes to reality: only the mobilisation of the working class for power can solve the problems of unemployment, poverty and crude ruling-class warfare against the unions.

As the champagne corks pop in Luxembourg to welcome British big business into the rich man's European club, the Tories, the profiteers and their Labour friends must be told: If you can't run a society that provides jobs and security for everyone, make way for those who will.

JENKINS BANS OUR REPORTER

by Roger Rosewell

SW Industrial Correspondent

LAST WEEKEND I was locked out of a trade union conference in Eastbourne. On the personal decision of Clive Jenkins, General Secretary of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, I was forbidden entry and press credentials while representatives of the millionaire press were invited, welcomed and given every assistance.

I had applied for credentials almost two weeks before the conference and had been told that there was no room and only the daily papers and the Press Association would be admitted. But three days before the conference began, press credentials were issued to the monthly magazine of the Institute of Personnel Management.

On the first day of the conference only three press representatives were present,

but still there was no room for me.

Bill MacGregor, an executive member of the National Union of Journalists, rang Clive Jenkins and received a 'categorical assurance' that there was nothing personal or political about the ban and added that it was not his policy to admit any pressmen other than the dailies and the Press Association.

On the advice of my union, I obtained a visitor's ticket on Sunday and attempted to enter the visitors' gallery. I was physically prevented from even doing this by two stewards and after a scuffle I was threatened by an ASTMS Assistant General Secretary, Mr Bob McCusker, that he would call the police.

Trailed

He then spoke to Mr Jenkins, who confirmed that under no circumstances was I to be allowed in. For the rest of the day I was followed by stewards and I was trailed even when I entered a telephone booth.

This ban and harassment was clearly



JENKINS: ban not political

imposed for political reasons. Several weeks ago we exclusively revealed that ASTMS had admitted that they were not opposed to legally binding procedural agreements. The publication of this story enraged Jenkins. The lockout at Eastbourne was his revenge.

The ban shocked many delegates to the conference. This is what some of them

said about it:

Ian Gibson, newly elected national executive member for East Anglia: 'I deplore this action in banning Socialist Worker. It is a disgrace to the union and can only weaken the fight against this appalling Tory government.'

Richard Wigham, member of the strike committee at Courtauld's, Spennymoor, whose dispute is now in its 10th week: 'This ban is disgraceful. Socialist Worker is the only paper that has backed our strike 100 per cent.'

Vindictive

Reg Place, secretary of the West Midlands ASTMS Divisional Council: 'I personally think that if anyone should be excluded it should be the right-wing press not left-wing papers.'

Peter Osborne, secretary of the London Divisional Council: 'This ban—whatever the public reasons given—strikes me as a petty and vindictive political vendetta against Socialist Worker. There is no excuse for it.'

Ted George, who was recently awarded

a gold badge by the union for his outstanding services: 'I am extremely unhappy about this ban.'

Sam Apter, SE London and vice-chairman of the London Divisional Council: 'I think that the representative of Socialist Worker should have been admitted into conference in the same way as other press representatives were.'

Other delegates raised objections to the ban inside the conference but their complaints were brushed aside by Ian Mikardo, the Labour MP and ASTMS president. Members of the NUJ attending the conference from Workers Press, the Financial Times and the Press Association wrote to Mikardo saying they were 'deeply disturbed' by my exclusion from the conference and asking 'that steps be taken immediately for his admission to be approved.'

This is the first time that either I or Socialist Worker have been banned from a trade union conference. The Magazine and Book Branch of the NUJ is raising the matter and we appeal to all ASTMS branches to protest at the exclusion and demand that it is not repeated.

New arms race and new wages policy

CONFIDENCE that the international economy is about to lift off into high boom is oozing fast. It's becoming clear that Lockheed and Rolls-Royce are not the last of the giant defence contractors to face collapse.

It is even clearer that the European central banks are building up a new wave of currency speculation by refusing to soak up the tide of dollars that is still crossing the Atlantic. American business is bidding hard to bundle the Europeans and Japanese from the Russian market (see *Their Week*, this page) and to gain access to theirs.

All of them are driving deeper into what is literally cut-throat competition in arms sales to the Third World at the cost—as can be seen on the Indo-Pakistan border—of whatever shreds of stability remain in that part of the world.

And all this because the promised American recovery is not yet, as the Organisation for European Community Development, the western rich-country club, reported from Paris last week. On the contrary, they predict, unemployment will remain high, economic growth will stay low, prices will continue to rise and there'll be a whopping deficit in the US balance of payments next year—which means trouble not only in the US but everywhere else as well.

The system has slowed down and is wobbling. No wonder. It has stopped absorbing new profit-producing workers at the cracking pace set in the fifties and early sixties. And that has happened because it is throwing less of its output down the refuse-chute of armaments.

To get going again, the powers-that-be will have to rev up their arms industries again. But that is dangerous. It is a last, reluctant resort. At the very least it will need a couple of years' preparation before the world can be jumped into the most monumental waste of resources in history.

Meanwhile they have to do something to slow the lurching boat. But what?

At their current rate of expansion, they can't produce more at home without cutting imports. But they can't cut imports without losing exports. They can't stop the speculative flows of currency without co-ordinating their banking, and they can't do that without agreeing on common economic policies. But how to agree on such basics without scrapping the competition which lies at the very heart of their system?

That leaves one option open—a return to wages policies as a means to raise profits. So once again, as in the early sixties, the OECD is advising member governments to force workers into a crouching position, so that they can be got under a wages ceiling.

And once again the ideological opponents of such methods—the Tories here, the Republicans in the US—are coming round to reluctant agreement.

Once again it means open bosses' politics in the workshop. As the offensive sharpens, socialists and militant trade unionists must redouble their efforts to build a workers' political movement to meet—and defeat—the onslaught on living standards.

TGWU RETREATS AT FORD

THERE is cause for concern in the current management offensive within the Ford Motor Company. Car workers have often been the pace setters in a militant determination to oppose restrictions on the shop floor. What happens at Ford has always been important for the whole trade union movement and it is doubly so at this time of a sustained drive by the government and employers against the rank and file.

The slightest weakness in the workers' ranks gives the advantage to the management and encourages them to step up their attacks. And although Halewood shop steward John Dillon has been re-instated this week, there is little doubt that the role of his union, the Transport Workers, will have done nothing to deter the Ford bosses from continuing the drive against the shop floor.

As the report on page three shows, John Dillon was sacked for leading a protest against working conditions that could have led to serious injury, if not death. A desire to safeguard workers' lives and limbs is viewed with horror by the arrogant Ford executives and Bro Dillon was dismissed.

The entire Halewood complex stopped work to demand his reinstatement. A firm declaration from the TGWU that the rest of the Ford combine would be called out on official strike would have quickly brought the management to heel. But there was silence for several days from Jack Jones, Moss Evans and the TGWU leaders.

Then over the weekend, at the same time as Ford convenors were meeting to plan a national stoppage, Jones and co broke silence. The TGWU general secretary said that while there may have been faults on both sides, he hoped John Dillon would be reinstated and that the Department of Employment would intervene. Jack Jones, the verbal advocate of workers' control, has a touching faith in the impartiality of a Tory government department to settle a dispute between two equal partners in crime—a million-dollar international car combine and a Merseyside shop steward.

An appeal to the Department of Employment is preferable—and cheaper—to calling an official strike. Mr Jones, like a company director anxious to balance the books, told the press that the last strike had cost the union £1 million and they could not afford another costly venture.

And just to remind John Dillon who was really to blame for a situation that threatened the TGWU's funds the union suggested he should be reinstated without his shop steward's credentials. Ford were happy to agree. Bro Dillon is back at work and so is the rest of Halewood, but he can no longer represent the men in his section.

At a time when solid resistance is crucial as the Industrial Relations Bill prepares to become law, the retreat of Jones and co is a scandal. TGWU members should remind their leaders that the union and its funds belong to the rank and file. And trade unionists in general should draw the lesson that the fight against the Tories and the employers rests squarely on their shoulders. To rely solely on the 'left' union leaders is to open the door to disaster.

THEIR WEEK COMPILED BY MICHAEL KIDRON

Boxed in: The dykes in India were raised another few inches against the refugee flood which crossed the six million mark this week: 'Troops, police and border security forces are needed', said Shyam Sunder Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta, 'Calcutta must be protected from these people. We have no more room here and there will be trouble if they come.' Further north in West Bengal, road blocks were set up to prevent refugees from moving into Murshidabad district from neighbouring Nadia. And still further north, in the Corridor, district administrators stopped distributing food anywhere but in the immediate vicinity of the border. As for the great dispersal airlift—it's accounted for a few hundred so far.

Revelation! Revelation? The Pentagon's papers part-published by the New York Times show that the US engineered the Vietnam War and then lied consistently and comprehensively even to its own officers (Dean Rusk, then Secretary of State knew nothing; Hubert Humphrey, then Vice-President, was 'systematically excluded'). It's good to know, but it's not exactly news. And it doesn't mean that current lies are about to be exposed. Current lies never are, not by the NYT at any rate. In spite of its motto ('All the News That's Fit To Print') it did not run the Bay of Pigs invasion story although it knew about it 24 hours in advance. Nor did it report the known presence of missiles on Cuba while Kennedy was

organising the Cuban blockade.

Hands across the ocean: Moscow's attempt to set up joint patrols with Washington goes on. Latest is Brezhnev's offer of mutual naval cuts, aimed—it seems—at heading off a naval race in the troubled Indian Ocean. Then, down in the small print of US-Russian exchanges, Mr B Bugayev, Minister of Aviation, promised 'full co-operation' in the affairs of the International Civil Aviation Organisation in exchange for a seat on that cartel's governing board. Co-operation presumably includes opposition to 'costly and operationally undesirable systems' such as the projected aeronautical satellites which will help to cut accidents but which are opposed by the airlines. Also in the small print is the projected US-Russian deal to build the biggest lorry plant in the world on the Kama River in the Tatar Republic.

Fists across the sea? or is it vacuum-filling when Russian and Eastern Europe start pumping money into Latin America? There is talk of \$200 million in loans to Chile over the next five years (about half from Russia) and a quarter of that for Peru (all from Russia). Eastern loans to Latin America are not new and the projected expansion has still to be translated into hard cash. But since the US is scarcely expanding in the area there is some room for competition.

And profits from the waves: The Gas Council contracted to pay the Anglo-US

partnership between the National Coal Board and Continental Oil £650 million over the next 25 years. Since the happy partners have already done all the work except open the tap, they will be getting a profit of 1100 per cent on their original £60 million investment. But let's be kind, kinder than government economists are to pensioners, and let's adjust the figures for inflation and length of repayment—at £237 million in today's prices it is still a profit of 400 per cent. And will they pay taxes? Probably not. Lord Kennet shocked Their Lordships into discomfort when he revealed that the big international corporations manage to get away with it most of the time: British Petroleum, half-owned by the state and with two-fifths of its workers in Britain, pays no tax at all.

The cost of living rose 9.8 per cent (let's say 10) in the last 12 months according to the Department of Employment.

...but dying is easier! A soft-spoken report from Political and Economic Planning on private medical insurance shows that 'a minority' of consultants do nothing to reduce their NHS waiting lists so that patients are forced into their private practices. Private patients now cough up an amount equivalent to one-eighth of the NHS bill for medical and professional staff 'and to an even significantly higher proportion compared to NHS payments to the consultant staff alone.'

FASCISTS GAIN IN ITALIAN ELECTIONS

by Norah Carlin

FASCIST gains in the Italian local elections last week hit world headlines. The MSI (Italian Social Movement) increased its vote to about 16 per cent in Rome and Sicily.

The MSI is an openly fascist party. Its leader, Almirante, was a member of Mussolini's last government, and its main support comes from small businessmen and landowners.

It denies aiming at a fascist restoration, but it clearly wants to see the 'centre-left' coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Republicans replaced by a more right-wing coalition.

The actual electoral gains of the MSI are limited. In this month's elections (which included regional, provincial and city elections) only a fifth of Italian voters went to the polls.

In Genoa, the only major city in the industrial north to vote, the main gains were made by the ruling centre-left coalition. Even in Rome, the centre-left city government kept its majority despite forecasts that fascists gains might force it to split.

In Sicily, the increased fascist vote was produced largely by the special problems of the underdeveloped, poverty-stricken and corruptly governed South. To some extent it was a 'protest vote' against the central government's inability to do anything about these problems.

The fascists also seem to have appealed to the peasants against a new Housing Bill

which they said threatened the principle of private property. These issues probably do not make permanent fascist voters.

Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party has ever had a real base in the South of Italy. The revolutionary Left-wing groups (including the Maoists, with their views on peasant revolution) have made little progress there. The way the fascists could step in and attempt to fill the gap by trying to lead popular protest movements was shown by the riots in Reggio Emilia over the last six months.

VICIOUS SQUADS

In the industrial north, the fascists are not yet winning significant numbers of votes. But they are present in the form of violent 'squads' which constantly attack and attempt to provoke the revolutionary groups working in industry.

All this does not mean that the Italian ruling class is considering a return to fascism. The big business interests are still backing parliamentary reforms and an alliance with the 'respectable' elements of the Italian Communist Party and the unions to smash independent working-class action and unite the nation under the banner of productivity.

But the rulers are prepared to tolerate

fascism, both on the streets and in elections. They can use it as a threat against the Left, an excuse for harsh 'law and order' policies, a stick with which to beat the 'opposite extremism' of revolutionary working-class politics.

La Stampa, the Fiat-owned newspaper in Turin, immediately used the election results to attack the Left in this way.

To appeal for an alliance of all classes and for state protection against fascist attacks, as the Communist Party does, is useless. The state will not smash the remnants of fascism in Italy while they serve a useful purpose, and while the state itself uses a largely fascist legal code and has many ex-fascists in its service.

But popular front politics are part of the Communist Party's parliamentary 'road to socialism' in Italy, and the party is as anxious as the capitalist press to brand the Left-wing groups who challenge its politics as 'extremists'.

The only answer to fascism in Italy lies in independent, revolutionary working-class politics strong enough to fight back politically, as well as to organise physical self-defence against the 'squads'. And only such strong, revolutionary politics can convince the oppressed peasants and workers of the South that their future lies in alliance with the working class, not with fascists and reactionaries.

Fostering illusions in trade union leaders

THE CONCLUSION which Philip Evans draws in his article on the TUC's role in the General Strike (19th June) is a disservice to the Left. The fact that the state was carefully prepared for a struggle whereas the labour movement was not should hold more important lessons for us, rather than the TUC, as we confront the Industrial Relations Bill.

Although it is useful for us to examine the 1927 TUC report, it is more important to look at the outstanding feature of the General Strike, which was the enormous self-activity of the working class throughout the country, the success of improvised organisations and communications and the feeling of optimism and vitality among the rank and file which contrasted with the pessimism and confusion at the TUC headquarters in London.

Trades Councils and Councils of Action were important organisations in the struggle in 1926, just as they must be today. It is therefore wrong to focus exclusively on the official leadership as this leads to analysis in terms of betrayal by leadership which fosters more illusions than it exposes.

ALASTAIR HATCHETT, Coventry.

I CAN assure John Gild (19 June) that I and Socialist Worker will not rest content with publishing 'mere recitals of cruelty in South Africa'. But neither am I content with his argument that 'liberal or even Tory papers' should have a monopoly in describing the dreadful day-to-day repression and persecution of ordinary work people under apartheid.

Does he recommend that we should read the Daily Telegraph which recites

cruelties via priests and missionaries (an ecclesiastical monopoly) and recommends in the City Page South African investments for readers?

As for The Times and its ilk, except for one notable exception (John Sackur Times 26.4.71) these papers seem hell bent on reporting that the lot of African work people is getting better, that job reservation (for whites) is breaking down and Vorster is having friendly talks with Black African countries (a few, very reactionary states) namely that apartheid is being undermined. I promise an article, which I admit has been lacking, to expose these myths.

John Gild goes on after the castigation to recommend Barbara Rogers' pamphlet published by the Africa Bureau as the correct alternative for Socialist Worker. It is good, well-researched, but more for the use of liberals or even capitalists than socialists. She proves that South Africa gains more out of trade with Britain than vice versa. Thus there is a strain on the British balance of payments. Man, that's the capitalists' problem, not ours!

We've pulled in our belts far enough for that particular sacred cow of the system. Added to this, she advises British investors to move their capital out of South Africa and into Black Africa where the pickings are so much more profitable. She gives the ratio of earnings to investments for shareholders, the South African return a mere 1.5: 1 whereas in developing countries (Black Africa) it is a handsome 2:1.

Summing up she says: 'Britain should stop indulging in moralistic denunciations

of apartheid. Instead she must examine the real justification for doing business with South Africa, namely the profitability or otherwise of the relationship'. Need I quote more? W. ENDA, London N16.

NEIL ROGALL seriously misses the point in his attack on my film review. I do not find the Carry On films titillating (the word is his not mine) but I do find them funny. Of course women (and men) are considered as sexual objects in them, but do I have to explain that the intention is satirical?

The humour derives from the contrast between the manners of those involved and their real intentions. The favourite source of their humour is hypocrisy; their intention is to take the piss out of the system. It's a small thing, and it won't bring down the rule of capital, but I have always found this humour attractive and humane.

As for the wider points, I did not address myself to them and it would not have been relevant to do so. This does not mean that I am unaware that blacks, homosexuals and trade unionists are society's scapegoats. Or that the film industry is run on money (though it is not as remarkable at the moment as Neil Rogall thinks for its profits; rather the reverse).

To pretend that a mechanical application of socialist texts to art and entertainment is the sole duty of a reviewer would be to invite the justified derision of the enemies of socialism. I am indeed concerned to develop a marxist analysis of art and the media, but I shall continue to warm to Joan Sims-JAMES FENTON, London, E3.

Inside reports on two key industrial disputes that affect all trade unionists

UCS MEN DETERMINED ON SIT-IN

by Peter Bain: Glasgow

WORKERS intend to go ahead with their occupation of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' yards in spite of increasing signs that the press is trying to line up 'public opinion' in support of the government's rationalisation plans for UCS. If one man is laid off or any yard threatened with closure, UCS workers plan to stay in the yards 24 hours a day.

The government-appointed liquidator has announced that no one will be paid off before 6 August. Every yard worker will be retained or suspended on full pay until that day.

But John Brown's workers start their annual holidays next Friday (2 July) and the rest of UCS goes on holiday on 16 July, returning on 9 August. It is clear that the liquidator plans to notify men that they are redundant during the yards' shutdown and so present those retained with an accomplished fact when they come back from holiday.

UCS workers have told me that they are aware of this possibility and the shop stewards committee will be considering ways of countering the liquidator's moves.

Another sign of the bosses' train of thought was the appearance of Sir Iain Stewart on BBC television last Friday. Stewart, the man whom George Brown made chairman of Fairfields in 1965 after the company's threatened closure, has been raised to the status of 'shipbuilding guru' by the press.

Stewart proposed on television that UCS should follow the Fairfield example and refuse to take on new orders while 'trimming' the workforce. He summed up his attitude in 1966 when he said he had the men 'over a barrel'.

The shop stewards' initiative in taking immediate, well-publicised action against any redundancies has displeased many of the full-time union officials who sit with management on the UCS joint council.

FRANTIC

They have been forced to follow the stewards' lead and are now frantically trying to re-impose their control over the situation in order to channel the workers' determination into safe, orthodox methods of protest.

After all, if the workers do occupy and run the yards even for a short time, might not some of them come to the conclusion that they could do it all the time? And then where would the union officials, never mind the bosses, be?

That other sudden convert to the cause of the UCS workers, Anthony



ODD MAN OUT...

...on the Clydeside shipbuilders' march in London last week was Labour MP Anthony Wedgwood Benn. As Minister of Technology in the last Labour government, he championed the UCS bosses and gave them more than £9 millions of public money to push ahead with vicious cut-backs in the work force. If the UCS workers are to have any chance of winning their battle, they must spurn the support of 'friends' like Benn and rely on the strength of the rank and file trade union movement.

In 1965, the Labour government stepped in to save the ailing Fairfield's shipyard. £½ million came from the government, £400,000 from private industry and £130,000 from the unions. Fairfield's cut the labour force by 750 men in the first six months of new-style operation.

In 1967 Fairfield, Connell, Stephen, Brown and Yarrow merged into Upper Clyde Shipbuilders with £5½ million from the government. The money was divided up: £1.2 million to Yarrow for a new berth, £1 million for investment

in the other yards while the rest was siphoned off into what the bosses' magazine The Economist called 'paying for the past rather than investing in the future'. In other words, most of the government (ie, taxpayers') money went into the pockets of the directors. Since then 4500 workers have lost their jobs at UCS.

In 1969 the Labour government gave UCS a further £9.3 millions and last week the Tories made £4 million available to meet immediate requirements.

Other aspects of Tory strategy are now emerging. It is clear that the 'lame ducks' policy is not simply to encourage individual firms to sack workers. The Tories believe that allowing companies like Rolls-Royce and UCS to go into liquidation will frighten workers into submission in the wages struggle.

DEMAND

It is crucially important that the entire labour movement starts to campaign seriously against unemployment. Every trade unionist should demand that unions, shop stewards committees and trades councils begin to fight NOW for:

1. Full support for UCS workers.
2. 35-hour week.
3. Ban on overtime.
4. Work-sharing with re-training where necessary on full pay.
5. No productivity deals.
6. Work or full maintenance.
7. Nationalisation of UCS without compensation under full workers control.

Wedgwood Benn, MP, had a hostile reception from 6000 workers at a rally in Dunbarton last Friday. The workers had stopped for half a day in protest against mounting unemployment in the area.

A scandal has arisen locally over Plessey's acquisition of the government's former torpedo factory. They got the factory for a song last year from the Labour government and are now shipping most of the modern machinery to England after declaring 450 men redundant.

When Benn mentioned Plessey's huge donations to the Tories, he was met with shouts of: 'Why did you give them the factory, then?'

And when he spoke of his parlia-

mentary Bill to nationalise the UCS shipyards, workers demanded to know why he hadn't done this when he was Minister of Technology. It is amazing how radical Labour MPs become when they are no longer in the government.

PROTEST

There is growing support on Clydeside for the UCS workers' struggle. 600 shop stewards attended a meeting on Monday and agreed to back Wednesday's demonstration in Glasgow in support of the shipyard men and in protest against the unemployment situation. Glasgow's unemployment is now higher than Belfast's.

Halewood: 'hate tactics' against shop floor

by a TGWU shop steward

WHEN Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon ended the Ford strike just two months ago, it is hardly likely that they were haunted by the ghost of things to come. If they had been, or if they had experienced one ounce of the solidarity that the 49,000 workers felt, then Ford management today would never have dared to try to implement their life-long ambition—to smash shop floor organisation at Halewood for once and for all.

It is a pity that our two union brothers weren't at Halewood just before the end of the strike. In full preparation for the return to work, management held a series of 'Hate-ins' in the North canteen.

All the foremen were invited to a meeting chaired by a Mr Skinner. With one mike on stage and one on the floor, the challenge rang out: 'What are you going to do with the shop stewards?'

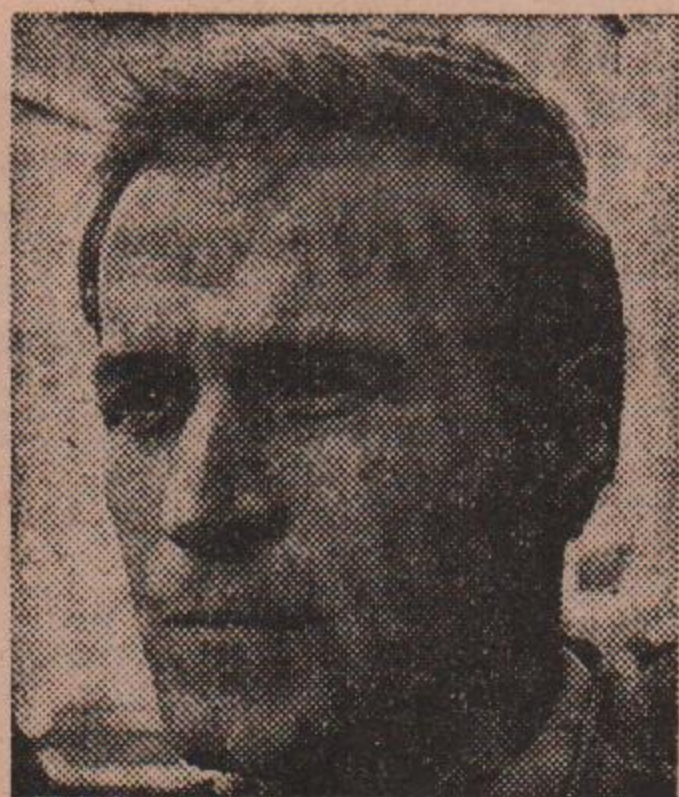
Frenzied reply

'Give us full management backing and we'll throw them out,' came back the frenzied reply. Time and time again Skinner threw out the bait for the audience to tear to pieces.

Complete backing was guaranteed for any action that would smash shop floor organisation. Criticism of higher management was encouraged in case they became too soft. To a man they were there, waiting for the strikers to return, except for one, who compared it to a Nazi youth rally.

To finalise arrangements, plant manager Marvin Hughes was replaced by Mr D McCrone, the man responsible for the Dagenham sackings in 1962.

On the day the men returned this



John Dillon: job back

policy came into operation. The 'new Americanism'—'Either do the job or get off the pay roll'—became the new Requirements to Operate.

Day and night, local agreements on manning and conditions were ignored. Men were physically prevented from seeing their stewards.

One foreman boasted, 'That's a jungle out there and I'm king of it'. The same one smashed every window in his department after complaints about the fumes and heat. Only in Transmission, where gear-boxes for much of the Ford range are made did management put on the kid-gloves.

Then two weeks ago, the number of men on one operation in the Press shop was reduced to four. It had at one time been eight. The job involved guiding a car body swinging on a crane from an oven 30 feet up on to a skip at ground level, making sure the body was steady, and

putting the two 35lb carrying bars on to a separate conveyor belt.

Both the body and the bars were usually red-hot. For 2½ shifts, two men on each line tried to do this job.

They knew it wasn't safe. They knew that if it toppled off the skip it could injure men further down the line, but they continued to work under threat of dismissal.

Marched off

Eventually, in desperation, they downed tools and the whole section stopped work. Those directly involved waited for their steward, John Dillon, to arrive and marched him off to the foreman's office demanding that management answer their questions. The request was refused so they decided not to return to work until after a meeting at the weekend.

Meanwhile, John Dillon, his convenor Billy Maguire and a union district official were called back to the office to answer charges of holding an unofficial meeting on the shop floor. The charge was dismissed as being completely unfounded, but the three were asked to attend on the Monday morning 'to examine the job' and the demand that at least five men be engaged on it.

But John Dillon was sacked on Monday morning when he reached the factory. By Wednesday 16 June production at Halewood had stopped. For the first time ever all three plants were out solid in defence of a victimised worker.

But there is no shadow of doubt that Halewood management had planned this dismissal from beginning to end. 800 cars of the model made at Halewood have just been landed at Harwich. They are all right-

hand drive, from a production line in Germany set up solely to produce these strike-breaking cars.

But not even Henry Ford II himself could have imagined the solidarity that

this action has unleashed, a solidarity that has not only got John Dillon reinstated but can also give management the kick in the teeth that they have deserved for so long.

Vital reading for all Socialists and trade unionists

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by Mike Caffoor

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How Metal Box put the lid on 500 jobs down in Suffolk

A DIRTY LITTLE DEAL, all wrapped up in plastic, is bringing great comfort and joy to the boardroom of the Metal Box Company, whose directors are already rejoicing over the company's record profit figures announced this month.

The deal is being a little less well received in West Suffolk, where more than 500 Metal Box workers are being thrown out of their jobs.

The parties to the deal, Metal Box and Unilever, are understandably reluctant to talk about it.

Last October Metal Box bought three plastic container manufacturing plants from Unilever to bring their national share of this lucrative market up to something near 25 per cent.

Among the factories was the Holpak plant at Glemsford, West Suffolk, the only major employer for miles around.

One of the conditions Metal Box exacted as part of the deal was that Unilever would not re-enter the plastic container market for some years.

Another was that Unilever would take exclusively Metal Box containers for at least one of their big-selling household products... understood to be Domestos, the toilet cleaner.

So Metal Box secured a nice, fat, regular order, and eliminated

lid on 500 jobs down in Suffolk

by R.K. Nelson

a source of potential competition.

Now they have eliminated the factory as well, and the plastic bottles it produced will now be made at Bromsbrough, conveniently on the doorstep of a huge

Unilever plant on Merseyside.

Of course, Metal Box bosses blandly deny that they only took over Holpak to secure its orders and transfer them to their production centres elsewhere.

More sceptical observers of

the Holpak debacle, however, feel this is precisely what Metal Box intended from the moment they opened negotiations with Unilever.

'Better future'

When the takeover was announced to the Holpak workers in November the chairman and managing director at that time, Mr. P.V.M. Egan, told them:

'Although much detail work has yet to be done, it is quite evident that it is the intention of the Metal Box Company to continue to operate all three fac-

tories, that is to say at Bromsbrough, Glemsford and Portadown...

'My colleagues and I on the board are completely convinced of the desirability of the new management and are sure that it will make for a better future for Holpak, which will, in due course, become an integral part of the plastics group of the Metal Box Company.'

Five peaceful months went by at Holpak. The workers were re-assured. Every six weeks they had their regular works council meeting with the management. And every six weeks not a word

The Holpak

was uttered living on born

All the in Metal Box revitalise pan activities.

Give

Skilled op Scotland war being persua secure jobs, and move to Holpak.

For those made the m unions at Ho

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

out the world.

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

We fight: For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards' committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restrictions. For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

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NORTH WEST
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SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Canterbury/Crawley/Folkestone/Guildford/Portsmouth/Southampton

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CLEANING RA

WITH THEIR REPORT on pay and conditions in the contract cleaning industry the Incomes Board performed their final function well before the Tory government was taken down. There is a small verbal rap on the knuckles for unions and employers who are too barbaric to hide. But there is no basic questioning of the system which allows employers to pay only 56 per cent of the money earned by the cleaners themselves.

'The trade' is that of hiring out workers, mainly women, mainly part-time, to clean offices and shops. It is a fast-growing industry—about 10 per cent real growth in turnover a year. It is also on figures provided by the contractors themselves the profit is 40 per cent on capital. The turnover goes on 'administration and overheads', including interest on loans and the rent of premises.

The trade is characterised by cut-throat competition between a few large firms such as Office Cleaning Services and the Pritchard Group and a large number of small ones often having only one or two contracts and desperate to hang on to them.

The 11 biggest firms employ between them some 60 per cent of the total labour force of 90,000 workers. There are 300 other firms, a third of them employing less than 50 cleaners. Total turnover in the trade in the year up to September 1970 was £54 million.

CLOSE LOOK

Comparisons are made in the report between hourly rates paid by the contractors and in other manual jobs in industry. The PIB claim that cleaners are not so badly off. The table compares average hourly rates for all manual workers with those of cleaners:

	HOURLY RATES	
	all manual	cleaners
male full-time	58p	43p
male part-time	36	35
female full-time	34	31
female part-time	29	31

Take a close look at these figures. First more than half the cleaners work in or near London, where rates are generally higher. For example, average rates for cleaners in the North East and Scotland are only 24p an hour.

But this does not apply to the manual workers as a whole. So in effect the LONDON rates for cleaners are compared with

NATIONAL rates for other manual workers.

Secondly, pay must always be taken in conjunction with conditions. Conditions in the contract cleaning trade are appalling. Average paid holiday after a year is only seven days and many firms do not give any at all.

Nor does the PIB mention the practice in many large multi-firm combines of transferring cleaners from one job to another to avoid their qualifying for holiday money. About half of all cleaners have been in their present job for less than a year.

A third point where the report tries to pull the wool over the reader's eyes is in dealing with male and female workers separately. The cleaning industry has 88 per cent women employees, while in industry as a whole the large majority of all manual workers are male.

In industry as a whole, women workers fall largely in the lower paid stratum. As figures in the report show, 90 per cent of all manual male workers earn more than the average wage for women.

In comparing the wages of women cleaners with all women manual workers, the PIB is comparing the vast majority of workers in this industry with the lowest paid in industry as a whole. So the PIB claim that cleaner's pay is reasonable is based on a thin

tissue of half

Night cleaners are particularly vulnerable (because they have been subjected to barbaric conditions. Safety, health and education does not exist in their offices at night.)

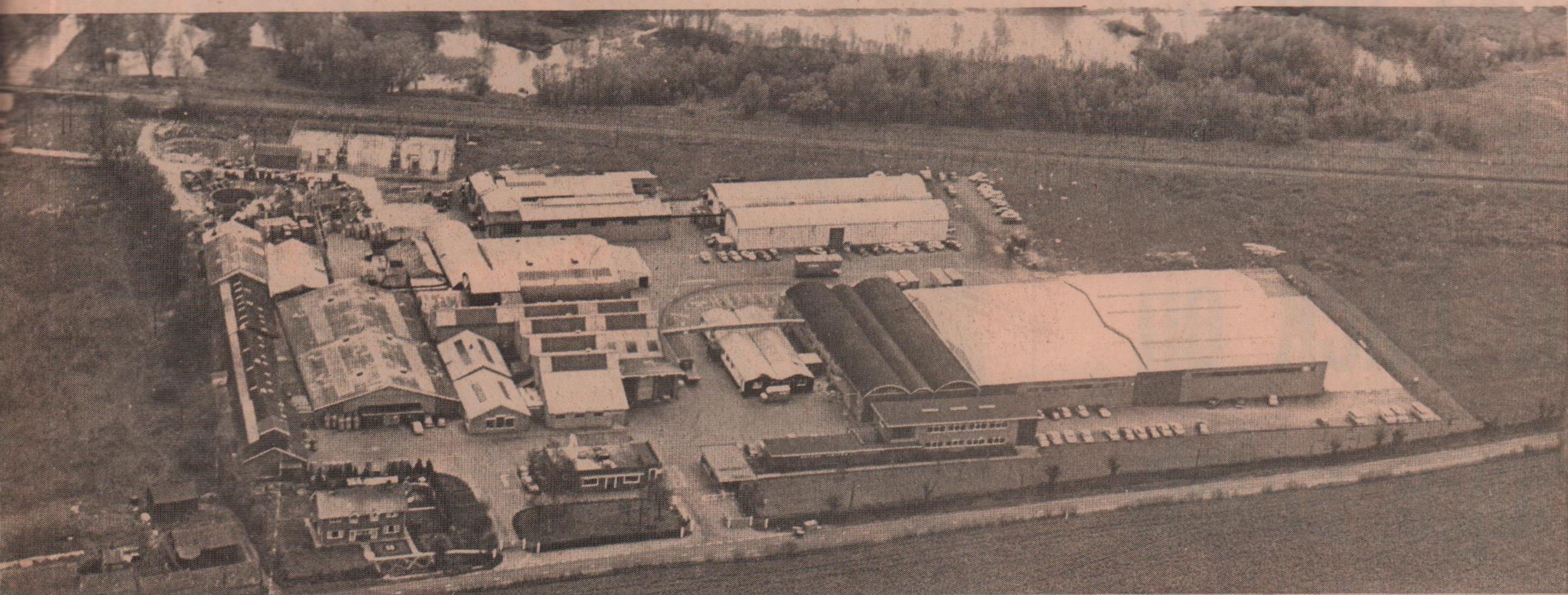
You might think you would be better off at night than in the day and a 10p hourly rate, compared with 10p for day workers.

Nor are working for contractors because their families was the main reason.

Yet by a contractor's union when Equal Pay Act came into effect.

Because Civil Servants, National employees, those in detail buildings, government over to co

part of rural England into an unemployment disaster area



factory at Glemsford: up for sale to boost Metal Box's record profits

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Workers and the Engineers. They have never caused the management any trouble.

There has never been a strike over a domestic issue. The only industrial action the plant has seen were the one-day protests by the AUEW in March against the Industrial Relations Bill.

It was only a week after the second of the 'Kill the Bill' protests—on 25 March—that the management dropped its bombshell.

The factory would close in October, they said. There would be a gradual rundown of the labour force.

An action committee was set up by the workers to fight the closure. Despite their efforts, which included dragging Metal Box directors to a Commons meeting to explain the closure to local MPs, they have been unable to delay or avert it.

Odious task

Now, Mr. W.S. Kirkup, the AUEW organiser who has the odious job of negotiating with Metal Box at national level, is trying to pick up the pieces.

But he is having problems

even in settling the pension rights and severance pay.

In a rare act of consideration, Metal Box have agreed that the more generous Unilever terms should apply. But they cannot, and Unilever will not, explain how the scheme is operated.

Scandalous anomalies have arisen in individual settlements. One man has been told that his redundancy pay will be £200 less than that of a colleague with identical service and doing the same job.

But efforts to discover how the payments are computed have

met with a deafening silence.

Metal Box, meanwhile, are advertising the Glemsford factory for sale in the Financial Times. They are offering it, complete with 'large existing labour force', at £300,000.

Workers trapped

So far there have been no takers. They might get a quick sale if they explain that the labour force has nowhere to go, that it is trapped in a rural area where there is no alternative employers, that the workers are

desperate and can probably be hired at well below their market value, that only 380 remain, that 40 of these are serving notices which expire later this month and that most of those left get their notices on 25 June.

The £300,000 would bring more comfort and joy to the Metal Box boardroom. It might even soothe their anguish over reducing a sweet, prospering part of rural England to an unemployment disaster area.

It will certainly help the Metal Box profits drive—£16 million in 1970, £18 million this year.

CKET COVER UP IN PIB REPORT

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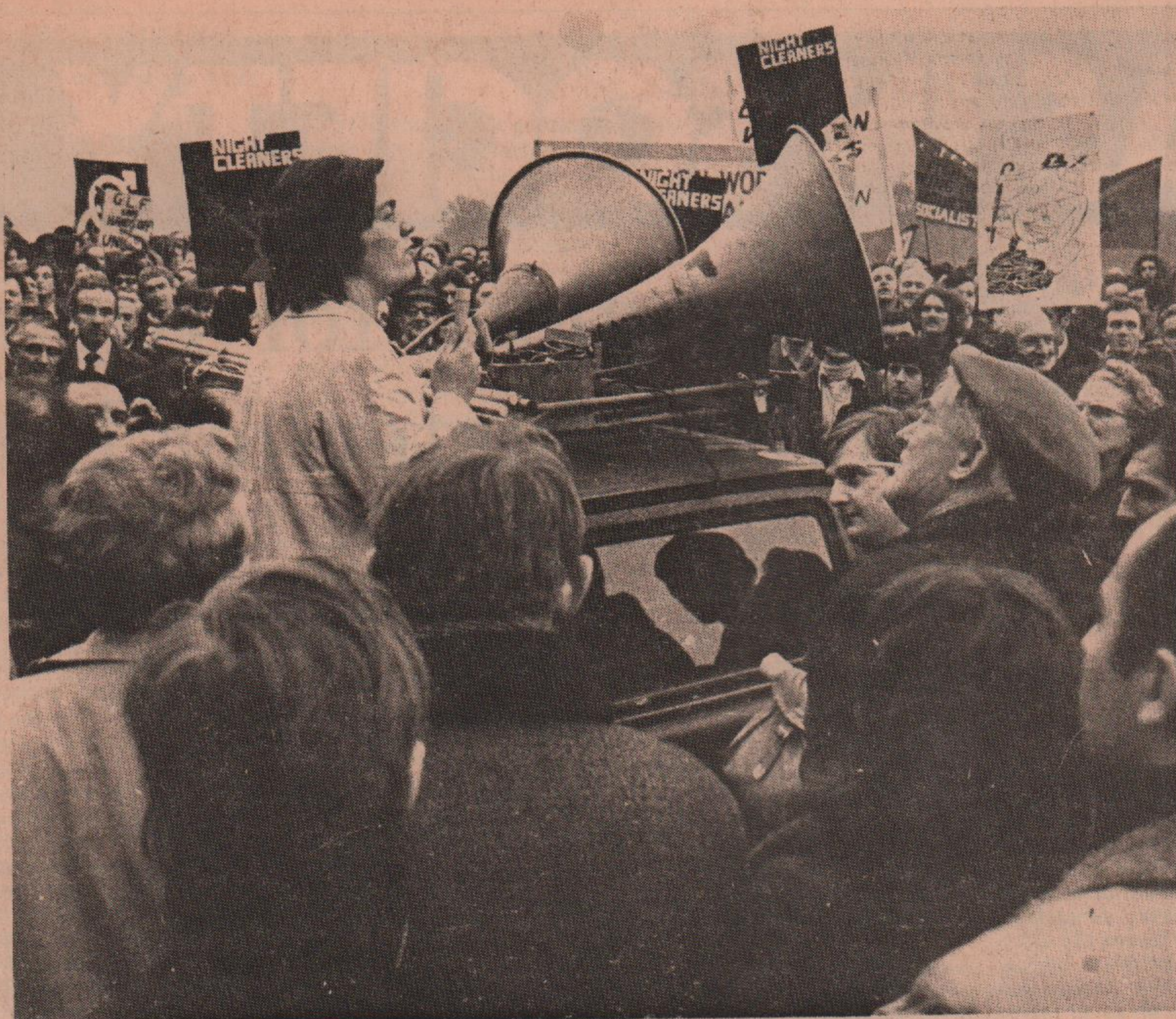
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May Hobbs speaking in Hyde Park on the 12 January strike: no help from the unions

the time of the last Labour govern-
ment.

The government—and the PIB—justified this on the grounds that it costs considerably less to clean by contract than by direct labour, even though the contractor is making his profit on the contract. Another point in favour of the arrangement is, of course, that the government could claim to be employing fewer civil servants. A direct labour cleaner, even a part-

time one, is a civil servant, whereas a contract cleaner is not.

In fact many of the old direct cleaners joined the contractors. There were considerable redundancies among the 3000 part-time and 200 full-time cleaners the government off-loaded in this way between 1967 and 1970. A contract cleaner is estimated to clean 1500 square feet an hour, while direct labour cleans about 1000. But who counts redundant part-

time cleaning women?

Conditions of employment, while by no means perfect in the civil service, are infinitely worse with the contractors. Yet it was the Civil Service unions that opened the door to this state of affairs when they agreed in June 1969 that 'departments are under an obligation to secure (cleaning services) on the most economical basis'.

The other unions concerned—principally the Transport Workers

and the General and Municipal have done precious little except propose a joint council of employers and unions. As the PIB point out, unionisation is only 3 per cent in the trade, so that such an arrangement would mean very little and would probably only serve to keep wages low.

What the unions will not propose is a grass roots drive for membership. The main reaction of the TGWU to the campaign to unionise the night cleaners led by May Hobbs and the Cleaners' Action Group has been to criticise and balk it at every opportunity.

ACCUSATIONS

Far from helping with the collection of dues from members recruited by this voluntary labour, the union have lapsed them at the first opportunity and made veiled accusations of embezzlement.

Here is how the PIB describes the attitude of the employers to unions: 'Sometimes favourable, occasionally hostile, more often indifferent. Where individual firms objected to union activity this is first because they fear that unions might bring pressure to bear on them to raise their wage rates'.

Those who have been in contact

with night cleaners get a very different picture. There are almost universal threats of the sack if you so much as join a union and several confirmed examples of victimisation for union activity. This is much more than 'occasional hostility'.

As an attempt to resolve the problems of the night cleaners in particular, the PIB suggest that one of the major unions might employ a full-time female organiser for this purpose. But it is essential that this organiser is someone fully conversant with the industry—a cleaner, or ex-cleaner herself and controlled by the cleaners, not just some hack from Transport House.

The report is a restatement of the 'right' of the directors and shareholders of the contract companies to continue to sit back and draw fat salaries and dividends from the sweated labour of exhausted women who work a 40 hour week through the night for an average wage of £13.36 a week.

Unfortunately there is no movement with a voice powerful enough to effectively challenge that 'right', except the unions. And they are controlled by a leadership that is not only dumb, but apparently determined to silence any small voice that might be raised.

SPECIAL ISSUE ON TRADE UNIONS

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Lives put at risk as bosses cut back on bridge safety

by a special correspondent

BEHIND last week's government decision to restrict traffic across box girder bridges until they are tested for safety and if necessary strengthened, lurks a major crisis in British engineering.

Some engineers are growing more and more concerned at the present direction their profession is taking. The pursuit of structural safety is being systematically abandoned in favour of standardised erection processes and so-called economic design methods.

Just how bad the situation is can be seen from a recently published but little known report on structural safety from the Construction Industry Research and Information Association.

'There is no justification for increasing risks unless marked economic advantage ensues,' it concludes. The report condenses the outlook of the new engineering establishment, and was produced by a working party which included Dr. Oleg Kerensky, a partner in the firm Freeman Fox which designed the Milford Haven and Yarra bridges that both collapsed during construction.

Minor flaws

In the pursuit of so-called economies, fantastic increases in risk during construction are being taken.

When a designer works on a structure he uses a factor of safety. This allows for mistakes in actual construction, minor flaws in materials and some room for manoeuvre for the unknown.

If a piece of steel is known to fail at a load of say 12,000 pounds per square inch, and the designer requires a factor of safety of say 3, he will shape his design to ensure that the load at no time exceeds 4000 psi.

In the case of the Yarra Bridge, the designers were using the incredibly narrow safety factor of 1.7, which means that on using steel which fails at 12,000 psi, design loads went as high as 10,200 psi, leaving no room for mistakes or manoeuvre.

During the second week of the Yarra Royal Commission which is only now concluding, it was disclosed that prior to the collapse the contractors erecting the bridge had complained that 'too much emphasis has been placed on expediency and not enough on engineering responsibilities.'

The whole box girder approach is designed as an economic rather than a

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

Last autumn the International Socialists were the joint sponsors of an international conference attended by a number of revolutionary groups from Europe and the USA.

One of the proposals of the conference was that an international discussion bulletin should be published. The first issue of this, jointly edited by IS and Lutte Ouvriere in France, has now appeared and contains a summary of the debates at the conference. Copies can be obtained from the International Subcommittee, International Socialists, price 10p, (plus 3p, postage).

structural proposition. 'The cost of fabrication is an important element affecting the overall economy of steel bridge construction and, due to ever increasing labour costs, will have an even greater influence,' argues C.V.J. Simpson an engineer with Freeman Fox in a paper read to the Institute of Civil Engineers last year.

Strong pressure

Later in the same paper, Mr Simpson notes that German box girder engineers use riveting to make site connections. In Britain, welding or grip bolting is used. The German approach flows from stringent requirements regarding fixing and preparation for bolting which 'makes the method scarcely viable from the contractors' viewpoint.'

The box girder techniques are very similar in their philosophy to Ronan Point-type system built housing. The

same justifications were used for adopting that ill-fated form of construction.

Strong pressure to get capital costs on publicly funded projects down on account of phenomenal interest rates on the large capital sums required is one major factor in the drive to these structural productivity deals.

And since items like steel and concrete have standardised prices, the only way the contractor can be 'competitive' is by reducing the temporary supports during construction to an absolute minimum. With safety margins already narrow this leads to a situation fraught with danger.

This is the background set to the increasingly high risks now taken in construction, killing four workers in Milford Haven and 35 at Yarra.

So serious is the situation that there was a last minute addition to the technical report to the Coroner on the Milford Haven collapse.

Cause of failure on the Welsh bridge was established as failure of a diaphragm in deck box number six. The independent check on the erection stresses in the steelwork established that this could have been anticipated.

No inquiry

The addition to the report showed that even if the bridge had been completed satisfactorily the weight of traffic would have brought it down.

No national newspaper reported this addendum, far less grasped its staggering significance. But what is really shameful is that there was no public inquiry into the Welsh collapse.

The disaster took place in March last year, a full seven months before the even more serious collapse in Australia.

Had there been a rigorous public

inquiry, there might have been a chance of halting work on the Australian box girder. In the event, the implications of the Milford Haven collapse were hushed up.

Current discussion in the newspapers and the technical press is confined solely to a debate about whether or not the government measures to restrict traffic on box girder bridges and test the structures is an over-reaction.

And though some engineers are well aware of how irrelevant this argument is, there is a great reluctance to speak out.

This is not unconnected with what happened to the men who did speak out over Ronan Point. They subsequently found it difficult to get jobs and were shunned by the engineering establishment.

The time has come to lay things on the line, before more lives are lost.

An injured workman carried away from the Yarra disaster in Australia last year



IDEAS IN SOCIETY

by
DUNCAN
HALLAS

Velvet glove for Right, knuckleduster for Left

IN 1886 John Burns and H.M. Hyndman, leaders of the Social Democratic Federation, were prosecuted for their speeches at an unemployment demonstration in Hyde Park. Some of the crowd, prevented by the police from marching to Trafalgar Square 'consoled themselves by shattering the windows of the Pall Mall clubs. The Lord Mayor's relief fund leapt in the next few days from £30,000 to £79,000!'

The ruling class was seriously alarmed. The SDF was then a new organisation and it was bringing workers into the streets in militant demonstrations such as had not been seen for a long time. The agitators had to be punished and so the sedition laws were trundled out.

What is sedition? The legal definition, as it was then and as it still is today, was stated by the judge at the trial of Burns and Hyndman. It is worth careful study.

'A seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the person of Her Majesty, her heirs or successors, or the government and constitution of the United Kingdom, as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite Her Majesties' subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection amongst Her Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of illwill or hostility between different classes of such subjects.'

This is comprehensive enough to satisfy the most fascist-minded Greek colonel. If it were rigorously enforced then practically everything said in Left-wing meetings or written in the Left-wing press would lead to prison sentences.

In fact it is not generally enforced and for a very good reason. The reason is that the most important weapon our rulers have in the field of ideas is the illusion that this country is a democracy, that everyone is equally free to express their opinions, that somehow or other the people, or at least the majority, rule through their elected representatives.

To sustain that illusion the real rulers have to be cautious in prosecuting those who try to expose it. As long as the 'reds' are relatively few in number and the times are fairly peaceful then it is better for the bosses to rely on the power of their newspapers and television and educational institutions. Prosecuting people for their ideas tends to give the game away.

That does not mean that the Sedition Laws are a dead letter. Far from it. In times of real crisis the gloves are off and the brass knuckles on. Then the full force of the law is employed against leaders of the Left. But only of the Left. Sedition from the right, apart from its lunatic fringe, has never been prosecuted.

Put behind bars

In 1925 12 leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain were arrested and charged with sedition. Why? They were saying nothing in 1925 that they had not said repeatedly in earlier years, nothing that Socialist Worker is not saying today. They were doing their best to raise 'discontent or dissatisfaction' and to excite 'ill will or hostility' against the capitalist class.

The reason for the prosecution was that the government, under Stanley Baldwin, was preparing, carefully and cold-bloodedly, to smash the Miners' Union as a preliminary to enforcing general wage reductions. 'All the workers of this country', said Mr. Baldwin, 'have got to take reductions in wages to help put industry on its feet.'

An important part of the government's preparation for the General Strike that they knew was

coming was the putting behind bars of the leaders of what was then a real revolutionary workers' party. It was far too dangerous, in the eyes of Baldwin, Churchill and the rest, to leave them loose in what might become a revolutionary situation.

Now the Communist leaders had what was, on the face of it, a cast-iron defence. The very lawyers who were conducting the prosecution—Joynson-Hicks, the Attorney General, Hogg (later Hailsham) the Solicitor General—had been up to their ears in sedition only a few years earlier. They had been active, with the other leaders of the Tory Party, in defending the right of the Ulster Orangemen to resort to armed insurrection against the Crown if the Liberal government's 'Home Rule for Ireland' Bill became law.

Indeed, one of the most prominent members of the government, Lord Birkenhead (F.E. Smith), had been involved in smuggling rifles from Germany into Northern Ireland and had stumped the country shouting 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right'. Not a single Tory was ever prosecuted.

What was sauce for the goose was *not*, however, sauce for the gander. When Tom Bell, one of the accused, was pointing out that he had never smuggled rifles or organised an armed force, he was interrupted from the bench. 'Why go into all this, it was a long time ago'. His reply, 'You are taking us back to 1797' (the date the laws were passed) cut no ice at all.

All 12 accused were convicted. Mr. Justice Swift did his duty to his class and sent them all to prison. It was a splendid demonstration of the impartiality of British Justice.

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



THE BATTLE between Harold Wilson and the BBC over the 24 Hours documentary on the Labour leaders is like some obscene nudes-in-the-mud wrestling match in the 'red light' district of a decadent American city. It is hard to decide who is the more disgusting—the BBC moguls responsible for the programme or the Wilson clique bemoaning the fact that their lives of luxury had been exposed to public view.

Wilson's huffing and puffing and threats of legal action are the depths of hypocrisy. If he believes the BBC has a right-wing bias (and it has: otherwise why would it exist?) why didn't he, when he was prime minister, initiate a sweeping governmental inquiry into the running of television, with proposals for major reform? The answer is that, like all Labour leaders, he was frightened of taking on the Establishment.

And wasn't it the same Harold Wilson who appointed the dreadful Lord Hill as new BBC overlord, an arch-Tory reactionary who, as a post-war MP and 'Radio Doctor', led the campaign to hold up the introduction of the National Health Service? What Wilson and his pals never realise is that the more you lick the boots of the ruling class the quicker they are to kick you up the jacksie.

As for young Dimblebore and Miss Angela Pope and the rest of the 24 Hours gang, there can be nothing but contempt for them and their cynical, 'trendy' approach to politics. The 'Yesterday's Men' profile of the Labour Cabinet was a product of the modern television 'school', reared on the need to keep both eyes on the ratings, to be superficial, jokey, frightfully clever, but never probing.

So we learned that Wilson, thanks to his term in office, now owns property worth £60,000.

But the wealth and desire for more of it by despicable and corrupt politicians are side issues. Their corruption stems from their politics, their cheerful surrender to the system, their willingness to pass up even the mildest reformist promises and crucify the workers.

And so instead of a serious analysis of the politics of the Labour leaders and the impotence of reformism, we get a dressed-up That Was The Week-style skit, with Harold Wilson reduced to the level of a seaside comedian. There is a reason for that, too: the establishment and its over-paid hacks (how much do you earn, by the way, Mr. Dimbleby?) may despise the cringing Labour leaders, may devote a programme to show how pathetic and money-hungry they are, but they keep off the politics.

For occasionally the Labour politicians win elections and have to keep the system going for a bit. So don't probe too deep in case ordinary viewers begin to see through the whole miserable sham of parliament and the empty reformist promises about a socialism that never comes.

THE SAME telly tycoons responsible for such mindless mush are behind the decision to kick David Frost's interview with Stokely Carmichael downstairs to the BBC2 ghetto while giving peak viewing time last Wednesday on the main channel to his chat with Julie Andrews.

Frost, grovelling, sycophantic, odious, is a younger, less-political Harold Wilson, thrown up by the sharp crisis within British capitalism in the early 1960s and the downfall of the Macmillan government. For a moment a section of the young, bright, middle-class threw off the restraints of an ageing, openly corrupt ruling class and mercilessly attacked them on television. But because they confined their attack to satire divorced from any idea of social change, they were quickly sucked back into the system and transformed by the very establishment they had so ruthlessly guyed.

David East

Sugaring the colonial pill

I SHOULD dearly love to know what happened to Pontecorvo's Queimada between conception and its belated release. Made in 1968, it would possibly never have been shown over here had not its director's previous film, *The Battle of Algiers*, been so rapturously received when it opened a few weeks ago. And this in spite of Marlon Brando as a star.

How was it, for instance, that the Spanish got into a position from which they could turn the miserable colony of Queimada from a Spanish to a Portuguese possession? There are occasional words of the offending tongue still to be caught (as well as Italian from the extras), and some incorrect names still around. The situation where 19th century Portugal is Britain's enemy is historically impossible. The construction of the film is chaotic and shows several marks of the scissors.

Bad colour, uneven photography, Brando's peculiar upper-class limey drawl, appalling organ music including a snatch of gratuitous Bach, tired epic clichés—all gave me the impression that we were watching a travesty of the director's intentions. There was none of this ineptness in the straightforward *Battle of Algiers*.

And yet Queimada remains compelling and articulate by any standards, which makes me angry at what it might have been.

Hamstrung mind

The piece is Brando's. He is there all the time, and the whole sympathy of the director is with the sophisticated yet hamstrung sort of mind he embodies.

He begins as an agent of the British admiralty in the early 19th century. The colony is to be encouraged to revolt from Portugal in order that it may serve British interests better. For this purpose a negro figurehead for the struggle will be useful, though in the long run it is the white trash who will run the independent state.

You can never really tell whether the British agent's admiration for his negro guerrilla hero is sincere, but it soon becomes plain that he sees no alternative to domination of the island by the interests of capital—in this case the Royal Antilles Sugar Company. After the revolution the negro general is allowed to try to run the island—and in the process to discredit his leadership.

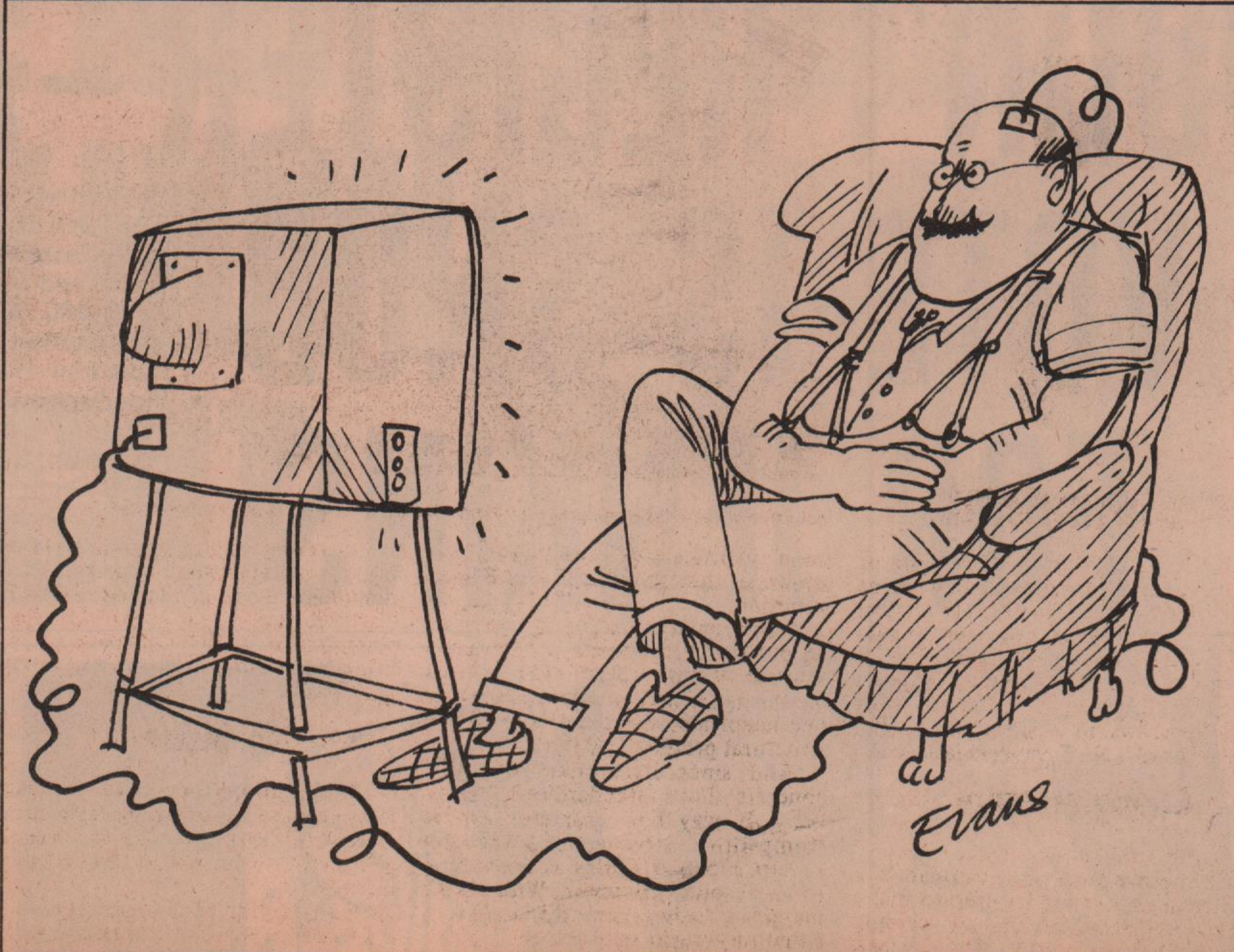
Queimada needs the European market for her sugar but Europe has plenty of Queimadas.

Years later Brando returns to the island. Revolution has broken out again, led by the English agent's old friend who is embittered by the experience of 'civilisation', or what is politely known nowadays as extractive development.

This time the task is to weed out every revolutionary—and whole plantations have to be destroyed in order to achieve this aim. Brando is vicious, ruthless and cynical because he sees himself as the agent of historic necessity. The negroes must become workers from slaves but cannot yet be masters.

In this portrayal of a man's half-formed and tragic consciousness Queimada represents a genuine advance in socialist art. But it was very nearly strangled in the making.

James Fenton



COTTONS COLUMN

DO YOU sometimes get the strange feeling that there are two men called Hugh Scanlon, one the real-life president of the Engineering Union making fiery speeches against the Industrial Relations Bill, the other an impostor hell-bent on destroying Hugh's left-wing image?

An employers' outfit called The Industrial Society is organising a series of conferences on the IRB. Adverts in the posh papers say, under pictures of a demo against the Bill: 'When the shouting's over, the real job begins. Learning to live with the Bill. Whatever its faults, the Industrial Relations Bill will be law by Autumn'.

The Industrial Society is anxious that management will know all the ins-and-outs of the new laws, how it will affect their relations with the shop floor, 'what will be legal and illegal. And, more important, how can it help to make industrial relations more productive.'

Just to ensure that productivity is turned another notch to lengthen the dole queues and to help management legally turn the screws on the workforce, the society is organising a conference on 2 July on the Bill and the Code of Practice.

Speakers? Robert Carr and Hugh Scanlon. The impostor, of course. The real one would have nothing to do with such a cheap publicity stunt for the government and its anti-union legislation.

The conference fee is a trifling £100. Book now to avoid the rush.

PENNY-PINCHERS CORNER: York City Corporation have terminated the practice whereby the police were employed to open and shut the gates of the city wall, at a cost to the ratepayers of £1000 a year. The city bosses consider the expense too great and plan to



SHAWCROSS: going Dutch

use old-age pensioners instead. The work involves opening two gates at 7am and closing them at 10pm every day throughout the year. The wages offered to the pensioners: £1.50 a week. Savings to the Corporation: £760.

Shellubrication

NO SUCH tight-fistedness where the bosses are concerned. The mighty Shell petroleum outfit has decided to give its seven part-time directors a rise of £60 a week. The increase was announced at the annual shareholders' meeting by Shell overlord Sir David Barran, who rubs along on £76,000 a year himself.

The directors involved include Midland Bank chief Sir Archibald Forbes, Sir Reay Geddes of Dunlop and former Labour Attorney-General Lord Shawcross, now head of the City Take-over Panel. Their salary before the increase was £2000 a year for a job that Barran admitted only takes two days a month.

Barran told shareholders that the part-timers had to attend meetings in Holland of Royal Dutch Petroleum. 'This involves travelling to the continent overnight. They also sit on various committees within the firm. So now they get £5000 a year

for 24 days' work. This allows them plenty of time for their other part-time directorships. Shawcross, no slouch he, also sits on the boards of EMI, Hawker Siddeley, Rank Hovis McDougall, BSA, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York and Times Newspapers.

Nausoleum

BIG ADVANCES in the American way of death have been announced with the design and construction of a multi-million pound, multi-storey cemetery in Nashville. Woodlawn Construction Co is to build the 20-storey mausoleum, providing more than 68,000 burial places.

They've got the economists in on the planning. Normally it requires 1000 acres to bury 68,000 people. The skyscraper will cater for the same number inside one acre.

Engineers for the project have gone to considerable lengths to establish what a corpse weighs after decomposition. In their reckoning, a 200-pound body gets down to around 40 pounds inside six months. This amazing mathematical feat has enabled the firm to save a lot of money on the supporting steel beams, since they can be sized down accordingly.

NICE CHAPS, the Tories. In a Commons debate on the increased charges for school meals, the Tory MP for Derby SE, Mr Peter Rost, said: 'If parents are not prepared to ensure that their children are properly fed they are not fit to be parents and should not have children. It would be proper to remind the country that it is not the state's responsibility to feed schoolchildren.'

Socialist Worker

Carr's code hits at shop floor

EMPLOYMENT MINISTER Robert Carr last week published his Code of Industrial Relations Practice. It was welcomed immediately by the Confederation of British Industry and the Financial Times described it as 'a quiet revolutionary document'.

The Code is a vital part of the Tory government's anti-trade union Industrial Relations Bill. When the Bill becomes law this summer any alleged breaches of it will be tried before the Industrial Relations Court.

The chairman of the IRC will be

High Court Judge Sir John Donaldson, a past chairman of the Federation of University Conservative Associations.

While Carr's Code will not be enforceable at law, it will be taken into account by the IRC. It deals with union organisation, secret ballots, procedure agreements and the need for more union officials.

It recommends that agreements should be reached between management and unions on how many stewards there ought to be, what qualifications they need and how their credentials should be

issued. It insists that stewards must obey all agreements.

It suggests that piecework prices, incentive bonuses and similar payment systems should be determined by some form of work measurement and that job evaluation should be introduced. A refusal to accept work study will be a breach of the Tory Code.

It refuses, contrary to previous promises, to order companies to give financial details because of 'the requirements of confidentiality for commercial reasons.'

Dockers' strikes hit back at Devlin scheme

by Harold Youd TGWU

MANCHESTER dockworkers have just won the first round of their fight over Devlin Phase II. After a series of lightning strikes in the last 10 weeks the employers have conceded an interim offer of £4 on the basic rates without strings.

Manchester is one of the few ports left in the country where Devlin Phase II has not come into force. In other ports it has meant reductions in the manning scales, greater 'flexibility of labour', (that is, more work) and shift work.

In Manchester the employers, who plan to reduce the labour force from 1,400 to 560 by the end of 1972, were looking for a productivity deal which would do just this. The dockers demanded a £37.50 basic and fall-back pay, an end to piece work and no reductions in the manning scales.

Support claim

The one-day strikes and a work to rule were started in support of the claim. Checkers went on strike on one day of the week and dockers on another so that the employers got only three days' work but the dockworkers got four days' pay.

One docker and one checker were given the responsibility of deciding the day of the strike and they announced it on the day itself, so that the management had no time to prepare. As a result the port was almost completely disrupted.

The strikes and work to rule were organised by an unofficial committee. The official leadership of the shop stewards' committee and union full-timers were concerned only with getting a return to normal without losing face.

Massive document

They tried to get every offer the employers made accepted at mass meetings. The employers' main offer, a massive document which involved reductions in manning scales, a cut in overtime rates and Saturday morning work, was supported by the union officials.

When the officials failed to get it through a mass meeting they held a ballot which also rejected the deal. There is little doubt that the employers would have conceded the interim offer much earlier if it was not for the fact that they placed hope in the official leadership being able to persuade the men to accept a productivity deal.

The £4 with no strings is a victory—but it is only a partial victory. The original demands still stand.

If they can be fought for and won they will make a nonsense of Phase II and perhaps turn the Devlin tide which has so far been running strongly against the dockers.

'DON'T REGISTER'—ASTMS VOTE IS SNUB FOR JENKINS

by Roger Rosewell (outside the conference)

EASTBOURNE:- In a sensational vote on Sunday at the annual conference of ASTMS, the supervisors' and technicians' union, delegates decided by 67,280 votes to 61,650 that the union should not register with the government when the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law. Despite the opposition of Clive Jenkins, the so-called 'left-wing' General Secretary, the emergency resolution from the London Branch (Insurance Staffs Section) was carried and said:

'This Annual Delegate Conference declares its unqualified opposition to registration under the Industrial Relations Bill, irrespective of the alleged advantages of such registration, and instructs the National Executive Council:

- (a) not to register in any circumstances,
- (b) if necessary, immediately to withdraw ASTMS from any register upon which it is placed by the government.'

The success of this motion shocked Jenkins and his supporters, including the two Labour MPs Ian Mikardo and Russell Kerr, members of the union executive.

Jenkins had argued in his speech that the union should 'wait and see' but it was clear to many delegates that he wanted to register. After the vote had been carried a hesitant, white-faced Jenkins admitted, 'This is one time in one's life when it's difficult to know what to say.'

But the passing of the resolution should not deceive anyone that the fight to de-register the union is over. Already Jenkins is preparing a counter attack.

On Monday he said it was unlikely his union's rules could be changed until the next conference in June 1972, 'when the Act will have been on the statute book for some months.'

The rules of ASTMS say that it will be a registered union. Jenkins is clearly hoping to delay the implementation of the conference decision for another year in order that work can be undertaken to try and reverse the vote.

It is essential that a campaign within the union be organised to try and force the executive to de-register before June 1972, and to uphold the decision at next year's conference. Any failure to do this will give the advantage back to Jenkins.

IS Conference on Women 26/27 June Central London Polytechnic Marylebone Road NW1. Sessions on Economic Roots of Women's Liberation, Women's Liberation and the Revolutionary Party, Women in Industry. Open to ALL IS members. Observe credentials and further information from Valerie Clark, 18 Dickinson Road, London N8. Refreshments, facilities for children available.

LAMBETH IS public meeting: Struggle in Engineering Industry. Spkr Dave Higginson Wednesday 30 June 8.15pm, Tulse Hill Tavern, cnr Norwood Rd and Tulse Hill.

HARROW IS public meeting: Mike Caffroy on Fight the Tory Immigration Bill. Friday 25 June 8pm, The Case is Altered, Wealdstone High Street, Harrow.

ACTON IS public meeting: Bernadette Devlin MP and Duncan Hallas: Fight the Tories. Woodlands Hall, Crown Street off Acton High St, W3. 8pm Friday 25 June.

SPENNYMOOR, Co Durham, IS public meeting: The Struggle for Socialism. Spkr Tony Corcoran, Hillingdon Hotel, Clyde Terrace. 8pm Monday 28 June.

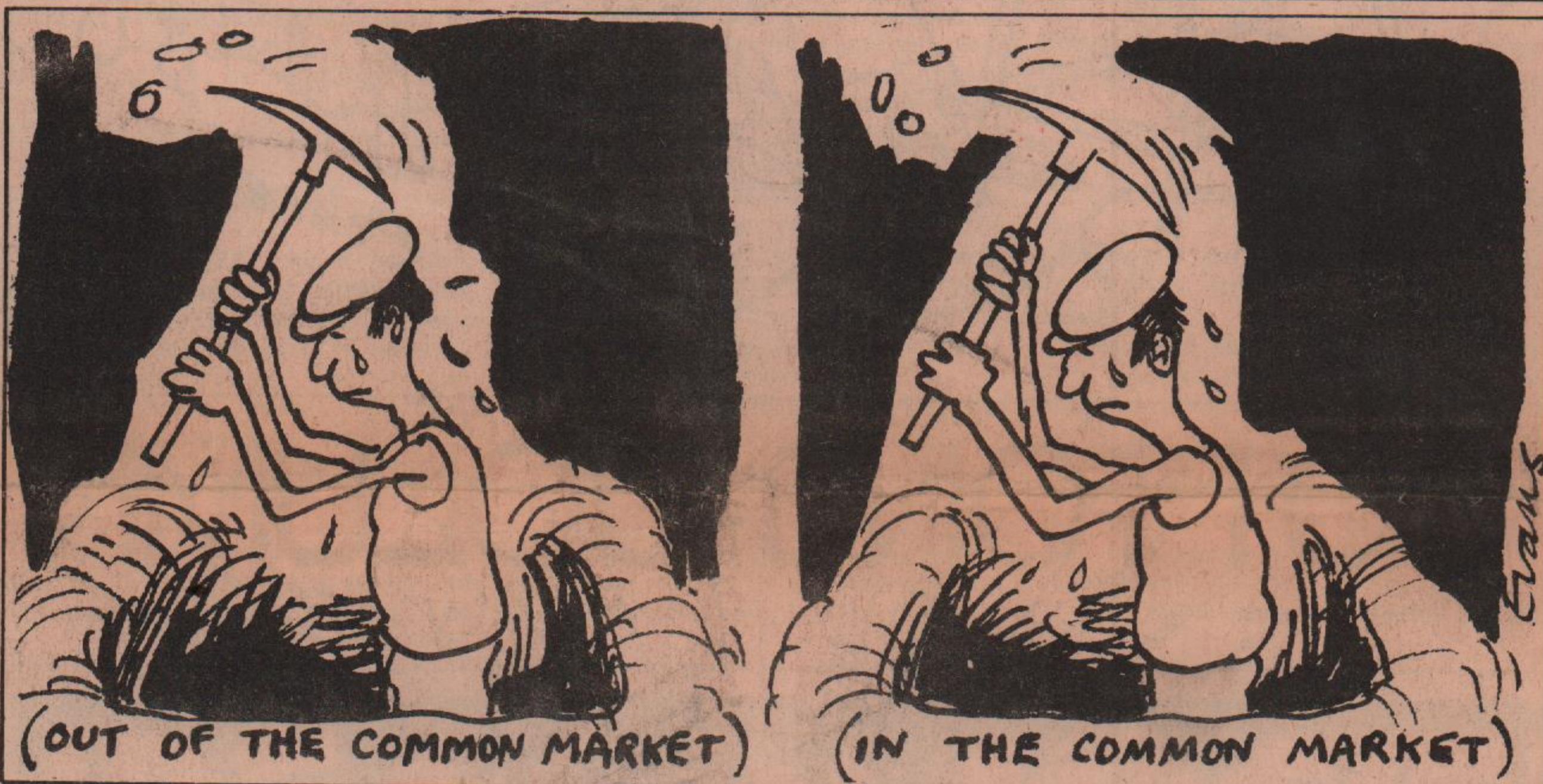
SUNDERLAND IS public meeting: Building a Revolutionary Party. Spkr Tony Corcoran. Londonderry Hotel, High Street 8pm Wednesday 30 June.

MANCHESTER IS public meeting: Jim Higgins on The Case for Revolutionary Politics. Thursday 1 July, The Wheatsheaf, High Street, Manchester.

MANCHESTER: demonstrate in solidarity with Bangla Desh, Saturday 16 June, 9.30am. Assemble All Saints, march to Old Trafford.

IS head office requires voluntary part-time helpers to man enquiries office and assist with clerical work. Phone John Phillips 739 1878.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS public meeting: Paul Foot and Stan Newens debate Parliamentary Socialism. Mozart House, 66 Albion Rd N16 (Newington Green end). Monday 28 June pm.



Power workers plan campaign

WORKERS in the electricity power industry met in London last weekend to discuss a campaign against redundancies.

The Wilberforce Inquiry, set up after the work to rule last December, recommended a system of 'lead-in payments' that will bring a heavy loss of jobs. Most power stations have accepted the scheme, but a few have held out.

The London conference, called by the paper Powerworker, was poorly attended because of insufficient organisation. The workers there decided to press for a policy of:

Opposition to all redundancies. Scrapping of all productivity deals signed since 1967.

£40 for 35 hours. Limitation of all overtime in the industry, including contractors' labour.

All agreements to be ratified or rejected by rank and file conferences of elected delegates from all the unions.

SOUTHWEST CALL FOR ACTION TO HELP JOBLESS

by Kitty Williams

EXETER:- More than 100 delegates attended a special conference on unemployment last weekend sponsored and organised by the local branches of the International Socialists.

Support came from Bristol Workers' Association, Yeovil Workers' Association, East London Claimants' Union, Newton Abbot and Exeter Claimants' Union, N Somerset Anarchists, plus official delegates from Newton Abbot Labour Party and the foundry section of the AUEW.

Ken Appleby, president of Newton Abbot Trades Council, said the conference was the first of its kind and was called to discuss ways of fighting unemployment in the region.

CAMPAIGN

The conference called on the trade unions to lead a campaign against unemployment with policies to include:

A ban on productivity deals that reduce the labour force.

A reduced working week of 35 hours without loss of pay.

Work sharing without redundancies.

A minimum wage of £25 a week whether working or not.

Ban on overtime where redundancies are threatened or unemployment is high. And a reduction of the retirement age to 60 for all, with pensions linked to the cost of living.

Dave Edwards, chairman of a Coventry shop stewards' committee, main speaker at one session, said that the Transport Workers' Union had banned all productivity deals in the West Midlands because of heavy unemployment.

And Joe Kenyon of the Claimants' and Unemployed Workers' Union, said that large numbers of people living on unem-

ployment or social security benefits were being robbed of payments to which they were entitled because some Social Security officers were not doing their jobs properly.

It was decided to recall the conference in the autumn to discuss developments in the areas represented. The delegates voted overwhelmingly in support of a resolution from Exeter International Socialists that said:

'This conference recognises that the offensive by the Tory government on the working class as a whole—the anti-union Bill, Immigration Bill and welfare cuts—is a political attack and therefore the fight against it must be political.'

'The only way to end this callous and anarchic system which exploits vast numbers of people for profit is revolutionary change. The bureaucratic leaderships of the trade unions and Labour Party have failed to initiate the essential social and political reforms.'

'We therefore call for joint action by all sections of the rank and file in our community to build a movement based on the working class which can change this society into a humane one based on need not profit, individual freedom not coercion.'

IS BOOKS opening hours: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday — 2pm to 5pm, Wednesday 2pm to 8pm. Saturday 11am to 2pm.

ILFORD Dagenham and East London IS public meeting: Bernadette Devlin MP: Fight the Tories. Friday 2 July, 8pm, Barking Assembly Hall.

AGITPROP BOOKSHOP new address: 248 Bethnal Green Rd, London E2. 01-739 1704.

DUNCAN HALLAS series Introduction to Marxism: correction to last week's correction. Next lecture THIS SUNDAY 27 June, 7.30pm. 6 Cottons Gdns E2. Capitalism, Imperialism and the Third World.

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