

N. 9
FIELD I.S.
CROYLAND RD

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM: 217 24 APRIL 1971 2½p

SPECTRE OF THE 1930s

REMEMBER what Harold Wilson, Tony Crosland and the rest used to tell us? The problems of 'old style' capitalism have been solved. What we have now are the problems of the affluent society, of leisure and so on.

Well today 814,189 workers are not feeling so affluent. They have plenty of leisure. They are faced with the 'old-fashioned', 'outdated' problem of not having a job.

We have unemployment on a scale not known since 1940. In some parts of the country unemployment among men has reached the wretched level of 5 and 7 per cent of the workforce and in Northern Ireland the figure is not much short of 10 per cent.

What is more, economists of every political persuasion are predicting that it will get worse. There will be more than one million on the stones by winter.

Here and now, more than 800,000 men and women are faced with the daily misery and humiliation of looking for jobs that aren't there. And next week the Steel Corporation will announce a further 8000 redundancies. Dunlop are closing a factory and throughout industry firms are trimming the work force. 7500 boys and girls who left school this year have not yet got any kind of job.

Socialists used to say in the 1930s that a society that can't find jobs for men and women able and willing to work is rotten, corrupt and intolerable. They were right. It was rotten and it is rotten.

Who is to blame? Wilson, Feather and Co blame Heath and the Tories. There is something in this, something but not much.

It is quite true that government policy—the credit squeeze and the rest—are the immediate cause of the rise in unemployment. It is also true that the policies of Wilson in power were the same as those of Heath. And both of them were forced into these policies in an attempt to solve the growing problems of international capitalism.

Since the mid-1960s, governments both Tory and Labour, in this country and abroad, have been pushing productivity deals, take-overs, mergers and amalgamations. All are aimed to get more output from less men.

No problem

All inevitably produce more unemployment. All are forced on governments and firms under a system of private production for profit.

What about economic growth? Isn't it true, as the ex-left winger Mrs Barbara Castle used to say, that unemployment will be no problem because the whole economy can grow so fast that men and women made redundant can soon be absorbed in new expanding industries?

First of all, it obviously hasn't happened. Second, the special conditions that made possible the armaments-based boom of the 1950s and 1960s are passing away.

Capitalism is reverting to type. More productivity now means more unemployment, just as it did in 1930. What we have now are the problems of the 'new style' capitalism—chronic and growing inflation, pollution, urban decay and so on, plus the return of the major curse of 'old style' capitalism—what Marx called 'the reserve army of the unemployed'.

The Tory ministers say that the cause of unemployment and inflation alike is 'excessive wage demands'. This is rubbish.

The result

As a matter of fact, the lower the real wages of employed workers, the more unemployment there will be because the money employed workers spend creates jobs.

As to the 'wages explosion', as every serious economist admits, it was the result of inflation rather than its first cause.

HAUNTS DOLE QUEUE

by DUNCAN HALLAS



Wilson: he pursued the same policies as Heath

What can be done? The brutal truth is that there is no permanent solution under capitalism. Only a planned economy based on production for use and not for profit can guarantee long-term, full employment.

But many things can be done to stop the situation getting worse. The unions must be made to fight for work-sharing, for a 35 hour week and for no more productivity deals. Remember, every successful productivity agreement puts men out of work.

We must demand work or full maintenance at trade union rates for the unemployed. Heath and Wilson claim that their system—capitalism—can deliver the goods.

Very well. Let them prove it. A job for every man and woman who wants to work is the very minimum demand.

If they can't provide it—and they can't—their system stands condemned.

Stop the film witch-hunt

THE PRESS and education witch-hunt against those who made the schools sex film *Growing Up* is a disgrace.

Urged on by the Daily Mirror and other 'radical' newspapers, Birmingham Education Committee has suspended a teacher, Mrs Jennifer Muscutt, for taking part in the film. And now there are demands that the producer, Dr Martin Cole, should be sacked.

The reactionary backlash is a further glimpse of the growing intolerance of those who control society and who hit out at any who challenge outdated ideas and attitudes.

All trade unionists should support the stand of Mrs Muscutt's union, the ATTI, and demand her immediate reinstatement. Attacks on freedom of expression and the dissemination of 'minority' ideas are part and parcel of the government backed offensive against the entire labour movement.



Hallo, Yahya—how about us going into the butchering business jointly?

Russian planes aid terror in Ceylon

THE RULERS of all the great powers have been lining up to smash the rebellion in Ceylon. While our own Tory government has been supplying the army with US helicopters, the Russians have sent MiGs, complete with air crews to bomb the insurgents.

The Indian government has loaned manned helicopters and, not to be outdone, Yahya Khan has allowed some of his crews to take time off from hunting the people of Bengal to do the same in Ceylon. The Chinese government, which has been sending Yahya repeated messages of support, has tacitly endorsed his actions.

In Ceylon, such weapons are being employed in the most barbarous manner. According to news reports, the army has 'ordered summary execution of prisoners believed to be rebels'.

One army officer told reporters that 'we take prisoners to the cemetery and dispose of them'. Another added, 'We have learnt too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia.'

America's rulers, who pioneered the most modern means of mass murder in Vietnam, have been only too eager to help the Ceylonese army. The British government also has rushed to co-operate.

So, too, have the Russians—no doubt seeing Mrs Bandaranaike's experience as akin to their own in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

The Ceylonese government responsible for the murder includes people who claim to be 'socialists'. For instance, according to the Morning Star, 'Mr Pieter Keuneman, a Communist and Minister of Housing' is a member of the new committee set up 'for reconstruction of the country' in the wake of the rebellion.

Other members of the government claimed until some years ago to be Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists. But then they came out, like the Communist Party, with the 'theory' that it was possible to get socialism via the 'parliamentary road'.

The people of Ceylon are now learning what this really means.

Politicians whose dedication to parliamentary methods stops them fighting big business are instead compelled to attack those who elected them. The so-called parliamentary road always turns into its opposite. Ordinary workers and peasants pay the price.

Another bitter lesson is being learnt. As in the Nigerian civil war and in the Jordan massacre of last summer, the rulers of Russia are prepared to work alongside the western powers to ensure foreign domination.

The message of Ceylon is that an end to exploitation and oppression requires the smashing of imperialism, east and west.

Background to Ceylon—Page 2.



THE POSTAL WORKERS AND THE TORY OFFENSIVE

Paul Foot

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Once again, the call for 'incomes policy'

CALLS for an incomes policy have continued to reverberate over the last week. The latest blueprint to receive publicity has been drawn up by Professor Hugh Clegg. Clegg is not an important figure, despite a background of serving on innumerable government enquiries. His significance lies in putting forward ideas that appeal both to sections of our rulers and to many national leaders of the trade unions.

The employers continue to be worried by the way in which rank and file militancy is forcing up wages.

Many trade union leaders would like also to see an end to the continual pressure for wage increases. They fear that growing rank and file unrest will make it more difficult for them to gain positions of prominence in society.

Finally, many ordinary workers suffer from the delusion that somehow incomes policy can help them.

It is important for militants to understand why incomes policy under capitalism can never be in the interests of workers. The claim of those who support incomes policy is that it will remove the present inequalities in society. It is said that if the government, the TUC and the employers got together, they could hammer out a scheme that would give pay increases to those who really need them—the lower paid—and at the same time stop prices rising.

But the fact is that while 2 per cent of the population own 80 per cent of the industrial wealth, the outcome of any incomes policy will be quite the opposite of such a scheme. If well-paid workers do without a pay rise, the pay of lower paid workers does not rise. All that happens is that profits go up. Attempts by the government to stop such a rise cannot work. The sums paid out to shareholders can be frozen at a fixed level. But all that happens then is that the profits pile up inside each firm, raising the value of its shares and enabling shareholders to make easy money through capital gains.

Nor can an incomes policy stop the upsurge in prices. Professor Clegg inadvertently admits this when he writes that the government should have 'power to control prices in exceptional situations'—in other words, most of the time it should not have that power. Again, the real reason is simple. Under capitalism, profits are the motor that drives the system forward. Rising prices are necessary to keep profit levels up as the scale of investment grows ever larger.

The only alternative would be decisive action to take industry out of the hands of a small minority dominated by the profit motive. But that is the last thing in the world wanted by those who preach incomes policy. What they are really talking about is a policy for holding down wages while prices and profits continue to leap up. That is why no worker should be fooled by their pretentious schemes.

THE BENGAL MASSACRE

EVERY DAY press and television bring more gruesome details of the putting down of East Bengal by the Pakistani army. What is taking place is not so much a military operation as a large-scale massacre. But more than mere moral indignation is needed when faced with such situations. We have to learn what lies behind such events.

The revolt of East Bengal is not an accident. For years Pakistan has been ruled by authoritarian governments based upon the army and representing the interests of big capitalists, landlords and bureaucrats from the Punjab.

These groups have been backed in their position of dominance by continual military 'aid'—both from the western powers and from China. An army has been built up that has dominated the whole country, robbing the people of Bengal, in particular, of the wealth they produce. In the elections in December all sections of the Bengali population showed that they wanted to end such exploitation. But they did so by voting for the middle class party, the Awami League, whose leaders wanted to end domination by the Punjab but were not keen on organising really massive resistance that might easily have escaped from their control.

They organised passive demonstrations but did nothing to prepare for armed resistance. Meanwhile, Yahya Khan was more serious. While talking to the League, he prepared his troops.

Few examples could make more clear the need in the so-called backward countries as well as in the advanced countries for genuine working-class based revolutionary parties if the struggle against exploitation is to be effectively carried through.

There is a second important lesson to be drawn from what is taking place in Pakistan. For years many socialists have accepted that the rulers of China have stood for world revolution. Yet while the people of Bengal fight for their lives against oppression, the Chinese Communist leaders have sent messages of support to Yahya Khan.

Insurgents are being shot down by troops who flew into Bengal via Chinese airfields, often armed with Chinese weapons.

The fact is the commitment of Mao to world revolution has never been more than verbal. His army freed China from domination by Chiang Kai-Shek and other puppets of the US. But this did not mean that the workers ruled China. Industrial workers played no role at all in the Chinese revolution. A new bureaucracy came to power, based upon old middle class elements that wanted to build up industry under their own control.

Mao's foreign policy has reflected this concern. Vague generalities about revolution in far off countries have been the order of the day. But so also have dirty compromises and agreements with reactionary regimes nearer at hand—with Sukarno in Indonesia and with the military clique in Pakistan.

Socialists everywhere have to learn that it is only by basing themselves on the needs of workers struggle against exploitation on an international scale that real progress can be made. Identification with particular bureaucratic regimes, however fine their words, only impedes the development of such a movement and leads to disaster.

Ceylon government gets aid from Britain and US

'SOCIALISTS' HIT OUT AT WORKERS

by Rohini Banaji

IN SPITE OF repeated assurances that everything is under control, Mrs Bandaranaike's government seems to be having some difficulty in crushing the insurrection in Ceylon. It has not only been receiving arms and ammunition from the British government, but has even abandoned its 'socialist' pretensions so far as to request military aid from the United States.

Its embarrassment is obvious from the fact that the deal has been done in an extremely roundabout way: Britain bought the helicopters from the US for a 'very reasonable' price and sent them to Ceylon. To complete the picture, the Indian government has supplied warships, now waiting off the coast of Ceylon, and seven helicopters complete with crews.

It is not quite so ready to help Bangla Desh, in spite of its pretended sympathy.

The economic and social structure of Ceylon today can be traced back to 1840, when the Waste Lands Ordinance of the British colonialists made it legal for whole villages to be destroyed to make way for plantations. The displaced villagers were not even allowed to work on the land which had been theirs.

Instead, cheap labour was imported from India. This had several consequences that are still important.

AT MERCY

Firstly, it distorted the economy of Ceylon till it was almost totally dependent on tea, which constituted 66 per cent of its exports and was at the mercy of prices on the world market.

Secondly, it completely changed the social composition of the countryside, which now consisted predominantly of immigrant plantation workers who lived in conditions of near slavery, and a landless working class who found seasonal work as agricultural labourers, but were chronically under-employed, and whose main cry has been for work, not land.

Another significant British policy was that of establishing schools of their own throughout the country to counter the native Buddhist education system, with the result that, unlike people in its other colonies, the Ceylonese had a high literacy rate and were therefore more receptive to revolutionary literature.

Moreover, after the Second World War, when the price of rice rose by 300 per cent, instead of raising wages they introduced a subsidised rice ration, anticipating a fall in prices.



Mrs Bandaranaike: broke pledge

Independence in 1948 changed nothing. The British colonialists handed over to a Ceylonese ruling class represented by the United National Party which was quite willing to carry out their policies.

The other political parties at the time were the Lanka Sama Samaja Party which had its main base among urban workers, and also began a successful campaign to unionise plantation workers, and the Communist Party, a small pro-Moscow group.

But the UNP recognised the dangers of an organised plantation workforce, and very soon deprived them of the vote.

Since the main battlefield of the LSSP was parliament, it gradually abandoned its work among the plantation workers. Its strength as well as its weakness was clearly shown in 1953 when, in order to stimulate agriculture, the government cut the rice subsidy. In protest, the LSSP organised a 'hartal', or total stoppage of work, which turned out to be much more militant than they had planned.

For a moment they had the chance to seize power. But their focus on parliamentary 'struggle' made them lose the opportunity.

A new political force entered the scene when SWRD Bandaranaike split from the UNP to form the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which cashed in on Sinhala and Buddhist chauvinism. The LSSP, which had until then stood firm on their policy of equal rights for the Tamil minority, had abandoned its original programme so far that in the pogrom of 1958 some of its members even joined in the burning, looting and killing of Tamils.

To complete the betrayal, the LSSP and CP leaderships formed a coalition with the communalist SLFP government. Only a small minority of the LSSP split away to form the LSSP (Revolutionary).

But communalism could only be a

temporary distraction from the urgent problem of inflation, caused by the falling price of tea on the world market. Successive governments have floundered on this problem, and the present coalition government, led by Bandaranaike's widow, came in more on the strength of a vote against the former UNP government than through its own popularity.

But like the Labour government in Britain, it made promises of reforms which have not been carried out—to nationalise foreign banks and the import-export trade, to set up workers' committees to participate in running the plantations, and to diversify agriculture.

On the strength of these promises it was supported in the 1970 elections by sections of the revolutionary left, including the People's Liberation Front (JVP) which was formed in 1964 and had for the first time organised the rural areas.

But once in power the government already deeply in debt to the International Monetary Fund, outlined other plans. The solution to the problem was, according to the fake Trotskyist Finance Minister, N M Perera, to finance the gap in the balance of payments with 'AID receipts, short-term credits, IMF, borrowing from foreign commercial banks, SDRR and suppliers' credits.'

They could hardly expect to obtain money from these sources if they were serious about nationalising foreign banks.

BRUTAL

The election programme was pushed aside, and the government has repaid its electoral supporters by breaking strikes with police force, shooting down plantation workers during a dispute and arresting socialists who demanded that it keep its pre-election promises. There were more than 300 arrests in the JVP alone.

The response to the mounting repression was a wave of attacks on government buildings and police stations, initiated by the JVP. The government reaction has been immediate and brutal, though not completely successful.

Its action in calling for British and US help has made it quite clear that it is willing to rely on them despite its 'radical' foreign policy.

The ruling classes of the Third World are only the national section of the world ruling class, and as such cannot consistently oppose imperialism.

The vital task for socialists in these countries is to build links between themselves so that, for example, it will be impossible for planes from W Pakistan on their way to Bangla Desh to refuel in Ceylon, or for the Indian government to supply helicopters and crews to bomb revolutionaries in Ceylon.

IN THE CITY

Big boom for stock market

WHAT a magnificent year it has been for the stock markets. Unemployment may be rising to a million, companies like Rolls-Royce may be collapsing, but in the good, old fashioned business of share speculation, the money still comes rolling in.

Indeed, the government already expects that in the tax year that has just ended, the amount of money made in capital gains will reach record heights.

It was, of course, a pretty miserable year for shares. Gloomy fears about the economy had sent share prices scurrying down to little more than three times their pre-war level.

It is however an illusion, peddled vigorously in the City pages of the popular press, to suppose that a fall in share prices means lower profits for the speculator. What the stock exchange gambler thrives upon is movement—whether up or down. In

fact, the biggest stock market profits of the year were made during the crash in the share price of Rolls-Royce.

How do they make money from falling prices? Quite simply, they reverse the normal procedure. In the case of Rolls-Royce, they simply sold shares when they were at heights like 60p. And then they bought them back at prices as low as 4p when the company collapsed.

But assuming that the gamblers are not equipped with time machines, how can they sell shares before they have actually bought them? Well, the Stock Exchange, ever mindful of its obligations, is quite happy to stand the normal rules of commercial behaviour on their head. Provided your bank balance is beyond reproach, it is quite permissible to sell shares first and then buy them back later to complete the deal.

The government's own figures show how gains from share speculation have soared year by year whatever the state of the market. When capital gains tax was first introduced in 1966, it brought in a measly £7.2 millions. It has more than doubled every year since then, reaching £127 millions in 1969. Last year, the government was expecting to receive about £150 millions.

These figures ignore receipts from the short term capital gains, which was pitched at a higher level. But this extra taxation on quick profits has now been abolished in the Budget.

The current stock market year has started on a promising note, though the future is still cloudy. Whichever way it goes, however, profiteering is certain to reach new records.

Arthur Millium

Fine Tubes: 44 weeks on strike for union rights

by Frank Clark

Fine Tubes Strike Committee

THE STRIKE at Fine Tubes of Plymouth illustrates the strange reluctance of the strongest trade unions to deal with a management that seems hell-bent on smashing trade unionism in the west of England.

The dispute, now in its 44th week, is already the longest in the engineering industry since the war, with the exception of the one at another American-owned firm, Roberts Arundel in Stockport.

Fine Tubes was a factory with very low rates of pay. With a basic semi skilled rate of £18.33½ (£18 6s 8d), average take home pay was only between £12 and £14. Even a skilled toolmaker would not take home more than £15 to £17.

TGWU and AUEW members in the factory began negotiations with the management for a substantial pay rise in the December before last. But these negotiations came to an end with a formally recorded failure to agree at Central Conference in York on 12 June. The owners of Fine Tubes were not prepared to concede decent wages.

Moreover, during the period of negotiations the management arbitrarily:-

1. Introduced job evaluation, despite union objection on lack of consultation prior to introduction.
2. Introduced on 1 January 1970, a

day shift and night shift - without consultation of shop stewards. (The company already had a day shift in existence, a double day shift and a three shift system).

3. At one stage withdrew union notice board facilities and the shop stewards' right to sign minutes of Consultative committee meetings.

Shop stewards made seven requests to meet the management between 12 and 15 June to start informal talks to prevent a mass walk out. These requests were refused. At 2.30pm on 15 June 172 men and women withdrew their labour. At the same time the strike was declared official by the two unions involved.

Ultimatum

At a meeting with the 53 strike-breakers, the management said it would remove all union representation from the shop floor and afterwards gave an ultimatum (on 30 June) to the 172 strikers to return to work or be sacked. The strikers held out and were dismissed. The next day the management began to take on non-union labour to replace the sacked men and women.

Perhaps the most baffling step of all was taken on 6 July - just after the management began taking on scab workers. It handed out to the scabs a 9 per cent pay rise, backdated four weeks with 4 per cent to follow in the autumn, plus staff status. This was after seven months of futile

negotiations with previous union representatives.

Meanwhile the position of the sacked workers was something of a paradox. They were on official strike, backed by their unions, but as far as the management of Fine Tubes was concerned, they were no longer employed by the firm.

Because of this, they could not draw unemployment benefit, and, since 30 June 1970 have existed on what social security benefits they could claim and strike pay, plus collections from fellow trade unionists.

In 1967 the managing director of Fine Tubes and one other director, signed an agreement with the two trade unions, which said, among other things: 'The management of Fine Tubes welcomes the role of the unions as laid down by the laws of England and the agreements concluded between unions and Engineering Employers' Federation,' and concluded, 'We jointly approve this declaration and will strictly adhere to the procedure, negotiations and the settlements of dispute therein set out.'

Yet since the dismissals, the management has ignored all approaches from local and national offices of the DEP, the local, regional and national executive of both unions, and the regional and national employers' federation.

It has also declined offers of conciliation by the president of Plymouth Trades Council, by Mr David Owen,

MP for Sutton Plymouth, by the Lord Mayor of Plymouth and by Mr Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC.

At the same time it has been visiting suppliers and customers who are likely to be forced by trade unionists to boycott Fine Tubes, assuring them that there is no strike and that contracts can be fulfilled.

The strikers have responded to this by sending out letters from Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, representing the two unions involved.

In the past weeks, one of the main suppliers to the firm, Chesterfield Tube Company, has blacked Fine Tubes. Other firms which have done the same include BAC, Hawker Siddeley, Rolls-Royce, United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, Doughty Engineering, Fords, Delamy Galey Scottish and Newcastle Breweries.

Oppressive

French trade unionists have now written to the strike committee asking for details about work done for the Concorde aircraft, so they can support us against an oppressive American employer.

What seems to the strikers to be a turning point is the decision made on 17 February 1970, by Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Solicitor General, during the debate on the Industrial Relations Bill: 'The Minister admitted that the Fine Tubes strike over terms and conditions of employment, would

be regarded under the terms of the Bill as a "fair strike", and he added "secondary strikes in support or in sympathy with that, remain fair".'

The strike committee regard this as an opportunity for all TUC registered trade unions to support without fear the Fine Tubes strike for the right of trade unionism.

Fine Tubes has many government-controlled firms as customers. But Robert Carr has allowed the firm to ignore his attempts at arbitration. Yet the behaviour of the firm has been such that even under the notorious Industrial Relations Bill it could have been prosecuted.

90 of the men and women who were sacked last June remain on strike. The rest have either found the economic pressure too severe or have taken other jobs. However, it is hoped that the management can still be defeated by blacking of their goods under pressure from the two unions involved.

The story of the strike illustrates what can happen to workers who have acted at all times according to officially laid-down procedures when faced with an unscrupulous management.

Those who would prefer to see solidarity winning through, no matter how long it takes, might like to give material support by sending a donation to the Strike Appeal Fund, c/o 48 Stuart Road, Plymouth, and by putting pressure on Fine Tubes suppliers and customers through your local group or shop.

'Left' saves NUT leaders on Tory Bill

SW Reporter

THE SCARBOROUGH conference of the National Union of Teachers last week left the union with an unclear attitude to the salaries issue. By restating last year's conference policy, verbal concessions were made to militancy.

But the timidity of the Communist Party in opposing the call to resist all forms of arbitration on salaries gave the executive a free hand to enter into a deal with the Department of Education and Science. This could mean an imposed salaries award below the government's wages ceiling.

But overshadowing the salaries debate was the threat of the government's anti union legislation. The withdrawal by leading Communist Party member Joe Finch of an amendment on the Industrial Relations Bill opened the way for the executive to confine conference to general agreement with the Croydon TUC decisions.

The amendment, seeking to commit the union explicitly to a policy of non-registration, was never put and leading left-wing executive members, including Communist Party members, spoke strongly for the executive line, arguing that this would leave the door open for the issue to be debated later.

In fact the right has already made up its mind. They mean to register. General Secretary Ted Brittain, wrote an article in the union journal called 'Why the NUT must register' and the executive has never repudiated him.



Max Morris: assimilated

The executive in fact was very anxious to persuade conference to reject a Hackney-Manchester motion calling for total non-co-operation with anti-union laws. They succeeded, with the help of the CP.

The muddled thinking that persuaded delegates to trust the executive in the fight against Tory union legislation re-appeared in the debate on the Teachers' General Council. An executive memorandum that sought to take the path of professionalism as opposed to trade union struggle was moved by Max Morris, the leading Communist Party executive member, and seconded by Dr Walter Roy.

Abandoned

The TGC is an anti-union stunt that will be state-controlled and is intended to give teachers the illusion that they are a 'self-governing profession'.

A reference back moved by Wandsworth and Hackney argued the case for strong unionism and said the employers will never grant teachers what they are too weak to win for themselves.

Morris' reply to the debate revealed how far the CP have abandoned



Teachers: militants prepared to strike or 'professional people'?

their traditional positions. 'The essence of the Wandsworth case is that the union is the sole avenue of progress,' he said. 'We believe in professional status. We can't achieve this without a professional council.'

With the left divided, the executive memorandum was accepted, though many delegates voted for it because they believed the union's terms were so stringent that the Department of Education and Science would never agree to them.

Linked to the idea of a self-governing profession was the demand for 'teachers' participation'. The executive was forced to give ground and agreed to produce for the next conference a document for the setting up of staff councils with elected staff representatives responsible for the running and local financing of schools.

In spite of being weakened by an executive amendment, the decision represented a positive step forward for teachers in running their affairs in collaboration with parents and pupils, along the lines argued for more than two years by the Rank and File group within the NUT.

On other important issues, delegates, in spite of the pessimism of the Communist Party at the start of the conference, showed their desire for action.

On class size and school buildings, the union is committed to direct action and a document will be presented to the 1972 conference spelling out how NUT members can effectively withdraw from operating the procedure for secondary selection in areas where grammar and selective schools still exist.

The weakness of all three motions lies in the relative freedom of

manoeuvre that the executive retains.

Certain broad conclusions emerge. When the left unite they can stop the old-style right from staging a come-back. Conference resisted an attempt to delete references to strike action from some motions.

Honest brokers

The executive can no longer rely on its right-wing to defeat militant policies. It has to use the sophistication of the Communist Party 'honest brokers' to do this.

It has taken only five years for Tony Crosland's comment at the Eastbourne NUT conference to come true, 'I see,' said the then Secretary of State for Education, 'that the NUT,

which can assimilate most things, has now assimilated Mr Morris on its executive.'

The assimilation has taken place to such an extent that Max Morris is reliably reported to be standing as a union presidential candidate.

Many Communist Party members are unhappy at the party's manoeuvres and useful discussions took place informally between Rank and File supporters and party members.

One thing was made absolutely clear at Scarborough. The only unequivocal and consistent fight for militant and realistic policies came from the Rank and File group. The big job now is to strengthen and extend the influence of the paper and its supporters groups.

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GREECE: FOUR YEARS OF THE



Why big business ended 'democracy' in Greece

by STEPHEN MARKS

**FOUR YEARS ago the pre-
tence of democracy came to
an end in Greece. A group of
colonels seized power to stop
the holding of elections they
feared the left wing might
win.**

Since then political parties have been banned. Thousands of leftists have been imprisoned on remote islands. Torture has become a normal part of political life.

How did this come about? The story of how the colonels were able to take power is full of lessons for us.

The story began at the end of the last war. Most of the Greek ruling class had collaborated with the Nazis, while the Communist Party led most of the resistance.

As the German army retreated it came to control most of the country, and looked set to form the post war authority. But Churchill and Stalin had other ideas. At Yalta they agreed that in return for Eastern Europe going to Russia, Greece would fall to British influence.

Civil war

Stalin ordered the Greek CP to allow the British army to establish the authority of the Royal government in exile, which promptly recruited the remnants of the armed pro-Nazi groups and used them against the guerrillas.

Civil war began when the guerrillas refused to disarm unless the extreme right were also disbanded. The civil war continued until 1949, when the guerrillas were bloodily suppressed, and denied help by both Stalin and Tito.

By this time America had replaced Britain as the dominant power. A series of right-wing governments were chosen and financed by the Americans. Behind a facade of parliamentary rule, the country was run by the army and the police.

Real power was with the Royal Court and the army officers. In the country districts, where most of the people lived, the police and the army kept close tabs on anyone suspected of left-wing sympathies, and prevented any political activity.

The Agricultural Bank, on which the peasants depended for credit, was tied in with the right-wing's election machine. The Communist Party was banned, political prisoners were kept in detention in island camps, and certificates of political reliability were needed for getting any government job, entering University, or even getting a driving licence.

The police kept an elaborate black-list of 'non-nationalists' with more than a million names on it. The trade unions were kept under

government control, with strong anti-strike laws.

In these conditions, any attempt, even by liberals, to install a 'genuine' parliamentary democracy and dismantle the rule of the secret police and the army, threatened to open the floodgates of suppressed revolution. When a section of the ruling class tried this liberalisation in the early 1960s, the result was violent opposition from the army and the King, and a political crisis ended only by the colonels' coup.

The economy revived, under the US-backed right-wing governments of the fifties, but the ordinary people did not benefit, and few new jobs were created. The peasants, kept in poverty and gagged politically, were forced to leave the countryside and look for jobs abroad.

Between 1955 and 1964, 7 per cent of the population emigrated. After 1958, emigration exceeded the birth rate. This suited the regime, as emigration acted as a safety-valve. And it suited foreign big business, as it meant a supply of cheap labour.

The situation began to change in the late fifties. Foreign capital began to carry out a number of investments in Greece itself which, by 1964, almost equalled in value the whole of the assets of Greek manufacturing industry. To give an example, in 1962 the Greek-American millionaire Pappas arranged an investment by Esso worth 190 million dollars in an oil refinery, steel plant and petrochemical complex in Salonica. When the project was completed, Pappas controlled a fifth of all Greece's manufacturing capacity. Other big investments were made by the French and the Japanese.

These new investors were not interested in the Greek economy as a market for their goods, but as a backdoor for the Common Market, and most of their investments were aimed at exports. So they dealt direct with the government, instead of through the local capitalists.

Opposition

This aroused the opposition of a section of local capital. Too much had been given away to foreign business, it was said. A more expansionist economic policy should be followed, so that the workers and farmers could buy more goods.

Another group also opposed these developments - the new middle-class of professional people and technocrats which had emerged in the 1950s, and wanted to see a modernised and efficient Greek capitalism, independent of the Americans.

At the beginning of the 1960s, both these groups found effective leadership in the old liberal politician George Papandreou,



On trial:

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what we stand for

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

We believe in independent working-class action, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow.

To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in rank and file control of the trade unions and the



regular election of all full-time officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

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

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

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers.

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 per week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

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

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

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

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

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

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. Over 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.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen/Clydebank/Dundee/Edinburgh/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling/Fife

NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Tees-side (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/

Bolton//Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth

SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

EAST
Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name

Address

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

The colonels takeover lessons for left everyw

THE COLONELS' DICTATORSHIP



Repression and torture of opponents is the hallmark of the military regime

Prime Minister who in 1945. Turned old age, he stumped after the defeat of his party in the 1961 election, announcing the ballot for a new democratisation, attacking corruption in

was broadened. The King was attacked, and denounced as a

was enough to unleash a repressed for 12 years. Massive demonstrations, strikes, in support of new elections. The King reached boiling point. King Constantine II was overthrown by a secret police force after a motorbike accident. In the end the King's New elections were won by a

economic policy of the government gave the class little to worry about. The right of mass involvement as the old police was slowly and

came to life. The King was ousted and democracy revived, became more militant, clashes with the King's pressure from the people mounted.

Papandreu's army and the police were reorganised. Papandreu, an economist at Harvard, led a pressing for further

to modernise the country. This could not be done without breaking with foreign army officers and the king.

workers who could do no more. Workers and peasants were

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has here

actuals had implications too dangerous for the ruling clique. The developing movement threatened to go beyond the limits of the politics of the Papandreu, father or son. It had to be stopped.

From 1965 to 1967, Greek politics was a series of attempts to do this within the parliamentary system. When this failed due to the splits within the ruling class, a coup was inevitable. The right understood the limits of parliament better than the left.

The colonels

The King was taken by surprise when the colonels took power. But he had planned his own coup for after the election. The colonels rapidly locked up all oppositionists from the Centre Union leftwards, suppressed all democratic and trade union rights, and also revised the Esso-Pappas agreement in favour of Pappas.

Pappas' brother Tom ran a fund, the Boston Pappas Foundation, which was used to siphon CIA money into Greece. And the same Tom Pappas is one of the chief backers of US Vice-President Spiro Agnew.

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But there is more to the colonels' regime than the CIA and torturing of prisoners. In its years of power it has done a great deal to get Greece ready for entry into the Common Market. It was in expectation of entry that much foreign investment had been attracted to Greece as a backdoor into Europe.

The Common Market's agricultural policy is based on driving out the small farmer and combining small farms into large. But half of the Greek population live on the land, and nearly all are small farmers. A law is used to put a ceiling on land holdings.

This has been removed by the colonels, who have also fixed agricultural prices at below cost for a small farm. The result? In the last three years, 300,000 people have been driven from the land.

But there is no livelihood waiting for them in the towns. The junta's policy of low wages and rising prices must make Heath's mouth water.

Since the coup, a strict wage freeze has been enforced by state-run unions. But the cost of living has gone up 20 per cent. Basic items such as water (supplied by a British-owned firm) electricity,

olive oil, and potatoes, have doubled in price.

And of course this doesn't encourage the growth of Greek industry. That would need cheap raw materials, energy, and food. The working day has been lengthened, and the number of fatal industrial accidents has increased five-fold. So for those driven off the land there is nothing to do but emigrate.

Germany is the most common place for Greek workers to emigrate. There are 330,000 there now, forming a part of the two million-strong immigrant workforce.

No rights

They are governed by similar rules to those the Tories want to bring in with their Aliens Act here. They must come for a specific job, and have no right to stay if they lose it, and must register with the police.

They have to live in factory-owned dormitories, six to one room, 12 yards square. For this they pay 200-250 marks a month. But their average rate of pay is 1 mark 80 per hour, as against 3.40 official minimum. And the German

unions only rarely intervene on their behalf.

The lot of Greek workers in Germany is not only a foretaste of Tory plans for immigrants here. It is also the other side of the coin to the domination of Greece by foreign capital.

Police state

When the left was smashed in the civil war, the Americans built a strong army-police state in Greece to keep the right on top and foreign capital in control. The opposition was led by sections of the middle class who wanted a modernised and independent Greek capitalism.

This was and is a dream. It could only be got by dismantling the army-police-monarchy set up and this could only be done by stirring up the workers and peasants against it, which could lead to revolution.

That is why, once the coup took place, the Americans supported it. That is also why since the coup the regime has followed policies so much in favour of the big international companies.

And that is why, though the colonels may disagree about how much 'liberalising' trappings to produce, and though America may ultimately prefer a return to the King, the dictatorship, whoever heads it, can only be replaced by the working class.

New party

For this a new workers' party is needed. The Communist Party before the coup followed policies behind the radical middle class. Now they have split, but both parts call for a unity of all 'patriotic anti-junta forces from the King to the CP'.

This cannot have much appeal to the Athens workers whose spontaneous strikes last summer made the government retreat on plans to abolish social security, and concede increases to bakery and building workers.

For the moment the best hope of building an organisation that could give some political lead to these struggles in future lies among Greek emigrant workers in Europe. This is important for militants in Britain as the Common Market makes European links essential to fight back against the employers' offensive.

The Greek colonels defend the rule of international capital. Their methods could be used against us tomorrow. The fight against them, for workers' power, is a part of the struggle for a socialist Europe.

REPRESSION

FOUR YEARS after the military coup, several hundred opponents of the Greek dictatorship remain in prison.

Even if the government kept its word and released most of those jailed on the island of Leros, there would still be:-

400 political prisoners who have been sentenced by military courts.

100 political prisoners awaiting trial before such courts.

150 people forced to live in remote areas - effectively prevented from earning a living or provided with sufficient income for survival.

FOR PROFITS

THE LONDON merchant bank of William Brandts has just arranged a loan of £75 million for the Greek regime which will 'correct some serious developments in the balance of payments'.

This is by no means the only example of companies that pretend to believe in 'democracy' and 'freedom' benefitting from the complete denial of both in Greece.

The American Esso-Pappas concern has investments in oil refining and steel mills.

The French firms Pechey-Aluminium and Saint-Gobin, and the German firms of Krupp (who, of course, had a very profitable association with an earlier repressive regime), AEG and Siemens have fingers in the pie.

So too do the shipping millionaires Onassis and Niarcho who have a £330 million investment agreement with the colonels.

Onassis profits from repression in other places besides Greece. He is still the largest single shareholder in Harland and Wolff, the Belfast ship-builders.

Oriental Jews protest over Israeli status

From a special correspondent

MORE THAN half of the Israeli Jews come from Africa or Asia. According to official Israeli statistics 38 per cent of them live three or more to a room whereas only 7 per cent of those who come from Europe live three or more to a room.

This fact gives a clue to the recent emergence of youthful militancy among the Oriental Jewish community in Israel. The situation is aggravated by the promises of excellent housing facilities which the Zionist establishment offers to the Soviet Jews.

'How long do we have to live 10 to a room while immigrants from the West are given two rooms for a family of three?' This and similar questions were uttered in a recent outburst by the Israeli Black Panthers in Jerusalem.

The figures of unemployment, low level of education, juvenile delinquency and unskilled workers among the Oriental Jews are

significantly higher (sometimes four or five times higher) compared to those of the Europeans.

It is not merely a fact but even an accepted view that the Orientals suffer discrimination. The official policy is against this discrimination, especially as Zionism attempts to fuse together the various Jewish communities, but the discrimination persists.

Most of the Oriental community lives in areas that can be described as 'planned slums'. Most housing in Israel is less than 20 years old and was planned and constructed by the Ministry of Housing and given to the new immigrants on a planned basis.

The new movement of protest started from the Katamon area in Jerusalem, where most houses are less than 20 years old. A number of youngsters, mostly in their early twenties drafted a leaflet with a list of demands

under the heading 'We are fed up!'

They decided to sign it in order to express both their militancy and their feeling of discrimination. The most appropriate name they could think of was 'Black Panthers'.

Bungled

This type of latent social unrest inside the Jewish community in Israel is not new, but it has been channelled usually into extremist nationalism and anti-Arabism. The Israeli establishment managed to absorb it temporarily by such symbolic gestures as appointing an Oriental Jew as Minister of Police.

But with the Panthers, the establishment bungled. The Panthers asked the police for a permit to hold a public meeting in the traditional meeting square of

the extremist nationalist Herut party. They were given a firm no for an answer.

When they decided to demonstrate there without permission, the police arrested 25 of their leaders, as well as 10 Matzpen militants who were blamed for the 'unrest'. It is quite true that Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organisation, had discussions with the Panthers, but it is also true that the Panthers are a genuine social movement, completely independent of any political group and expressing authentic grievances of the Oriental Jews.

That is the reason why the police had to release all the detainees within 24 hours, and why a demonstration which demanded 'release our comrades' was not assaulted by the police.

It is too early to guess how this movement will develop. In the past similar outbursts were absorbed by the Zionist establishment and diverted into anti-Arab channels. But there are

some interesting new developments.

When the non-establishment left, including the anti-Zionist Matzpen participated in a protest demonstration organised by the Israeli branch of the League for Human Rights, against the atrocities of the Israeli army in Gaza, a mob, including members of the Jewish Defence League from New York, assaulted the march with knives and knuckledusters.

Everybody was surprised when some of the Panthers turned up and beat back the attackers.

It remains to be seen whether this is a significant change or merely an accidental event. Meanwhile, activists of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee in London, together with some Black Power groups, handed a note of protest to the Israeli embassy in London. Needless to say, the first secretary—a European Jew—refused to accept the note.

HOW THE WILD WEST WAS REALLY WON

FRAUD AND MASSACRE USED TO ROB THE INDIANS OF THEIR LAND

by Colin Bailey

The horror of My Lai is nothing new. Massacres of innocent people have been committed before by the American army and a new film *Soldier Blue* is about one of those atrocities. It is a Western with a difference. Normally Hollywood has shown the heroic, 'good' cavalry desperately fighting for their lives against the savage, scalp-happy and 'bad' Red Indians.

This was never the case. *Soldier Blue* is a contribution to historical fact and is about the 1864 Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne Indians. The struggle between the cavalry and the Indians has been totally misrepresented by the myth of how the West was won.

The military defeat of the Indians and their eventual confinement to reservations was essential for the development and growth of American capitalism. It had nothing to do with 'good' or 'bad'. Before the Europeans came to North America the Indians were organised into many tribes such as the Sioux and the Apache.

The population of these tribes was never great and this was a direct result of their method of producing the necessities of life. Except along the coastlines, most of the Indian tribes lived mainly by hunting wild animals like the deer and buffalo.

Fishing, fowling and farming were less important. It has been estimated that three square miles of hunting ground were required to sustain each Indian.

This imposed narrow limits on the size of the population as each tribe had to occupy sizeable areas of land in order to support its members. Some tribes had to travel hundreds of miles on their hunting expeditions.

This continual search for hunting grounds inevitably led to the spreading of Indian tribes all over North America and meant that any attempt to confiscate the land away from them represented a direct threat to their very existence.

The only way in which the Indians could have overcome the restriction of food collecting was by the development of food production. This they never managed to do properly.

IMPOSSIBLE

They did not raise domestic animals like pigs, cattle and sheep. They did not invent the wheel or know about iron. Without animals and iron it was impossible for them to develop satisfactory ploughs or hoes.

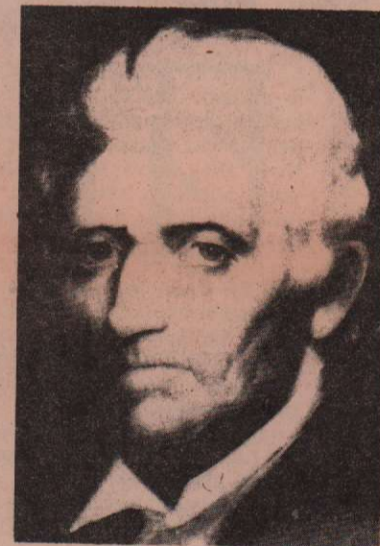
As a result, agriculture was unable to advance to a level where it could either replace the traditional reliance on hunting or yield sufficient food and grain to support large populations.

The Europeans, however, came to America with superior tools and methods of production. These advantages were to be of crucial importance during the Indian wars, especially in the fields of weaponry and in the ability to build towns and forts.

The Europeans also brought the idea of private property with them. Before they came there was not a single acre in North America that belonged to a private person.

The Indians did their hunting together and the product of their labour was more or less shared equally among all the members of a tribe.

The Indians refused to believe in private ownership of the land. The Shawnee chief Tecumseh said: 'Sell



Daniel Boone



General Sheridan



General Halleck

Three Western 'heroes' who helped destroy the Indians

land! As well sell air and water. The Great Spirit gave them in common to all.'

But the 'Great Spirit' of the Europeans had different ideas. Not only did they want ownership of land but also of people.

They frequently turned the Indians into slaves and, in Hispaniola, Columbus and his men overworked, starved and brutally exploited the local population so much that the number of Indians fell from 300,000 in 1492 to an actual count of 60,000 in 1508. By 1548 only 500 survived.

The conflict between the needs of the Indians for free land and the wishes of the Europeans to convert it into private property was the main reason for the wars.

BATTLES

One observer described the conquest of Kentucky as follows: 'Kentucky was claimed by no particular tribe of Indians, but was regarded as a common hunting ground by the various tribes, east, west, north and south. It abounded in various valuable game, such as buffalo, elk, bear, deer, turkeys and many other smaller game, and hence the Indians struggled hard to keep the white people from taking possession of it.'

'Many hard and bloody battles were fought and thousands killed on both sides; and rightly it was named the 'land of blood'. But finally the Indians were overpowered, and the white men obtained a peaceful and quiet possession of it.'

Following these battles two-thirds of modern Kentucky and a large slice of Northern Tennessee was illegally purchased from the Indians for £10,000 worth of goods by the Transylvania Company. This was controlled by an ex-judge and one of its well known advisers was Daniel Boone who was later to become a western 'hero'.

After the American Civil War, when northern capitalism took complete charge of the government, a tremendous onslaught was launched to drive the Indian people off their lands.

The former Civil War generals took command of this campaign and in a series of battles and massacres conquered the Indians. One historian called this period: 'the history of aboriginal extermination'.

General Halleck urged that the Apaches 'be hunted and exterminated' and General Sheridan said, 'There are no good Indians but dead Indians'.

Racialism played an important part in the campaign to deprive the Indians of their lands and destroy their way of life. It was used to justify massacres such as that at Sand Creek.

The Colonel in charge actually ordered his troops to murder women and children by remarking: 'Nits come from lice and both should be destroyed, young ones and all'.

Numerous treaties were negotiated with the Indians but more than 400 were broken. Tribes were allotted reservations and then driven off them.



Two Mandan Indians of 1872 who saw their whole tribe wiped out

Faced with powerful groups of landowners, the government complied with the robbery of the Indians.

In 1887, for example, Andrew Sparks, the Land Commissioner, was forced to resign after he had angered the cattlemen by ordering them out of Indian territory.

Having conquered the Indians by war, dishonesty and driving them into concentration camp-style reservations, the giant monopolies and huge landowners, some of whom owned millions of acres, launched a new campaign.

This time their victims were the poor farmers and pioneers. The aim was precisely the same. Capitalism wanted the land.

Homesteaders were driven off their property and sometimes range wars broke out between the landowners.

Opposition grew among the poor and unions were formed in the mining towns. The rich responded to this by hiring professional gunmen and by forming vigilante squads.

COURAGE

Strikes were smashed and in 1877 troops killed 20 workers and seriously wounded 29 others during a railway strike.

Having conquered the Indians, capitalism intensified its exploitation of the American workers.

Although the Indian people fought back with great courage and tenacity, they could not win. They lacked the numbers, the organisation and above all the productive capacity for carrying on sustained warfare.

The battle between capitalism and the Indians was a battle between two irreconcilable social systems. Capitalism needed to expand. Private property had to destroy communal property.

In 1883 the American Ethnology Bureau reported that the Cherokees 'felt that they were, as a nation, being slowly but surely compressed within the contracting coils of the giant anaconda of civilisation, yet they held to the vain hope that a spirit of justice and mercy would prevail in their favour'.

Their hope was in vain. 'The giant anaconda of civilisation' crushed its prey and swallowed it. By such food has American capitalism grown to the present strength that allows it to continue murdering and exploiting people throughout the world.

Every time more land was required the Indians were given smaller and more barren reservations. Any resistance was crushed. One of the main reasons for treaties being broken was the search for gold.

In 1874, for instance, huge deposits were found in South Dakota. The western part of this state was undisputed Sioux territory and in 1875 the government offered the Indians six million dollars to move out.

The Sioux refused to sell and the army responded by giving permission to prospectors to invade the Black Hills. One mining syndicate made over a third of a billion dollars out of these gold fields.

HURLED

The Sioux fought back against the breach of the treaty and the army invaded South Dakota in order to drive them out. In 1876 General Custer, who had led a massacre of Cheyenne at the Washita river in 1868, was defeated at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. This is popularly known as 'Custer's Last Stand'.

In addition to gold seekers, the Indians were driven off their lands by homesteaders, railway builders, cattle breeders and leather companies. Many of the tribes were hurled on to infertile and desert reservations, heavily guarded by US troops.

Sometimes individual government officials tried to prevent some of the excesses against the Indians but they were invariably unsuccessful.

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!



Oscars— puke of the year show

LAST WEEK, against a background of growing redundancies in the film industry, Hollywood once again handed out its incestuous accolades, the annual Oscar awards.

A more sickening spectacle would be hard to imagine. Men and women who have spent their professional lives hating one another and being as downright bitchy as possible about their colleagues, pretend to renounce their petty jealousies for a couple of hours of universal peace, love and brotherhood.

Apart from this totally false atmosphere in what is the nastiest and most ruthlessly competitive business in the world, the whole award-giving bandwagon stinks of an Old Boys self-congratulation society.

Famous stars announce the contestants, throw in the ritually dreadful couple of Bob Hope style jokes and then, with a great dramatic flourish, draw the name of the winner out of a sealed envelope.

Embarrassed

Worse is to follow. The shy, oh-so-totally-surprised winner stumbles on to the stage to make a carefully rehearsed spontaneous speech of embarrassed acceptance.

And as if this were not bad enough, this year Frank Sinatra received a special award for his services to 'charity'. Sinatra has made a huge fortune which, with the aid of his Mafioso advisers, he has invested wisely. Then, from the kindness of his heart, he gives a little of it away and receives an award for 'unselfishness'.

But this year there was just one small note of sanity in the nauseating charade. George C Scott, who won the Best Actor of the Year award for his role in Paton, impolitely told Hollywood what they could do with their Oscar and refused to accept the bauble.

Whatever his motives may be—and it could be that he doesn't want to be degraded by any kind of contact with such wonders of the screen as Love Story and Ryan's Daughter—Scott's action is welcome and overdue.

Puppets

Not that I blame particularly the individual actor or actress for accepting awards. They are just puppets in a commercial system that demands a 'top of the pops' league scale for its stars.

It is the whole system that reeks of insincerity, profit mongering and backstabbing. There has been a welcome move away from this spirit in the film industry both in Britain and America and it is to be hoped that farces like the Oscar awards are about to die a long-overdue death.

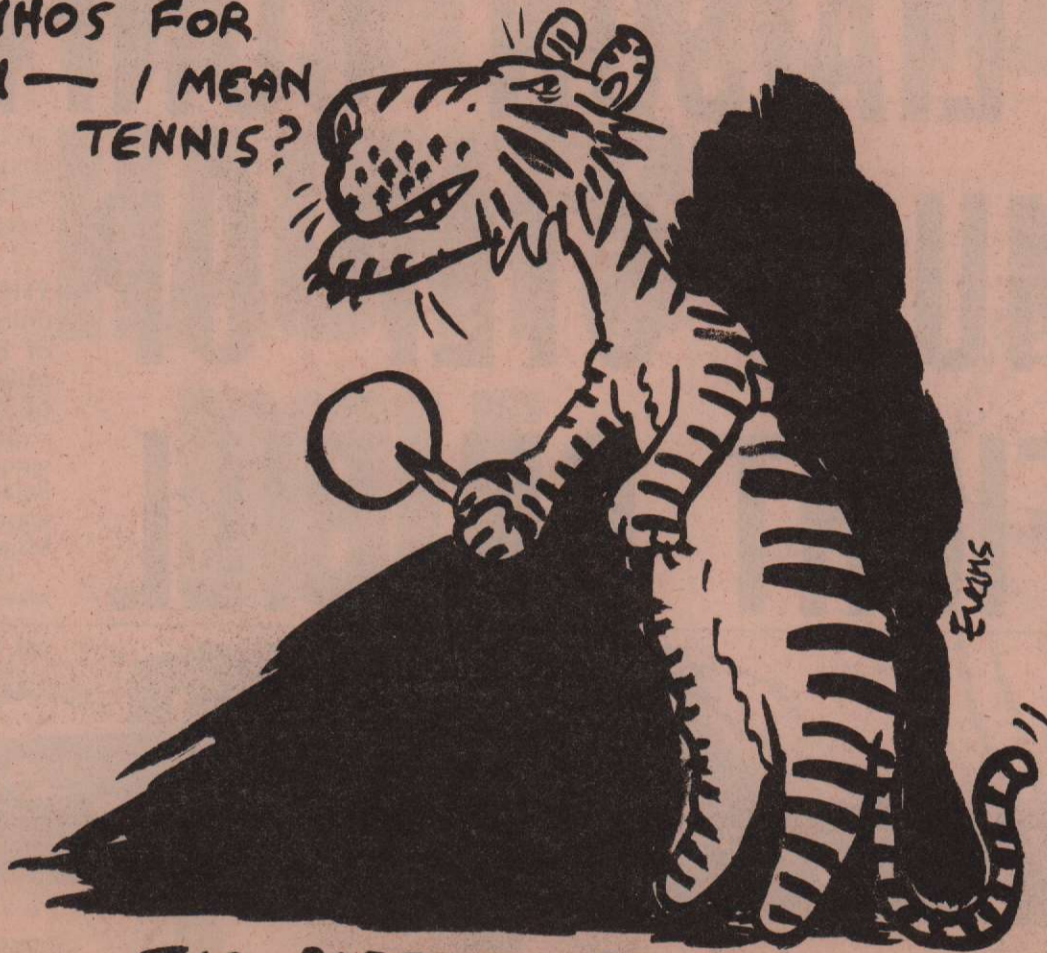
Fine actresses like Glenda Jackson, far from being complimented by such meaningless awards, are degraded. She doesn't need them and neither does anybody else.

Martin Tomkinson

NEW NUMBER

Socialist Worker has a new editorial phone number: 01-739 9043. Numbers for SW business (2639) and the International Socialists (1878) are unchanged.

WHO'S FOR
DIN — I MEAN
TENNIS?



THE PAPER TIGER...

COTTONS COLUMN

WE'LL SAY one thing for Securicor, the guard-your-profits, spy-on-your-workers outfit: their advertisements brighten up the grey boredom of the city pages.

The firm's top man, Mr Keith Erskine, penned the annual report that took up half a page in the posh papers last week and meandered between Moral Rearmament breast-beating ('Man was made for service as the sun for light'), clod-hopping poetry ('And we are here as on a darkling plain/Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight/Where ignorant armies clash by night') and a great deal of propaganda about the splendid treatment of the staff.

Workers and bosses are virtually indistinguishable, claims the proud Mr Erskine. The managers have no separate lavatories, canteens or heavily carpeted suites. They even travel on dangerous assignments with the bank protection brigade—which could be an added incentive for bopping them on the head.

So carried away is Mr Erskine that he even speaks of the Brotherhood of Man, as though the ideal had been reached within Securicor and should be followed by the rest of our palsied society.

But the image of Christian charity, equality and brotherly love is spoilt by a little homily: 'The other day I complained to my ski instructor about the bad snow conditions. 'It is good to ski on ice,' he replied, 'it makes the legs strong.'

Skiing holidays also demand a large wallet. Excuse our rather jaundiced view of Securicor's working utopia, but how many of their spies, dog-handlers, nightwatchmen and Barclayguards can afford a few weeks of alpine affluence?

TURGID TORIES in the London Borough of Hackney have refused to allow one of their members to fight



Pompidou: delicate matter

for a council seat on an 'anti-permissive society' platform. He is 55 years-old Mr Paul Daniels and he would like to campaign with the slogan 'Vote Labour for Crumpey'.

The local Tory agent said: 'His anti-permissive position is admirable but this slogan would be able to win votes for Labour.'

Sou-less

LAST AUTUMN a fire in a dance hall in the small French town of Saint-Laurent-du-Pont killed 147 young people. An American millionaire who owns a factory in France decided to send a donation to the families of the victims — a sum of about £10,000 which was despatched to the French government.

When the committee of parents of victims of the fire heard of this, and wrote to the government asking for the money to be forwarded, they were politely informed that 'since the parents of the victims have suffered no material loss to their

property', M Pompidou felt that handing over the money was a 'delicate' matter. So 'delicate' that the money is still in the hands of the French government.

Black Friday

WHILE South African sport is in turmoil with more and more cricketers raising the demand for an end to segregated matches, Mecca, the giant British dance halls combine, is doing its little bit to help prop up apartheid.

Mecca, which organises the appalling Miss World contest, has asked the competing countries this year to send a separate entrant from each of their 'racial' groups, so that Miss White South Africa and Miss Non-White South Africa won't feel quite so lonely.

Meanwhile, the South African Broadcasting Company has given another brilliant example of the logic of apartheid. It put on a religious play on Good Friday called Christ's Comet with both white and non-white actors taking part.

But in order not to upset the white establishment, the black actors recorded their parts first, left the studios and then the white cast read their parts into the tape. One white actor admitted that the system did make good acting rather difficult. We doubt if Mr Vorster noticed.

IS ROBERT CARR breaking the law? When an MP becomes a government minister he must give up any directorships, but the annual returns of John Dale Ltd do not contain the statutory notification that Carr has resigned as chairman of the directors since last June.

Stand by for the Board of Trade to prosecute John Dale... or not, as the case may be.



AT LAST, a chance to rave without qualification. In place of the nauseating Paul Temple on Sundays at 7.25, BBC1 are re-running some of the Somerset Maugham plays first seen on BBC2. If you have not viewed them before, here is an opportunity to see good acting, fine writing and sensitive production.

Somerset Maugham may be looked down on by the literary establishment for committing the cardinal sin of being a 'popular' writer, but his fame and fortune should not detract from his stature as one of the finest novelists of the century.

Maugham's outstanding gift was to show the English middle class at work and play, to pinpoint their strengths and weaknesses, their hopes and fears and their dreadful, all-pervading snobbery. His genius flowered when he dealt, from first-hand knowledge, with that strange, introverted section of the English middle class that administered the colonial empire.

The BBC series is faithful to the original, bringing out the latent cruelty and pathos of the mem-sahibs and the District Officers in Malaya, their in-built racialism that is a mixture of fear and contempt for the 'natives'.

The heat, the rain and the steam of the jungle seep out of the television, so strong is the feeling of watching a carefully-edited documentary rather than a play.

THE FEELING of utter reality is hard to capture on the small screen. Granada are attempting to get into the 'classics' market by beating the BBC at their own game and Sunday saw the start of a serialisation of Jane Austen's Persuasion. If the first instalment was anything to go by, the BBC has nothing to worry about.

Discomfort

The characters were all too clearly actors in costume, the men looking particularly ill at ease in their period frippery. The obvious discomfort of the cast did not help strengthen an anaemic plot about the financial distress of the landed gentry during the Napoleonic Wars.

I have to confess that night starvation overcame me at an early stage and I departed for bed with my Horlicks.

NOT to be outdone by ITV's current craze for 'tough at the top' tycoons, BBC has launched a new 19-weeks series on Mondays called Brett, with Patrick Allen, star of a thousand commercials, as a working-class lad who has clawed his way to the top of a powerful combine with hinted at indiscretions in his past.

The first episode had our hero fighting to win control of an ailing Sunday newspaper because of his commitment to truth, a free press and a burning hatred of seeing men out of work. It has to be said that Brett has few imitators in the real world of big business and high finance.

Credulity was stretched to breaking point several times, particularly when Brett was applauded by an audience of printers and journalists, moved by his powerful oratory and belief in crusading newspapers.

And when Brett is told that, at talks on possible redundancies, the National Union of Journalists had raised a few objections, I knew that we were firmly in the realm of fantasy.

Brett will wile away 50 minutes on Monday for you if you are so disposed and it is preferable to much of the gratuitous violence that passes for entertainment on the other channel. But it is a sad reflection on the mentalities of the telly tycoons that their idea of a hero is a rogue and a crook in most people's language.

David East

Women strikers out 8 weeks

DUNDEE:- 42 women have been on strike for eight weeks at the medical supply firm of Hogg and Ross. They are members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and the strike is official.

The managing director, Ross, imposed an incentive pay scheme without negotiation. In effect, he is refusing to recognise the union.

When the women walked out, Ross said he was sacking them. He has filled the factory with scab labour and has even

refused to admit that there is a dispute.

Drivers and dockers in the Transport Workers' Union started to black the factory but an injunction was threatened against the dockers' employer who in turn said he would sue the TGWU. As a result, the TGWU has withdrawn its blacking instructions to its members.

The strikers are hoping that top level official support for them will come this week from the conference of the Scottish TUC, which is meeting in Aberdeen.

The threat of an injunction provides a foretaste of the Industrial Relations Bill under which blacking and sympathy strikes will be illegal. The unions must fight this all the way and refuse to be blackmailed.

The affair is a serious threat to union organisation in Dundee. In view of the high unemployment rate, employers can easily recruit scab labour.

Messages of support and donations to: The Treasurer, Mrs M Brand, 42 Laird Street, St Marys, Dundee, Scotland.

Militants shake NUJ leaders

DELEGATES to the Bournemouth conference of the National Union of Journalists last week learnt one important lesson: that the press is just as liable to misrepresent them as any other section of the trade union movement.

According to press reports, the conference was an orgy of back-slapping for the leadership. Reality was rather different: the three-day meeting marked one setback after another for the executive, setbacks that underlined the growing militancy and maturity of an organisation dismissed usually with derision by other trade unions.

The delegates voted, against the platform's advice, for parity with Fleet Street rates in all future pay negotiations, for restructuring of the union to give more autonomy to magazine and regional newspaper sections and for a demand that the Daily Mail be forced to improve on its manning scales for the new paper to cut back on redundancies following the closure of the Sketch.

Escaped

The conference also called for work-sharing in Fleet Street to absorb some of the redundant workers.

General Secretary Ken Morgan escaped a vote of censure on his conduct during the Mirror-Sun strike by a mere 50 votes out of 400 delegates and an attempted standing ovation by his toadies on the executive received scant support from the floor.

And the entire executive was censured for its role in the more recent official strike in Darlington. NUJ members were promised two-thirds strike pay before the dispute but were given only half-pay when they came out. A handful of blacklegs are still working for the Darlington papers and are receiving the increase awarded at the end of the strike.

The growing strength of the militants in the union was seen in the voting for the editorship of The Journalist, the official union paper. Veteran Communist Party member Allen Hutt, whose policies are virtually indistinguishable from the right wing's, has had the job without challenge for 25 years. But this time he won by a mere 10 votes over Ron Knowles of the giant Magazine and Book Branch.

Registration

Another M&B militant, Bill MacGregor, came a close second in the voting for the vice-presidency. Both votes indicate that the right wing could well be defeated in a year's time.

In elections to the executive council, Fleet Street journalists threw out their two right-wing members and replaced them by militants, including Bryn Jones, Father of the Chapel at the Daily Mirror.

The conference overwhelmingly condemned the Industrial Relations Bill, but the executive managed to have a motion demanding non-registration remitted in order not to 'tie their hands'. But a motion was carried instructing the leadership to fight for a policy of non-registration within the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, the umbrella organisation of all printing unions.

'LIAISON' CONFERENCE MUST STEP UP FIGHT ON BILL

SW Industrial Correspondent

THE FIGHT against the Tories' proposed anti-union laws must go on—this should be the theme of Saturday's important conference in London called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

The Croydon decisions of the special TUC were a serious setback in the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill. The refusal of the trade union leaders to organise effective action to stop the Bill becoming law has paved the way for the legislation to be introduced.

This means that a serious and committed campaign must be organised to oppose any co-operation with the

Tory Bill when it becomes law. The campaign must insist:-

1. That no union registers.
2. That the Industrial Relations Court and its local tribunals, together with the Commission on Industrial Relations, should be boycotted.
3. That no union pays any fines or accepts any government-imposed secret ballots or cooling-off periods.
4. That no legally binding contracts are signed.
5. That all strikes are made official and that blacking of goods and sympathy action be fully supported by union executives.
6. That the closed shop be maintained and state-imposed 'agency shops' opposed.
7. That industrial action be taken if any worker is victimised by the law and that local Councils of Action be set up to organise this defence.

NO COMPROMISE

The Liaison Committee Conference should adopt a militant programme such as this and fight to ensure that no compromises or retreats are allowed on these issues. The remarks of Jack Jones, secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, that his union will probably have to register if unions like NALGO decide to, must be countered.

And the attitude of some Communist Party members at last week's conference of the National Union of Teachers should be condemned (see page 3). There can be no retreat on the question of non-co-operation.

It is also important that delegates to the conference should fight for the demand of a one-day national strike on the day the Bill becomes law.

MASS DEFIANCE

This may well be difficult as there is an obvious hostility among many workers to the idea of yet another one-day strike. Nevertheless, such a stoppage would be tremendously important.

It would not be just another protest strike. It would be a day of mass defiance and would prove, because the Tories could not fine or jail all those who took part, that united action can make the Bill unworkable.

And such action would also show how to fight the legislation in the months ahead. Delegates must ensure that the Liaison Committee conference gives a fighting lead in the campaign to kill the Bill.

NOTICES

IMPORTANT:-Meeting of IS members going as delegates to Liaison Committee Conference, 7.30pm Friday 23 April at Cottons Gardens. Admission by card only.

LONDON IS BRANCHES:-every branch to send minimum of two members to sell and distribute leaflets at Liaison Committee conference, 24 April, 8.30am, Central Hall, Westminster. Contact Chris Harman on; 739 1878.

THIS FRIDAY (23 April) debate on the Industrial Relations Bill. Vincent Flynn (SOGAT A), Bert Ramelson (CP), Stan Newsen and Roger Protz (IS). Bulls Eye pub, town centre, Basildon, Essex.

LONDON IS branch secretaries meeting Sunday 25 April, 2.30pm at Cottons Gardens. All branch secretaries MUST attend.

SWANSEA Liaison Committee for the

Defence of Trade Unions: Bernadette Devlin MP on the Industrial Relations Bill. Patti Pavilion, 2.30pm Saturday 24 April.

EDINBURGH IS invites all trade unionists and socialists to meeting on the Common Market. Discussion led by Irene Swan (Communist Party) and John Palmer (IS). Top lounge, Trades Council Social Club, 11 Albany Street, 7.15pm, Wednesday 28 April.

GLASGOW IS public meeting, Thursday 29 April. John Palmer on 'the national interest' and the workers' interest. Iona Community House, Clyde Street 7.30pm.

WIGAN IS: Roger Protz, editor of Socialist Worker, on the Millionaire Press. The Raven, Wallgate, 8pm, Thursday 29 April.

DONT FORGET: Vietnam Solidarity Committee march this Saturday, 24 April, Trafalgar Square 3.30pm.

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd (TU all depts). Registered with the Post Office.



Tyne shipyard men strike for parity

NEWCASTLE:- 400 fitters at Swan Hunter's ship repair yard are in the seventh week of strike action and a further 600 fitters in the main shipbuilding yard have been out for a month. The dispute threatens to bring the whole yard, with 11,000 workers, to a standstill.

The strike is for parity of wage rates with boilermakers. This could mean a rise of £5 a week to bring fitters up to a basic rate plus bonus of £29.

The strike is so solid in the repair yard that the men have decided not to talk to the management again until 7 May. The managing director of the repair yard was transferred recently from Swan Hunter's Clyde subsidiary of Barclay Curl, where fitters are already on a £32 week.

The AUEW has declared the strike official and a ballot is being taken for a levy of 25p a week from members in the Blythe and Tyne district of the union. If the ballot is successful, the strikers would receive £9.25 a week.

Donations and messages of support to: The Treasurer, T Ryan, 5 Kelso Gardens, High Howdon, Wallsend, Northumberland.

Tobacco men demand rights

ENGINEERS and carpenters at the Basildon, Essex, tobacco factory of Carreras, seen demonstrating this week against the South African-owned company's lockout of 124 men. The dispute began in February when the workers demanded a 37½ hours week in common with the rest of the work force. Engineers and carpenters had a 40 hour week.

RAILMEN MUST STOP RETREAT OVER WAGES

by John Field NUR

THE National Union of Railmen after a 12-12 vote split on the executive is to 'seek the feelings' of branches on the British Railways Board's pay offer of 8½ per cent. The Locomen (ASLEF) and the Salaried Staffs have accepted the offers made to their members.

The story of the railmen's pay claim has been one that has threatened to thoroughly discredit the NUR in the eyes of its members. Firstly, it failed to co-ordinate its response to the management with the other rail unions.

Then, when the locomen started a work-to-rule in an effort to raise the offer, the NUR refused to take a firm stand in support of their action, which was probably a factor in ASLEF's acceptance of the offer. Now, the NUR itself is hopelessly split over the meagre 8½ per cent offer.

No strike clause

This leaves the initiative entirely in the hands of the rank and file of the union. All this week and next, NUR branches will be discussing the offer.

Militants must make every attempt to push the executive into following its original (and now seemingly forgotten) demand for an all-round 25 per cent rise in pay. They must also demand that the talk that has been going on for a 'no strike' clause is dropped at once.

It is urgent that these demands go through every single NUR branch during the next fortnight. Firstly, if the NUR

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