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THE TORY TORTURERS



HEATH:
he gave
go ahead
to Faulkner

UCS: stewards retreat

by Steve Jefferys

GLASGOW:-After months of publicity for the fight to stop the Tories butchering the four yards of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the leading shop stewards last week reached a shady agreement with Tory Minister for Trade and Industry John Davies.

Davies guaranteed that the orders placed with the new Tory mini-company Govan Shipbuilders—which includes only the Govan and Linthouse divisions of UCS—would be fulfilled. And Hugh Stenhouse, the ex-Treasurer of the Scottish Tory Party, and new chairman of Govan Shipbuilders, agreed to conduct a 'feasibility' inquiry to see if the new company would employ additional workers at the Scotstoun division. In return for these 'concessions', the senior stewards agreed to discuss the future of the Clydebank division (John Brown's) separately and to enter discussions on productivity and wage rates with Govan Shipbuilders.

Smeared by Reid

In the face of the Tory threat to send even the Govan and Linthouse division to the wall, the stewards' committee backed down. All their fine words came to nothing. They still want all four yards to stay open but are ready to co-operate with the government on the basis of separating Clydebank.

A John Brown shop steward who opposed the committee's recommendation was smeared by stewards' chairman Jimmy Reid. Reid, a prominent member of the Communist Party, asserted that those arguing for more militant policies to fight the Tory butchers had gone 'so far to the left as to become part of the right.'

Attack witchhunt

He also said that it was no longer vital to fight to keep UCS intact. When the Labour Party came back to power at the next general election, he added, they would nationalise and reunite the yards.

Those in the labour movement in favour of unity in the fight against the Tories should protest at Reid's witchhunting attack on a fellow shop steward. And any tendency to argue 'Let's leave things to Labour' should equally be opposed.

This week's statement by Ken Douglas, ex-UCS boss and now Govan Shipbuilders deputy chairman, shows how dangerous these developments are.

Speaking to the Scottish TUC inquiry, he confidently estimated that only 5500 workers could be employed by an expanded Govan Shipbuilders—if double-day shift working was accepted. Otherwise only 4500 would stay.

The only way forward is a sit-in strike and occupation to demand that all the yards are kept open

Anger sweeps the mines over NCB pay insult

by Garvin Reed NUM

ANGER swept Britain's coal fields following the Coal Board's derisory 7 per cent pay offer. Even the traditionally less militant Nottingham area registered disgust.

In Yorkshire the area council of the miners' union met on Friday to discuss the national executive's recommendations, put to a delegate conference this week. They are: an overtime ban, a ballot for strike action and withdrawal from all consultative machinery.

All Yorkshire branches will meet over the weekend to implement these decisions and the overtime ban is likely to start on Monday, ahead of time, because feeling is running so high.

The overtime ban should be seen as a preparation for strike action. Every effort must be made to get a massive vote for a strike in the forthcoming ballot. It is the only way to win an improved offer.

ONLY A FOOL would say no one could break under the treatment. I have seen grown men crying and young fellows pleading to scrub the floors, clean out the toilets, because of the pressures of the detention room

No one who reads the revelations of Tony Rosato, a second-year history student at Belfast University, and the statements of 10 other internees in the Sunday Times of 17 October can doubt that the Northern Ireland state in its 50 years existence has made substantial progress in at least one area: the techniques of torture.

Simple beatings-up as practised by the Royal Ulster Constabulary 30 or 40 years ago have now been proved outdated and ineffective.

What is required in Ulster '71 is 'mental disorientation'—which means, quite simply, the destruction of the mental processes until the tortured man is no longer responsible for his mental reflexes.

Three of the 11 men who made the statements printed in the Sunday Times have since been released. One is now in a mental asylum, and may be there for a very long time. The other two are utterly broken, only just capable of remembering the worst of the treatment they received.

FORCED

Every politically-minded person in Belfast (and that means almost everyone now) knows that the torturing of internees has now been handed over exclusively to the crazed Orangemen of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

No one in this country, however, can shrug off the responsibility on to the RUC and leave it at that. For the real torturer lives in Downing Street, London, SW1, and his most powerful accomplice sits slobbering in the Home Office.

Very little publicity was given to the visit to London on 7 October of Brian Faulkner, Northern Ireland Prime Minister. Faulkner had been at Chequers only a few days before for talks with Heath and Lynch. He was forced to make this other visit so soon, because the British army terrorists were not winning the war against the IRA fast enough to keep Mr Faulkner in office.

SUPPORT

Faulkner pleaded with Heath to take off the last remaining brakes on repression in the Six Counties. He asked for a battalion and a half more men (with more to follow). He asked too for an end to the 'long haul' strategy and adoption of a policy of 'no-holds-barred'.

Of course, Prime Ministers in civilised countries do not discuss methods of torture. No doubt Faulkner spoke, as army and police spokesmen in the Six Counties have done, about the need for 'improved channels of information'.

No doubt Heath got the point. At any rate, Faulkner went home clear in the knowledge that whatever nasty stories emanated from the 'interrogation centres'.

by
PAUL FOOT

he could expect the full support of Her Majesty's Ministers in London.

Heath's version of 'individual liberty'—to which the Tories claim they are committed—is now in action at Palace Barracks: The seizing of men from their families without trial or charge, and the systematic shattering of their minds.

A senior intelligence officer in Belfast recently described internment as 'a washing machine'. No longer is it used simply to keep 'dangerous men' out of harm's way. Now it is used to 'wash out' people who may be able to provide information about the people fighting to clean British imperialism out of its last festering backyard.

This is the reality behind the Compton Commission of inquiry into brutality at the time of internment. According to the Sunday Times, the terms of reference of the Compton Commission were 'specifically designed' to exclude the treatment of internees after they had been served with a detention order.

LUNATIC

This is the reality, too, behind the recent visit of MPs to Northern Ireland. The visit was organised and scheduled by the Northern Ireland government. The deputation were let into Long Kesh concentration camp, but were not even informed of the existence of Palace Barracks.

By skilful use of the media, the governments in Northern Ireland and Britain ensured that only the lunatic comments of the former butcher of Aden, Lieutenant Colonel 'Mad Mitch' Mitchell, were given any publicity. The complaints of Sid Bidwell were almost totally ignored.

Too often, socialists in Britain have read of tortures in colonial wars and have written them off as horrors of the past.

Now it is happening here. It is being sanctioned by the British government. Heath told the Tories at Brighton that the police in the Six Counties were the best in the world.

Immediate action is necessary from all sections of the labour movement to stop the tortures, and to put an end to the internment which gave rise to it.

The 76 Labour MPs who voted against the government's Irish policies must now



demand an independent commission from the labour movement which can visit Northern Ireland without restriction to investigate the allegations. They must continue to press for an end to internment. Trade union branches must declare themselves, as must student unions.

On 31 October, the Anti-Internment League is staging a mass rally in Trafalgar Square to protest against internment and government policy in Ireland. It is the duty of all socialists and trade unionists and Irishmen to ensure the maximum attendance at this rally.

The people who are fighting in the streets of Belfast and Derry and the socialists and republicans throughout Ireland who are struggling to rid their country of imperialism need to know that there is in Britain a vast throng of ordinary people who have nothing but hatred and contempt for their government.

Devlin pickets No 10

BERNADETTE DEVLIN, Independent MP for Mid-Ulster, seen on Monday night in Downing Street, picketing the Prime Minister's residence in protest at the torture of internees in Northern Ireland. She staged the protest with Frank McManus, MP and other supporters.

On Tuesday three opposition MPs from Stormont, the N. Ireland parliament, started a 48-hour hunger strike outside No 10 in protest against Britain's role in the Six Counties.

And on Wednesday Miss Devlin and Mr McManus said they would call on Irish workers in Britain to support a campaign in London to bring home the full implication of Tory policies in Ulster. They planned a march on Fleet Street on Thursday to protest at press distortions of news from N. Ireland.

All out 31 October!

Anti-Internment League Rally: Assemble Speakers Corner 3pm: Release the prisoners—withdraw the troops

Socialist Worker

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Labour gets Heath off the Market hook

LEADERS of the Labour Party next week will make sure the Tory government stays in office. That is the only possible conclusion now that Heath is unlikely to get a majority from his own party in the debate on Common Market entry on 28 October.

Heath is worried. He has agreed to a free vote for Tory MPs in an attempt to get Labour to do the same and allow Roy Jenkins and his group to vote with the government without any threat of disciplinary action.

But Heath also knows that despite the manoeuvres and the speeches of other Labour leaders, they do not take Jenkins' desertion too seriously.

It does not require any great insight to understand the reasons for Wilson's behaviour. He knows that he has to make loud anti-Tory noises if he is to benefit from the general unpopularity of the government's policies. But he is also aware that all Heath's policies were pioneered by himself only 18 months ago. Further he knows that if he were re-elected to power he would be compelled by very powerful forces within big business to follow in the Tories' footsteps.

For Wilson, the anti-Tory stance is part of an elaborate game he is playing to win votes. After all, if he is ever prime minister again, he will by that time be able to pretend that it is too late to withdraw from the Common Market.

Jenkins is unwilling to play his part in the game at this particular moment because of his deep attachment to big business's aim of Common Market entry. Wilson feels that he personally cannot afford electorally to behave in the same way. But in reality they are united in their determination not to ruin the game completely by making hard and fast commitments on the policy of a future Labour government or to upset big business by ensuring the defeat of the Tory government.

Wilson's behaviour is only to be expected. More surprising to some people will be the behaviour of the so-called 'lefts' in the Labour Party.

Tribune, for example, has praised a 'new mood of tolerance' which showed itself at the Brighton conference. In other words, they accept Wilson's amicable arrangement with Jenkins to allow him to support the Tories. Few things could better illustrate the bankruptcy of those who claim that socialism, or even reforms for the working class, can be won through 'pressurising the Labour Party'. Wilson has only to nod in their direction and they are prepared to 'tolerate' those who stand for keeping the Tories in power.

The leaders of the Labour Party, 'left' as well as 'right', are completely incapable of fighting the Tories. That makes all the more important the building of a movement—above all at rank and file level in industry and the trade unions—that is really prepared to struggle to force out the present government and to take action to stop any Labour alternative continuing the same policies.

TORY LIES ON JOBLESS

AT THE TORY PARTY conference last week, the Chancellor, Anthony Barber, inadvertently let slip the real reason for the government's policy of encouraging unemployment. He made a direct appeal to unemployed workers to turn against those with jobs.

'Every man who is out of work today', he said, 'should go to those who still have jobs and say this to them: "You are the majority. You have the power to stop these strikes which are clearly unjustified, and you have the power to stop unreasonable pay demands—for your sake use it".'

He is simply trying to use the unemployed to cut wages. But his arguments are deliberately false.

Firstly, recent wage demands have by no means been 'excessive'. Over the last year average earnings have risen by 11.5 per cent. That might seem a lot, until you remember that prices have risen by 10.3 per cent in the same time.

And that is not all. When prices rise, they really rise. But when wages go up an average of a third of the rise is taken straight back by the government in increased tax and national insurance contributions. In other words what the average workers can buy with his wages has been falling over the last year.

Nor is it true that wages are responsible for prices going up. You don't have to read the works of extreme leftists to expose that lie. Just re-read the Tory election manifesto of last year, which correctly pointed out that, 'Britain now faces the worst inflation for 20 years. That is mainly the result of tax increases and devaluation.'

Edward Heath himself at that time was prepared to let the truth slip, as when he explained on 16 June 1970 that, 'The wage explosion is the way in which, when all else fails, those who are able to do so protect their living standards.'

Of course, the Tories are now in power and feel compelled to blame workers for what is happening rather than government policies or the workings of big business. But that does not make their claim that high wages are causing unemployment any more true.

After all, the fact is that unemployment is highest in precisely those areas of the country where wages are lowest.

The real responsibility for unemployment lies not with high wages but with something else completely—with the determination of the Tories to push up profits by any means at their disposal. Heath admitted as much in a speech in April, when he said that, 'Jobs depend on making it possible for firms to earn profits.'

The working class movement should reply to him that if that is the case under the present system where 2 per cent of the population own 80 per cent of industry, then we will prepare to get rid of that system and replace it by one in which those who create the wealth control its use, to ensure that it is used for our benefit and not for the inhuman and destructive demands of profit.

GUERRILLAS SHAKE GRIP OF PORTUGAL IN WEST AFRICA

by Polly Gaster

'PORTUGUESE' GUINE, on the west coast of Africa, is one of the smallest countries on the continent (approximately the size of Scotland) and one of the most backward—after 500 years of Portugal's alleged 'civilising mission' the territory held the world record for illiteracy at 99.7 per cent.

Yet it is here that a struggle is taking place vital for the whole future of Africa. In Guinea the white supremacist alliance of Southern Africa, backed by western capitalism, is being decisively challenged.

While armed struggle to a greater or lesser extent is taking place in all the territories under white minority rule, it is furthest advanced in the Portuguese colonies, and most of all in Guinea.

The liberation movement here, PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verdes) was formed in 1956 under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral. After Portuguese troops broke a strike of dock workers in the capital, Bissau, in 1959 by massacring more than 60 people, any hope of peaceful change was abandoned and organisation for armed struggle began.

Intensive political work in the villages of Guinea over the next four years built a firm base of support for the movement. A



CABRAL: visit to Britain

Portuguese campaign of terror in which PAIGC militants were imprisoned or killed and villages burned failed to intimidate and in 1963 guerrilla warfare was launched.

Within a short time the Portuguese found themselves deprived of control over large areas of countryside and forced to retreat into the major towns and military outposts.

STRONG FRIENDS

Now, after eight years of war, PAIGC controls over two-thirds of the territory and in the liberated areas had initiated far-reaching educational and health schemes. It is constructing an economic system designed to meet the needs of the African people, not those of their colonial masters.

Portuguese propaganda presenting the movement as 'a handful of terrorists' making hit-and-run raids from across the border, is belied by the huge size of the Portuguese army in Guinea (30,000 troops

for a population of 800,000), and by Portuguese military communiques that admit PAIGC attacks on Bissau and on the country's second town, Bafata.

Fascist Portugal has strong friends, however, and PAIGC is well aware that it is not simply fighting Portugal—the battle is against imperialism. Without the active support of South Africa and the NATO powers, Portugal would find her three wars in Africa quite beyond her resources.

The facilities and weapons provided by NATO are perhaps the greatest single factor hindering the liberation of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

The extremists of NATO would like to see an even greater support effort for Portugal for, as a NATO publication of 1968 put it: 'Portuguese Guinea is the last territory in West Africa possessed by a NATO power and should be considered in relation to the vital Cape route and the strategy of Western resistance to tricontinental subversion'.

Next week, Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, visits this country on his first speaking tour. As well as being the leader of the most successful liberation movement on the African continent he is also widely acknowledged as a leading theoretician of the African revolution. No socialist should miss this opportunity to hear him.

Amilcar Cabral speaks in London on Tuesday 26 October, Central Hall, Westminster, 7.30 pm, in Leeds on Thursday 28 October at the Riley Smith Hall, Students Union, at 1 pm and in Manchester that evening at the Free Trade Hall, 7.30 pm.

Tax: one law for rich another for poor

OF ALL the many anomalies and examples of injustice perpetrated on low and moderately paid workers under this wretched capitalist system, one of the worst is the method of income tax payment.

As we all know, the above unfortunate section of the community—one of those Mr Heath promised to 'unify' when he stood outside 10 Downing Street on Election Day—have their income tax deducted at source and never handle it. Those privileged to be in the high income groups paid either by big business or themselves, are allowed to make their own arrangements about payment.

The result of this is that they are able to avoid much of it (business 'expenses' etc.), go bankrupt or just plead 'poverty' and 'extravagance'. Some are involved in expensive legal action which the taxpayer has to pay.

Surely some scheme could be evolved whereby a fund could be opened into which these characters could be compelled to pay a proportion of their income AT SOURCE (like the PAYE 'victims') and adjusted periodically. All these so-called 'entertainers' would qualify with their uncertain and spasmodic income. -MICHAEL HILDRED, Worcester Park, Surrey.

Ulster Protestants

ROBERT ST-CYR raised a number of interesting points in his letter to last week's Socialist Worker. He claims that 'the Irish have developed over history into two peoples...' and that the Protestants have created an 'incipient nation in its own right...'

British rule in Ireland over hundreds of years meant increased exploitation for Irish workers and peasants—through absentee landlordism, the use of Ireland as a reservoir of labour for British industry and so on. But it also meant actions deliberately designed to frustrate the development of an Irish middle class.

The nationalist movement in Ireland grew as a result of the attempts of sections of that class to mobilise the mass of society behind it in opposition to features of British rule and, at some periods, to British rule itself. Revolutionary socialists have always seen such movements as progressive—up to a certain point. For they serve to bring into political action hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers who otherwise would have remained in a fragmented state, with an extremely localised knowledge of the



world. But we do not believe it is possible for the historic aim of Irish republicanism—complete independence from British domination—to be achieved without also throwing over an Irish capitalism which is increasingly dependent upon its British connections. And that overthrow cannot be achieved without the development of a revolutionary socialist movement based upon the working class and not on the remnants of middle class nationalism.

Orangeism, in contrast to Republicanism, is in no way part of a progressive, anti-imperialist national culture. It is a movement that has been deliberately fostered for a century and more by those dedicated to keeping Ireland under the control of British interests.

Certain privileges given to Protestants by British imperialism have caused most Protestant workers to give their support most of the time. But that does not mean that the aim of republicanism—complete independence so as to permit the development of the resources of the whole of Ireland in the interests of its people—is not as much in the interest of Protestant workers as of Catholics.

Of course, socialists do not support any idea of driving the Protestants into the sea. We oppose any sectarian attacks by groups of Catholics on Protestants. Such attacks can only serve to help British imperialism in dividing and ruling the working class.

But the fact is that there have been very few such attacks. The main effort of the Provisional IRA has been put into fighting the British army. That army is in Ireland for one purpose only: to maintain the interests of British big business.

That is why revolutionaries in Britain support fully the right of the 'Provos' to fight it by their own methods, although we do not believe that armed struggle in isolation from a socialist programme and a working class movement can be successful in ending British rule and uniting Ireland. -JAMES WALKER, London E2

DON'T ALIENATE WORKERS IN UNIFORM

IT WAS not exactly a surprise to learn in Tom Maitland's article on Northern Ireland (16 October) that the soldiers are in 'complete ignorance of the political nature of the struggle'.

We know that the power of capitalist society rests on the ignorance of the majority of ordinary people to the lies

of the mass media, soldiers and other servicemen being no exception.

And surely ignorance of the class nature of our society applies to the police? Would ordinary working-class policemen have the same attitude to demonstrators and pickets if they realised their true nature as repressors,

not protectors, of their fellow workers?

I believe we need to win all ordinary working people to the achievement of a socialist society and not alienate the uniformed sections of our own class merely because they are the unknowing tools of repression. -(Mrs) W. MULHEN, Wakefield, Yorks.

Maudling said no

I AM as concerned as anyone about internment in N. Ireland and the treatment of detainees. I cannot, however, let go unchallenged the slur in your front page piece against my two colleagues Sid Bidwell and Kevin MacNamara (9 October).

I was present at the meeting of the Labour Committee Against Internment when we discussed sending a deputation to see the camps. I myself made the point that we could only get entry to them with the assistance of the Home Secretary, who, much as we may dislike the fact, is Tory MP Reginald Maudling.

Bill Malloy, M.P., Sid Bidwell and myself immediately wrote to Maudling but could not gain access to the camps as a Labour and trade union delegation. Another group of our colleagues went to N. Ireland but, I understand, were only able to talk to people in pubs without seeing the internees themselves.

At the meeting of the Labour Committee Against Internment Sid Bidwell and others supported the idea of a Labour and trade union delegation, but did not indicate that if an all-party delegation was the only way to get into the camps they would refuse to associate with it. Therefore, your charge that they have 'broken with this decision' is untrue and unjustified.

My own view is that it was better to get into the camps on this basis than not at all. But whether your judgement is the same or not, I see no cause for attacking other Labour M.P.s who are no less concerned about the issue than you are. I am afraid this is typical of the fratricide on the Left, which dissipates energies sniping at others who have the same objectives. -ARTHUR LATHAM, M.P., House of Commons, SW1.

BSA SACKINGS: BRUM RECALLS HUNGRY '30s

BIRMINGHAM:- At 10am last Thursday the Coventry Road was closed to traffic for 45 minutes as more than 4000 workers from BSA's Small Heath motorcycle works marched in protest against the bosses' plan to make 3000 of them redundant by 1 January 1972.

Led by 30 motorcyclists, the march was Birmingham's biggest demonstration against sackings since the 1930s. At Small Heath park they gathered round the bandstand to hear speakers stress the support of the whole labour movement. The examples of UCS and Pressed Steel Fisher were frequently referred to.

The keynote of the mass meeting was sounded by Birmingham City Councillor Frank Carter: 'Demonstrations like this are morale boosters only,' he said. 'In seven to eight days' time 700 redundancy notices will be handed out. What you do then is what counts. If you allow those people to go out of this factory you can never hold your head up again.'

Frank Carter's intervention was necessary after Engineering Union District Secretary Norman Cartwright had said he would accept limited redundancy. Having thrown away his first negotiating position he tried to make militant noises: 'Any workers receiving redundancy notices should throw them back at management.'

A statement issued by the stewards and convenors calls for a government inquiry into BSA's failure. In the meantime they insist that the motorcycle factory should be kept going. 'Continuity of employment' is their call. They promised that in the rough times ahead they will call frequent report-back meetings.

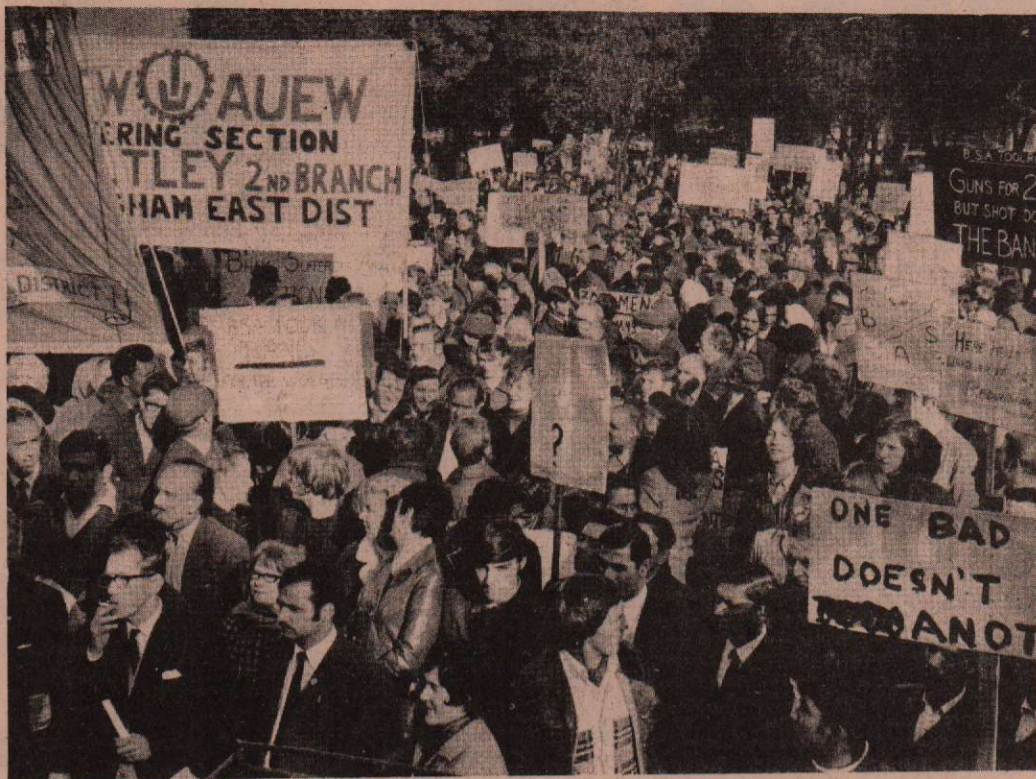
DEPUTATION

Birmingham, once a symbol of prosperity, is now near to becoming a depressed area. The City Council, the Trades Council and the Chamber of Commerce are sending a joint deputation to see Trade Minister John Davies.

The marchers condemned board room extravagance. Their banners proclaimed: 'Monty Turner's Flying Circus', 'Let's be frank Barclays Bank you've put the squeeze on Beeze', 'The Bin for unwanted workers—total 3000'. (Eric Turner, BSA chairman, resigned last week. Barclays Bank is lending the firm £10m.)

BSA is very much a local employer—whole families, two and three generations, work there. The districts of Sparkbrook and Small Heath are intimately bound up in this threat to workers' livelihood.

Shopkeepers display signs supporting the workers. On the march bystanders watched silently, appreciative



BSA workers on the march last week: they carry the can for bosses' mistakes

THE OUTLOOK'S GRIM SAY BSA APPRENTICES

BSA apprentices are very worried about their prospects. They crowded around Socialist Worker reporters to tell their fears:

Pat O'Rourke, 16, with BSA for two months, said he had been urged to take up an apprenticeship for 'security'. 'If we lose our jobs we've got no experience to find another with. The others have experience to sell to another employer—if you've got your trade you've got something to back you up,' he said.

Dave Land, 17 years old, again with two months' employment, was worried about whether he would be able to transfer his apprenticeship. 'No one can tell us where we stand, it's worse for older kids, if they get them out all

their time is wasted.'

Two months ago management enthused over the prospects of these lads. The apprentices say that the directors have gambled and lost and in their own words 'we will probably end up in a bum job'.

None of the lads we talked to has yet signed his indentures. They are still on probation—they are in limbo. The unions locally don't take them into membership until their probationary period is over.

The apprentices have their own story of their failure: 'The Midland Bus Co are taking over BSA because we are carrying more passengers than they do'. It is said that there are more company cars leaving the plant than motorcycles coming off the production track.

of the slogans. For them this is the 1930s again.

An 81-year-old pensioner, out shopping with his wife, recalled their 38 years working at BSA. They told us of the effects of the American

tariff barriers on the motorcycle industry.

Jock McLaren, with a wife and six children to support, normally averages £40 a week. Now on three day working, he takes home £12.

'The workers didn't let the government down when they called for exports. The government have taken enough out of our exports, they should now put something back.'

'Bad management is to blame. Models don't come out on time. Inefficient sales force loses markets—they are too slow off the mark.'

STRIPPED

The company intend to transfer production to the Triumph factory at Meriden. To do this they want to close the most modern motor cycle plant in Europe. Already at the dictate of the bankers, the assets of the company are being sold off. Even the football pitch is said to have been sold.

While Norman Cartwright's prescription is a joint approach to the government, the firm's assets are being stripped in the interests of the bankers.

BSA shares in Sealed Motor Construction, valued at £2,380,000, have been sold for £2,100,000. £280,000 is lovely pickings for someone—but not for Small Heath and Sparkbrook workers.

Knees up in the scrum...

WATCH OUT, Rugby League fans—the middle class trendies are after you!

With an astonishing degree of arrogance and insensitivity, a firm called John Caine Associates (Consultants) Ltd of Manchester has just produced a report commissioned by the Rugby League management on why the Northern game has a 'fish and chips image' and to see what can be done to counteract falling attendances.

The image of the game is all wrong, say the consultants, who hired a plush Manchester hotel to launch their report on an unsuspecting sporting world.

'There is little doubt that the game of Rugby League is widely held to be a sport for northern heavyweights with a leaning towards brawn rather than brain, played against the background of pit-head slag heaps in a steady drizzle and watched by a sparse flat-capped crowd whose occasional comments are made in a nasal Eddie Waring accent... It is our opinion that this image is totally detrimental to the life of the game.'

The conclusions are obvious: in future all players must sit an IQ test; the Coal Board should be instructed to close down pits near rugby grounds, thus releasing several thousand new potential players; God should be asked to stop the rain on Saturdays and fans should be given free bowler hats and elocution lessons—'I say, what a spiffing try, doncherknow.'

Eddie Waring, the BBC commentator, comes in for sustained abuse. 'The choice of commentator is unfortunate... He may well be immensely enter-



WARING: smiling is offside

taining and amusing but the laughter is patronising and lends support to the view of Rugby League held by Midland and southern watchers.'

Now we're getting down to what the staff of John Caine Associates would probably call the 'nitty-gritty'—that sport is not to be enjoyed and jokes are sacrilegious.

To laugh and enjoy a game is to rob it of its essential role within capitalist society—that of a useful safety valve that allows working people to get rid of their frustrations in a harmless way. (Think of all the wasted potential as the fans kick the hell out of one another on soccer terraces every Saturday.)

In spite of Eddie Waring's High Tory politics, it may be necessary to form a defence committee to prevent his replacement by a cardboard cut-out of Kenneth Wolstenholme. Waring's breezy humour and sense of enjoyment, comes as a welcome relief from the frenzy and hysteria of his soccer counterparts.

The underlying assumption of the report is that popularity is measured only by the number of fans passing through the turnstiles and coughing up their 20p. To hell with the millions watching on television—they're not actually paying.

Like many other so-called 'minority' sports, Rugby League has an enormous following among people who can never go to a match. And if we are upset by the sight of factory chimneys and pit-tops it is not because they give an 'offensive' working-class image to a particular sport but because of the squalor and exploitation which they symbolise.

We want them torn down—but not to please the insipid prejudices of John Caine and his associates.

Rugby League has a history that should appeal to socialists. It was born out of a split in the Rugby Union in the last century when the toffee-nosed hoorays who ran the amateur game refused to countenance the idea of miners and other workers being paid when they took time off work to play.

So the northern clubs, predominantly working-class, broke away to form the Rugby League.

It is a game and a heritage worth defending against those cultural philistines who measure success and enjoyment in purely monetary terms.

David East

Softly, softly on Ulster tortures

AN OTHERWISE VAIN and overvalued newspaper, the Sunday Times periodically produces some searching and exciting

pieces of investigatory journalism through its Insight squad. The Insight team did it again this week

with their story of interrogation brutality by the military security forces in Ulster. It was a sustained report, unhysterical and unconfused, based on statements smuggled out by detainees who have undergone physical and mental torture at Palace Barracks.

The one puzzling feature about the Insight story was the decision not to lead on it. After all the Sunday Times had come up with a first class piece after a prolonged sterile news spell, instead they led with a long-winded assessment of the way MPs might vote on the Common Market issue—a dull, droning item on a subject that has already been written to death.

Signs were that the story had not been born without some agony. Apart from running it down the left-hand column of page one and turning inside, the editorial powers had clearly given more than usual thought to the headline.

Crude truth

No mention of 'torture' or the 'special compound'. Simply HOW ULSTER INTERNEES ARE MADE TO TALK. So restrained... so responsible.

But no amount of headline soft-peddling could hide the crude truth behind the horror of the story. 'They' can do what they want—and get away with it.

There was a time when hints of Cabinet axings were big news. At the first whiff of rumour the papers were abuzz with conjecture about which departmental panderers were going to get the bum's rush.

During the days of the Gannex Wizard Wilson, such rumours were always good for a column or more of muck-stirring guesses from the political hacks of Fleet Street. But a change of government appears to have brought a change of news values.

After the Sun kicked off with the story on Friday that the arrogant and stupid

SPIKE RON KNOWLES' press column

Minister for Industry, Sir John Eden, his halfwitted sidekick, Nicholas Ridley, and others were due for the awful sight of Heath's rampant chopper, the Guardian led on it the following day.

But the Daily Telegraph and the new squat, compact Daily Mail went into grotesque contortions to avoid and hide the story from their faithful readers. In deliberately obscure, downpage stories they passed off the potential axings as the product of malicious gossip-mongering.

Still, if Eden does get thrown out of his job, no one should worry—least of all himself. He's the man who told people in Sheffield not to get upset if they were unemployed.

Finally, a special Guardian mention. On 10 and 11 August the paper blandly approved the introduction of internment in Ulster. On 16 October it found six inches of space to record a Central Criminal Court judge's view that a man in England had been arrested and held in prison for a week unjustifiably without a charge being brought.

With friends like the Guardian, justice and liberty hardly need enemies.

International Socialism 49



Europe World Economy Revolution and Education Ireland

Autumn 1971 15p

New issue includes: Europe, Common Market, Ireland, Education

15p 70p a year

International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2

THREE YEARS

October 1968— an oppressed people got off their knees...



1969—Civil Rights marchers attacked by the RUC. Eamonn McCann is arrowed.

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.

THREE YEARS AGO, on 5 October 1968, an RUC baton-charge on a civil rights march in Derry detonated the series of political explosions which still rock Northern Ireland today.

The Civil Rights march had been organised by a loose-knit alliance of radicals who had despaired of achieving any reform via conventional parliamentary activity.

Reform was needed. For 50 years the Unionist Party had kept hold of power by the discriminatory allocation of jobs and houses, the gerrymandering of electoral boundaries and, at times, by using the brute force of the RUC and the B-Specials to crush any effective opposition which emerged. By discrimination they had managed to buy the support of the Protestant working class, while totally alienating the Catholics.

Unionism, at grass roots level, was a vast, sprawling machine which dominated every aspect of political life. It comprised a whole series of interlocking orders and institutions—the Unionist Party itself, the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys, the Royal Black Preceptory etc. So unshakeable seemed its grip and so totally did it dominate the consciousness of the Protestant masses that, up to 1968, most Catholics saw no hope of change—and most Protestants saw no need for it.

First taste

But the blood that flowed in Derry on 5 October 1968 unleashed a howl of elemental outrage across Northern Ireland. In the months afterwards every area with a sizeable Catholic population saw a civil rights march. For the Catholics it was a heady experience, for the vast majority of them their first experience of involvement in significant political events, their first taste of any sort of political power.

To the Protestants it all looked different. Frightened that their marginal privileges might be chipped away, they began to rally to the Rev Ian Paisley and his slogan of 'Not an Inch!' To them the civil rights marches looked like the Papist hordes, the half-remembered nightmare of every true-born Protestant, stalking the streets in the clear light of day.

The Unionist government under Terence O'Neill at first made concessions. The moderate leadership of the Civil Rights movement accepted the reforms and called a truce. But the truce was smashed by a student march from Belfast to Derry which set out on New Year's Day 1969.

The students, organised into the People's Democracy, maintained that O'Neill's 'reforms' were meaningless, making the point that discrimination and sectarianism were rooted in the capitalist system and that unless the system itself was challenged the old evils would reassert themselves.

The Belfast-Derry march was one of the crucial turning points. It was a horrific 73-mile trek which dredged to the surface all the accumulated political filth of 50 Union-

ist years. The march was attacked by gangs organised by local supporters of Paisley. Of the 87 students who set out, less than 20 arrived in Derry uninjured. But in the course of their four days' marching they had gathered behind them thousands of Catholic workers who were in no mood for talk of truce.

O'Neill, paralysed by the opposing pressures, held on for a few months. To the Catholics he was a proven trickster—to the Protestants a potential traitor. In April 1969 his balancing act ended and he was replaced by Major James Chichester-Clark.

But Chichester-Clark could do no better than O'Neill. Northern Ireland drifted inexorably towards the cataclysm of August 1969.

On 12 August 1969 a traditional Apprentice Boys' march was due to pass the edge of the Bogside. This happened every year. But the Catholics were no longer willing to sit in sullen apathy as this display of tribal superiority went past.

A confrontation between Bogside youths and police guarding the march developed into a 50-hour pitched battle as the police tried to take the Bogside and the people resisted from behind barricades. On 13 August fighting spread to Belfast. B-Specials, police and Protestant civilians invaded the Falls Road and Ardoyne 'to teach the Catholics a lesson'. Thousands of people had to flee from their homes. Hundreds of houses were burnt to the ground. Nine people were killed. The police used machine guns on unarmed Catholic crowds and watched while the Orange mobs burned Catholic streets.

ON 14 AUGUST the British Army intervened and fighting stopped. The Army was welcomed by many Cath-

Derry—Irish city under British occupation. Troops



THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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

NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

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

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan

Potteries
MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/Northampton/Redditch/Telford

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/Swansea

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

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

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Havering/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

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

ric, heroic struggle against N. Ireland's police state



Burntollet: the march from Belfast to Derry in January 1969 was ambushed by hordes of Paisleyites. But despite their savage beating, the marchers continued on their way . . . and their numbers grew.

olics but within a year they and the troops were in bloody opposition.

Wilson's government had sent the Army to supervise and insist on the implementation of the reforms already promised and the further reforms—the disarming of the police, the disbandment of the Specials—which were subsequently to emanate from a committee under Lord Hunt. The Army was also there to see that things did not go beyond that.

Direct threat

The 'difficulty' was that after August 1969 there was no chance of a reformist solution. The Catholics were literally forced to pose 'the national question', to demand an end to the state itself. It was the machinery of the state itself—the police force and the B-Specials—which had threatened their destruction. Securing the physical safety of the community meant striving to smash the state. This focused the semi-dormant republican consciousness of the people of the Falls, the Bogside and the Ardoyne. It gave a new dynamic to the IRA which multiplied in numbers and in available fire power.

This development posed a direct threat to imperialism. The British government might have tolerated—desired even—the 'democratisation' of Northern Ireland. They could not tolerate a movement which united to overthrow the state.

The first major battle between the Army and the IRA took place in July 1970—just after the election of the Tory government. The Army invaded the Lower Falls area of Belfast in an attempt to capture arms and smash the IRA organisation. They met fierce resistance. Four people were killed. As often

happens, none of the four had been taking part in the battle.

The Battle of the Falls was the definitive end to the honeymoon between the Army and the Catholics. Since then the role of the Army has been increasingly to suppress Catholic dissidence by any means available. At first the Army relied mainly on CS gas, rubber bullets, water-cannon and the free use of batons and boots. But it didn't work. The Catholic working-class ghettos were not intimidated. Their resentment grew and their republicanism intensified.

This republicanism has had its most dramatic expression in the activities of the Provisional IRA. The 'Provos' broke away from the official IRA because they blamed the official leadership for the lack of preparation in August 1969 and because they mistrusted the officials' emphasis on political rather than military activity.

Socialists in Northern Ireland have been strongly opposed to some of the Provos' tactics—the bombing of some civilian installations for example. But it is important to remember that the Provisional IRA represent a genuine understandable and legitimate feeling which is widespread in working-class Catholic areas—the feeling that only by ending the Northern Ireland state can the security of the community be guaranteed and that only military means can achieve this.

British workers find it difficult to understand this. But the entire political experience—especially the recent experience of many Irish Catholics—compels them to some such conclusion.

The British government and the British Army came to see the IRA as the main enemy. The IRA was projected by the press

as a gang of ruthless cut-throats and blamed for every atrocity that happened—such as the recent bombing of pubs, which was certainly not their work.

Within the Protestant community, Paisley has gone from strength to strength. Impatient at the Army's refusal to shoot even more Catholics and drive them back into the second-class citizenship which Paisley believes to be their proper place, an armed right-wing Protestant force certainly exists and has been responsible for some at least of the recent bombings.

THIS WAS the situation at the beginning of August when internment was introduced. All those interned came from the Catholic side. To the Catholics it was the last straw. Beaten and brutalised, denied any share of political power throughout their life, they opted out of the system.

Even the ultra-moderate Social Democratic and Labour Party led by Gerry Fitt and John Hume was forced to renounce membership of the Stormont parliament.

Barricades went up and many are still up; payment of rent and rates ceased.

In Belfast and Derry units of the Official and Provisional IRA flung themselves at the Army when it came to take people off to internment camps.

Cheap labour

Parliament was recalled and both party conferences have debated the situation, but to no purpose. The ringing speeches at Westminster and the conference rhetoric which captures the headlines and forms the basis for a thousand television discussions means nothing at all to the embattled communities of Belfast and Derry. There is no reformist solution to 'the Northern Ireland problem'.

The only solution is to defeat British imperialism. British imperialism is responsible for all that has happened in Northern Ireland. The discrimination against Catholics which created a cheap labour pool held wages in Northern Ireland at 30 per cent below the British level, to the profit of British industrialists who controlled the Northern Ireland economy. The fact that workers were, as a result, at one another's throats prevented the development of any working-class movement which could have put up a real fight against exploitation and thus kept the system and the profits safe.

Now because of the perverted political history of the area, the struggle against imperialism in the North of Ireland is being conducted almost exclusively from within the Catholic community. It is the responsibility of Irish socialists to strive to give it a class content, to get across to the Catholic workers that only a socialist programme can hope to succeed. Only a socialist programme has the potential to engage support in the future from Protestant workers.

Meanwhile the struggle will continue.

WHO'S WHO ON THE BARRICADES

SIX COUNTIES: When the rest of Ireland (the 26 counties) obtained political independence from Britain in the 1920s, six counties in the north east were cut off from it to form a separate Northern Ireland state, with boundaries deliberately designed to ensure a permanent Protestant majority that would support British rule.

UNIONIST PARTY: The Conservative Party in Northern Ireland. Run at the top by large land-owners such as Chichester-Clark and before him O'Neill, and businessmen like Brian Faulkner. Unionism originally meant keeping all of Ireland under British rule but since 1920 has meant keeping the six counties of the north east only.

ORANGE ORDER: An exclusively Protestant and anti-Catholic mass organisation. At the top it is linked to the leaders of the Unionist Party. But its rank and file is made up from the Protestant lower middle class and workers. Membership of it has traditionally helped them get jobs and houses. The Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys are other bigoted Protestant organisations linked to the Orange Order.

RUC: Royal Ulster Constabulary. Fully armed until the pogrom of 1969 with guns and armoured cars.

B-SPECIALS: Part-time para-military force recruited entirely from the membership of the Orange Order and run by the same people at the local level. Notorious for its vicious treatment of opponents of Unionism. Led the attack on the Catholic areas in August 1969 in which a dozen people were killed and hundreds burnt out. Officially disbanded soon after, but many of its members are either in the Ulster Defence Regiment or armed as members of gun clubs.

UDR: Ulster Defence Regiment. Part-time force under the direction of the British Army. Most of its members are ex-B-Specials.

UVF: Ulster Volunteer Force run by extreme Orangemen. Officially illegal, but not subject to any harassment from the police or the troops for more than a year. Thought to be responsible for some recent bombings in both Protestant and Catholic areas.

GREEN TORIES: The traditional middle-class leaders of the Catholics. Want a capitalist Northern Ireland, but with themselves in control, and support the Southern Irish establishment. Lost much of their mass support when the Civil Rights movement developed.

SDLP: Social Democratic and Labour Party. Made up of some of the old Green Tories, right-wing Labour, and newer middle-class 'moderates'.

IRA: Irish Republican Army. Originally the armed force that led the fight against British rule in the early 1920s. Its members refused to accept the division of Ireland. It tried to do away with the border through bombings and border raids in the 1940s and 1950s but was unsuccessful, and declined as an organisation. But since August 1969, the Catholic workers of Northern Ireland have looked to it as the only body that will protect them against the armed thugs of the B-Specials and the Orange Order. Now they also regard it as their chief protection against the British Army.

attempt to harass and intimidate the Catholic population



SUEZ

The Suez Canal crisis, which took place 15 years ago this autumn, was the fruit of a long history of oppression of the peoples of the Middle East. The Suez Canal was built, with Egyptian blood and sweat, in the middle of the 19th century.

British troops occupied Egypt in 1882, and, despite formal political independence in 1922, they remained there until 1955. For the Egyptian people, British interest in the area meant grinding poverty. In the early 1950s the average income per head was £25 a year, the average expectation of life only 35 years. Ninety per cent of the population suffered from the eye disease trachoma. A tiny minority of rich landlords owned the great majority of the land.

But by the 1950s a new pattern was appearing in the Middle East. United States imperialism, greatly strengthened by the Second World War, was spreading its tentacles around the globe.

The Middle East was an interesting area for two reasons. It was a vital link in the chain of military bases around Russia and a rich source of cheap oil. American interests in Middle East oil output grew from 16 per cent in 1944 to 58 per cent in 1955.

A further complication was the newly-created state of Israel. From 1950, when Israel supported the US in Korea, she was clearly an ally of US imperialism. The British, meanwhile, were in retreat, and in 1954 agreed to a complete withdrawal of British troops from Egypt.

These changes opened the way for the appearance of a nationalist movement in Egypt. In 1952, a group of army officers overthrew the weak and corrupt monarchy and, after a power struggle among themselves, Colonel Nasser became Prime Minister in 1954.

Under Nasser, strikes were viciously smashed and communists imprisoned. His timid land reforms made no real changes in the position of the Egyptian peasant. But some important social reforms were introduced, and the foundations were laid for the growth of industry. In part, at least, Nasser was challenging the right of foreign powers to suck blood from the Middle East.

Egypt was not the only Arab country where there was a demand for change. In Algeria a nationalist rebellion had been growing ever since 1954. In February 1956 the newly-elected French Prime Minister Guy Mollet, believed to be soft on the rebels, visited Algeria, and was pelted by European settlers.

He learnt his lesson and entertained no further ideas of independence. Most French politicians were quite unable to believe that the rebellion was inspired by Arab discontent, and saw Nasser as the sinister figure who was stirring up trouble. In fact almost all the rebel arms were stolen from the French. Comparisons between Nasser and Hitler were made freely on all sides.

The great powers of the world were squabbling for the right to exploit the Middle East. Nasser, quite correctly, tried to play them off one

Gunboat diplomacy ends with a whimper

by IAN BIRCHALL



BEN GURION: Israel plotted with Britain

against the other, and get money from East and West.

But the USA, loyally followed by Britain, tried to call his bluff by cancelling promised aid for a dam on the Nile, vital to Egypt's agricultural development. Nasser responded, in July 1956, by nationalising the Suez Canal Company.

In strictly legal terms Nasser had a good case. Britain's failure to take the question to the International Court is a clear indication of that.

The Tory Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, reacted with all the arrogance of a 19th century colonialist outraged that the natives were getting above themselves. He wrote in his Memoirs: 'A man with Colonel Nasser's record could not be allowed to have his thumb on our windpipe'.

Various methods of bringing Nasser to heel were feverishly tried. The United Nations was unable to help. The American proposal to set up a 'Canal Users' Association' to guarantee continuing use of the Canal fell through because the Egyptians succeeded in keeping the Canal running smoothly.

Meanwhile Britain and France were going ahead with military preparations. These did not proceed in a wholly fortunate manner. For example, it had been decided to christen the operation 'Hamilcar',



NASSER: strong case for canal takeover

after a famous North African leader of Roman times.

Large Hs were painted on the top of military vehicles. Then someone discovered that the French version of the name was 'Amilcar' and the French were using the letter A. The name was changed to Musketeer.

The aim, as Eden told Lord Montgomery, was to 'knock Nasser off his perch'. The calculation was that the US was up to its neck in a presidential election, and Russia had problems on its hands in Poland and Hungary, and Britain and France would be able to go ahead unhindered.

Somewhere about the end of September (the full facts are still not available) a new ally came into the picture—Israel. According to M Pineau, then the French Foreign Secretary, the Israeli government told France they were going to invade the Sinai Peninsula—the bit of Egypt to the East of the Suez Canal.

It is reported that this was conveyed to the operational chiefs of staff by a British commander in terms that betray all the breeding and good taste one expects of a British officer—'Unless I'm having hallucinations the hooknosed boys are going to be brought in.'

On 29 October Israeli troops invaded Sinai. Egypt and Israel were then both warned by Britain and France to withdraw to 10 miles from either bank of the Canal.

When the time limit was up, Britain began to bomb Egypt. But, as Hugh Thomas relates in *The Suez Affair* (Penguin), the operation was hardly a model of competence. 'The postponement of the first wave of bombing occurred because the air planners had arranged for the destruction of the airfields at night not by day.

'A later delay was caused because news was received in London that 15 US transport planes were waiting to take off US civilians from the Cairo West airfield upon which the RAF were about to drop their bombs...

'In addition the original plan was that the first bomb should be dropped on Cairo Radio. Here too the Cabinet at the last minute hesitated since they wrongly supposed that Cairo Radio was in the capital of Egypt itself. In fact it was well out in the



British troops in Egypt... but not for long

desert.'

The raid was accompanied by a million leaflets, but these had little effect since those who wrote them seemed to be under the impression that the inhabitants of Cairo were semi-literate savages. The whole thing improved Nasser's prestige quite considerably.

On 1 November Eden was asked in the House of Commons whether or not Britain was at war and was unable to give an answer. Although British and French troops captured Port Said and a strip of the Canal, the adventure came to a rapid end. The US denounced the action, and two of Eden's ministers resigned.

On 6 November, Britain and France agreed to withdraw and allow a United Nations force to take over. In January Eden resigned.

The whole Suez affair was a vivid illustration of the degree of corruption in politics in Britain and France. Lies and press bribery were rife. Official documents were destroyed to save reputations from the prying eyes of future historians.

Only four members of the French Cabinet were in full possession of information, and the British Cabinet were informed of events too late to do anything about them. Eden admits that during the crisis he was 'practically living on benzedrine' (curiously enough Tory circles have never complained of this particular instance of drug-taking).

It is the view of Hugh Thomas that when Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons that there was no prior agreement with Israel, he was telling a lie. When another Tory Minister, John Profumo, later lied to the Commons about whom he had been sleeping with, he was hounded out of public life. Selwyn Lloyd now holds the respected post of Speaker.

One of the things that stopped the Suez adventure was widespread opposition in Britain, especially from the Labour Party. In France the main opposition party, the Communist Party, was too busy defending the Russian bloodbath in Hungary to do much about Suez.

But it is vital to remember that this was opposition to the hamfisted way the operation was carried out, and not to the principle. There was no one to unconditionally support the right of a poor exploited country to strike back at the rich parasites living on its back.

When nationalisation of the Canal

was announced Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell declared: 'We deeply deplore this high-handed and totally unjustifiable step by the Egyptian Government', while Alf Robens called for a stop of arms supplies to Egypt.

Labour's paper the *Daily Herald* headlined with 'No More Hitlers'. Even Aneurin Bevan, still the golden boy of the party's left, later commented: 'If the sending of one's police and soldiers into the darkness of the night to seize somebody else's property is nationalisation, Ali Baba used the wrong terminology.'

And as late as August Gaitskell declared 'Force is justified in certain events'.

In short, there was no one prepared to take a clear class line and to link the fight against British imperialism with the interests of the working class. This was the tragedy of Suez.

For Eden's war came in the middle of a rising tide of industrial militancy. 1957 saw the highest strike rate since 1926. And if no one in the labour movement saw the links, *The Times*, an acute representative of ruling-class interests, was able to connect quite clearly.

Arguing in August 1956 for firm action against Nasser rather than a waiting game, *The Times* warned its Tory friends: 'Workers who have not so far understood the need to make any temporary sacrifice in their living standards to save the economy are hardly likely to be persuaded to suffer any long privation to prevent another dictator controlling a faraway strip of water about which they know nothing.'

The chance was missed. Eden was put on the scrap heap and a more cunning brand of Tory came to the fore. Nasser gained popularity throughout the Middle East and the Algerian struggle continued.

It was time to stop playing with gunboats and to find more subtle and less visible ways of bleeding the poor countries of the world, to come to terms with men like Nasser, who were unable to carry through a genuine social revolution.

Britain was increasingly squeezed out of the Middle East by Russia and the US, though she still managed to fight a squalid little war in Cyprus.

By 1959 Harold Macmillan was able to proclaim 'You've never had it so good' and romp home at the General Election. The new battles were still to come.

LENIN'S MOSCOW

ALFRED ROSMER



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NEXT WEEK: October revolution in Hungary

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!



Crushed by the class divide

THERE is one thing more frightening than being alone in a world one does not understand and that is to find that one is playing an important part in that world.

A young boy goes to his friend's home for a holiday at the time of the Boer War. He finds that his friend's family are very rich, that they entertain lavishly, that they behave in a strange and snobbish way. Suddenly he finds that he is playing an important role in a love affair and nobody will tell him what it or love is.

The film is Joseph Losey's *The Go-Between* (ABC Shaftesbury Avenue), the boy a new child star Dominic Guard. To us the situation is simple (though it is much clearer from L.P. Hartley's book than the film).

The family is new to its wealth and is living in a beautiful Norfolk mansion leased from an impoverished viscount. They intend their daughter (Julie Christie) to marry the viscount so that they shall secure title and property.

But the local farmer (Alan Bates) has won the love of the daughter. And in order to pursue the affair in secret, he gets the boy to act as a messenger.

There are two conflicting moods and the prevailing one is nostalgia. Every detail of the gorgeous house is recreated lovingly, every touch exact—far too exact. Julie Christie and her family move through the beautifully decked out rooms with the self-conscious grace of those who are unaccustomed to their wealth but measure everything by their wealth.

Splendour

The furniture alone would make a field day for Arthur Negus. The oil paintings look real. (The location used was a derelict stately home and the original owners have since been observed returning to gaze wistfully at its restored splendour.)

The second mood is dislike: dislike for the crassness of the rich, for the stifling society which forbids marriage outside one's own class, dislike for the violent emotions which possess men and which they are unable to control.

When the young boy returns to the house later in life we see him as a dried-up husk of a man who has suppressed all his natural self because he was unable to bear the discovery of the true, violent nature of love. And we see that Miss Christie, beneath her brilliant latex wrinkles, has been similarly destroyed.

There should, however, be a third mood, of terror. And indeed as the mother (Margaret Leighton) moves into the picture and begins to try to extract from the boy what he knows about the affair, a black sense of foreboding is created.

There is a horrifying birthday party in a thunderstorm. He is dragged by the mother out through the rain to find the couple, to see what he has helped to create. But what does he find at the end? Alan Bates striving manfully through a cloud of frilly underwear on top of a haystack.

I'm sorry—it wouldn't have dried me up for life. I should have laughed outright. That is what I mean about the film being too exact.

James Fenton



COTTONS COLUMN

SOCIALIST WORKER rang the Daily Record in Glasgow on Monday to try to get pictures of an Irish solidarity march on Saturday that was brutally attacked by Orangemen, one armed with a meat cleaver. It is normal practice for newspapers to sell pictures to other papers.

'But', said the Record picture editor, 'we are not selling any pictures of this march to you'. 'Because we are a left-wing paper?' asked Socialist Worker.

'The Record is a left-wing paper', thundered the picture man. 'We are the only left-wing paper in Scotland.' (The Record is the Scottish version of the Mirror, if you want to gauge how left-wing it is.)

'Tell you what, though,' added the kindly Record Bolshevik, 'why not try the Express—they've got some good pictures of the march.'

A new definition of 'left-wing' emerges: it means denying pictures to genuine socialist papers and suggesting they cough up their cash to the Beaverbrook press.

WHEN a disused factory in Southend was cleared out, crates containing incendiary bombs and phials labelled 'nerve gas' and 'mustard gas' were found in the basement. A police spokesman said the bombs and phials had been left over from wartime civil defence. Doesn't sound very civil to us: nerve and mustard gas are both outlawed by the Geneva Convention. And who were they to be used against?

Steamed up

ON steam radio's never-ending farming saga, The Archers, local landowner Ralph Bellamy has given eviction notices to his tenant farmers. Just fiction? Farmworkers in West Essex have taken umbrage at the Ambridge tale.

Ken Dawson, secretary of Matching Tye branch of the Agricultural Workers' Union, who was himself evicted recently from a tied farm cottage, says: 'We want to warn Ralph Bellamy that not only will the union defend



FEATHER: all tied up

these tenants but that they will be fully supported by the squatters' association.'

Mr Dawson adds: 'I don't like the idea of the BBC using evictions and the misery of people as entertainment for those that listen.'

'I am suggesting that they make sure in future episodes that the union successfully defend these people and there are no evictions. Evictions of any kind are something we oppose because they are old-fashioned, medieval and wrong and should never exist in a modern society today.'

Rogers and out

LAST WORD on the farm struggle: TUC gensec Vic Feather spoke at the Agricultural Workers London rally on Saturday and said he supported their wage claim. But does he also support the campaign to end the tied cottage system? He would find that difficult. He owns a tied cottage at Titchmarsh, Northants, and some months ago evicted unemployed farm worker Ernest Rogers.

LIFE AT THE TOP: The Earl of Seafield has sold two grouse moors in Scotland for around £400,000. Included in the sale are two lodges, six cottages, nine farms, hill grazings and arable land, all let and producing about £10,000 a year.

Nein, nein, nein

FURTHER news on the phone tapping front: Staff of Accrington Corporation were surprised to receive from the Borough Treasurer a memo stating that employees making private phone calls on works phones would be expected to pay for them.

Only fair, you think? But the memo also contains a shameless admission that operators have been instructed to listen in to 'private' calls: 'Certain calls monitored by the exchange operator appear to be private calls.'

Staff are furious about the spying and are demanding strong action from their union, NALGO. But will the Borough Treasurer also listen in on union business calls?

Sleep it off

WITH one drug company brazenly marketing its wares with such blurbs as 'Are you worried by insecurity, strikes and civil disorder', a frightening picture emerges of the growing numbers of people dependent on pills. Last year GPs alone prescribed drugs costing £166m, one-sixth of that going on sleeping pills and tranquilisers. They prescribed one million addictive drugs, 12 million barbiturates and seven million other sleeping pills.

A LETTER from the Arts Faculty Training Unit at Enfield College of Technology to business firms: 'Dear... I am writing to you to bring to your notice two schemes which may help you solve your staffing problems in the present economic climate...'

'Our sandwich placement scheme gives companies an opportunity to recruit employees on a very flexible and economic basis. It has been referred to as 'rent a man' by one company which regularly takes our students. They appreciate that in a sandwich student they have a good bargain. They are paying about £900 for a man or woman who is often doing a job worth twice as much. They do not have to commit themselves beyond a year which is useful in uncertain economic conditions...'



DENNIS POTTER has dramatised in his TV plays, over the last six years, many of the issues of our day from a strongly left-wing point of view, and in such a way as to enrich that point of view. His latest play 'Traitor' (last Thursday, BBC-1 9.20) dealt with an Eton and Oxford-educated top Foreign Office official, Adrian Harris, who defects to Russia after passing on substantial secrets to the Russians.

The scene is set by a nervous and rather drunken Harris in a small Moscow flat, preparing himself for an interview with some unsympathetic Western journalists. Harris makes no secret of his hostility to them.

In the course of the interview we see flashbacks to the formative experiences of Harris' childhood. His father fills the child's head with the legends of King Arthur's ideally marvellous 'island valley of Avalon'. Yet in the father's upper class self-satisfaction and pomposity there is room only for a one-way communication from father to son.

Similarly at school the boy's abilities are not encouraged. His nervous stutter is ridiculed by his schoolmaster. For all their material comforts, the ruling class cannot eliminate repression in the schools where their successors are being coached.

The schoolmaster strikes the young Harris for talking back and we quickly switch to a shot of police on horseback clubbing strikers in the 1936 General Strike, which is taking place at the same time. Later Harris makes the connection between these two very different forms of capitalist brutality.

However, Potter, who appeared on last Thursday's 'Late Night Line-Up', asks us to remember that although certain events, like those in Harris' childhood, may push someone towards radical beliefs, this does not at all undermine the truth of such beliefs.

When grown-up, Harris is still nourished by ideas like the dream of Arthur's mythical kingdom and not by marxism. And the very individualistic activity of spying necessarily cuts him off from the workers' movement. He has maintained from childhood the defence of retreating into himself (of being a 'hedgehog', he says), in order to be a spy and forget about Stalin's betrayals.

Yet even as he grows increasingly drunk and pathetic during the interview, we realize the depth of his commitment to something, as compared with the journalists' complacency (shades of Potter's last play, about journalists, 'Paper Roses'). The tragedy is that this commitment has come to nothing.

His drunken performance at the interview will be discovered because of the hidden microphone. The missiles will still roll through Red Square. The British workers will still have to fight the capitalists here.

The success of Potter's play lay in its uniting the psychological aspects of Harris' childhood with a reasonably correct political and class analysis, thereby enriching both.

Anyone who saw Mohammed Ali on 'Parkinson' (Sunday BBC-1, 11.00) could not have failed to be impressed, as well as entertained. Out of the most unlikely ingredients—showmanship, success at the brutal 'sport' of boxing and the Muslim religion—he has fashioned for himself an impressive, black self-respect.

The blacks in the US will have to go beyond his mistaken and muddled ideas. But judging from the numbers who support him he has played a part in communicating this self-respect to his fellow blacks.

On Saturday on BBC-2, 10.10, Part 1 of 'Fathers and Sons' by Turgenev (one of Lenin's favourite authors) is repeated. Part 2 follows on Sunday, 10.05.

Phil Hall

Socialist Worker

Railmen to fight jobs threat

By JOHN FIELD

ASHFORD, Kent: Railwaymen are getting ready to fight British Rail's plans to close workshops at Ashford and Glasgow, which would mean 5,500 lost jobs in the next five years.

Private firms already do £3 million worth of rail wagon repairs a year.

Sid Weighall, assistant general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, said the NUR has made it clear to the BR bosses that there will be no agreement for men to be pushed out.

'The rundown of the economy and

the consequences of Government policies on the railway finances are not going to be used as excuses to put the heads of railwaymen on the chopping block,' he said.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions is also pledged to fight the closure plans.

But the unions say the 5,500 jobs can be lost by 'natural wastage' over the five

years. Shop floor workers at the NUR Ashford no. 2 branch meeting last week said this was to accept that the workshops are to be run down—it would be to lose half the battle before starting.

There was big support for one speaker who said the fight would be political as well as economic.

The meeting elected a committee to run the campaign against the closure plans. Messages of support, etc, to Bill MacDonald, 2 Littlebrook Road, Ashford, Kent.

New rules give union leaders a let-out

SW Reporter

THE opposition of the Transport Workers Union to the Industrial Relations Act is being undermined—by its own rulebook, revised this year.

Whatever the union's leaders say, they have given themselves a nice let-out, for rule number one says the TGWU 'shall be a registered Trade Union'.

The rule book was argued out at a conference in February, when the implications of the Tories' anti-union Bill were already quite clear.

Other unions are also using such rules as excuses to register under the new law—though of course the formula originally referred to the now superseded Friendly Societies Act and has nothing to do with the new Act.

Emergency

The TGWU is on the provisional register and so far as is known has made no effort to get off it.

Docks and motor industry branches of the union have called for an emergency rule revision conference to get the rule changed.

A TGWU spokesman said a rules revision conference was being called, but he could not say when.

Clive Jenkins looking for a loophole

THE letter written by Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the supervisors' union (ASTMS), removing the union from the provisional register virtually promises that it will not stay deregistered for long.

It says Jenkins has been 'advised by counsel' that he does not have the legal power to deregister. The basis for this ridiculous claim is again a 'registered Trade Union' reference in the rule book, again a now meaningless formula referring to the extinct Friendly Societies Act.

Jenkins' letter says he is deregistering ASTMS 'as a loyal affiliate of the TUC', giving the impression that this step was forced on him by the TUC, and not mentioning that he is also under instruction from his own union's annual conference.

600 at IS rally

SIX HUNDRED members and supporters of the International Socialists packed an autumn rally at Skegness last weekend and took part in three lively discussions on the crisis of capitalism, building the revolutionary party and the history of the international revolutionary movement.

8000 LOCKED OUT IN WAGES BATTLE

by Socialist Worker Reporter

COVENTRY:—In a dramatic challenge to the unions, local engineering employers locked out

8000 toolroom workers for the day on Tuesday.

It was in retaliation for a strike on Monday, one of a series called by the engineering unions. The employers have now warned that if there are any more strikes, further lock-outs will follow.

The strike was in protest against the scrapping of the 30-years-old Coventry Tool Room Agreement. This guaranteed that toolmakers would receive the average skilled production worker's earnings in the Coventry area.

Because the rates have risen constantly over the years, the employers were determined to end the agreement. They scrapped it on 1 September.

Toolroom workers have organised a campaign of resistance against the bosses and have banned overtime and introduced a work to rule. They have struck and demonstrated for the last six Mondays in support of their demand that the agreement be retained.

Now the employers have gone on the offensive and locked out the strikers in a bid to smash and intimidate their solidarity.

The management at Rolls Royce have gone one step further. They have declared that unless their toolmakers accept a new agreement by 28 October then the company will lock them out indefinitely until they give in.

On Tuesday night shop stewards agreed to give union officials seven days to reach a new agreement with the employers. They will meet again on Monday to plan further action.

ORANGEMEN ATTACK PRO-IRISH MARCH



The main march on Saturday—with jeering Orangemen on the pavement

GLASGOW:—A 350-strong demonstration in support of the struggle against British troops in Northern Ireland was viciously attacked on Saturday by a mob of Orangemen, armed with open razors and even a meat cleaver.

The Irish march was organised by local socialist and republican groups, including the International Socialists and Clan na h'Eireann. The Orange thugs were organised by Rev Ian Paisley's Glasgow lieutenant Pastor Jack Glass.

They stormed along the pavements alongside the Irish march and broke through the police cordons. When a detective sergeant was slashed by a razor, the police were forced to arrest 25 Orangemen—but with seven from the Irish march to prove their 'impartiality'.

Drivers fight for rights

PETERBOROUGH:—21 drivers from J.W. and E. Smith's and Mid-Anglia Transport entered their fourth week of strike action this Friday. They are fighting for a pay increase, for union recognition and for the reinstatement of their steward, sacked immediately the management heard that a union was to be organised. The men are picketing from dawn to dusk.

Brum builders are solid in fight to smash the 'lump'

by Joe Quigley AUBTW

BIRMINGHAM:—The strike of Bryants building workers at Woodgate Valley is of crucial importance to the fight against the 'lump'—self-employed, non-union labour.

The dispute started with the refusal of Bryants management to begin talks on parity of bonus with other firms at Woodgate Valley.

But once outside the gate the men decided to step up their demands to £1 an hour, a 35hr week and the total removal of all lump labour on the Woodgate Valley site. Bryants reacted to this by sending the men's insurance cards to them.

A mass meeting outside Bryants' main offices last Thursday demanding reinstatement of the men was backed by several hundred building workers from 10 sites in the Birmingham area. At a meeting with union officials, Bryants offered several concessions: full reinstatement, one-third increase on the basic rate for four weeks, 'meaningful' talks on bonus earnings and a guarantee of no victimisation.

Stewards voted on Saturday almost unanimously to recommend non-acceptance of the offer to the strikers.

It is planned to keep 40 pickets outside the site and place the rest—110 men—in other jobs with first option on their old jobs when the strike is won. A levy of 50p on every building site trade unionist in Birmingham is planned.

It is estimated that about £800 will be needed. Letters of support and donations to: ASW Building, Gough St., B'ham 1.

Sackings at Trianco

TRIANCO trade unionists are now in the seventh week of their strike against a management determined to break trade unionism in the East Molesey, Surrey plant. Management is now refusing to reinstate one of the sacked stewards even as an ordinary employee—which looked to be the basis of some sort of settlement—and have dismissed other strikers. Blackleg labour is being brought in and pickets' cars are being followed. Donations and messages of support to AUEW Kingston District, 9 Grange Road, Kingston, Surrey.

NOTICES

International Socialists need voluntary clerical help, mornings or afternoons any weekday. Anyone who can help phone 739 2639.

Conference to discuss perspectives for the struggle in Ireland and solidarity work in Britain, Saturday 30 October 2pm, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2. IS members only.

Rank and File Technical Teachers (London) meeting at Crown and Sugar Loaf, Garlick Hill, London EC4, 8pm Sunday 24 October. IS members and contacts in F.E. only.

Swansea IS: Public meeting Friday 29 October, 7.30pm. Mike Caffoor on the

Threat of Racism, Red Cow Public House, High Street.

Halifax IS: Public meeting Sunday 24 October, 7.30pm. Val Clark on The Attack on the Welfare State. The Upper George, Cheapside.

Peterborough IS: Tony Cliff on Unemployment. Saturday 30 October, 12.00, The New Inn, New Road, Peterborough.

NW Region: Day Industrial School for Women, 13 November, Catholic Chaplaincy, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool 3. Shop Stewards and Union officials' and 'Job evaluation and MDW'. Details from Anna Paczuska, 43 Darlington St, Wigan, Lancs.

New structure for women's lib movement

by Sandra Peers

FOUR HUNDRED delegates at the annual conference of the Women's National Co-ordinating Committee at Skegness last weekend voted to adopt a new structure for the women's liberation movement in Britain.

The major change was to abolish WNCC and to adopt a regional structure. National meetings will now be held only twice a year.

The changes were welcomed by the women at Skegness for whom the domination of WNCC by a small number of hard-working but dogmatic Maoists had become intolerable.

A regional structure will permit more participation and less domination by organised groups. And as nationwide campaigns have failed always to get off the ground, it was hoped that regional campaigns might have more success.

But a national organisation did give the women's liberation movement identity that helped keep up local morale. And although WNCC never achieved a successful paper or campaigns, these are still important tasks and we will need to recreate a national structure to deal with them.

Concerned mainly with organisation, the conference did not discuss activity adequately but the high morale and spirit that ended the weekend make it probable that the new structure will be built speedily and that we face a period of increased activity and growth for the women's liberation movement.

LONDON REGION AGGREGATE
2pm 23 October
New Merlins Cave,
Margery St, WC1.
Subject: The way forward for IS.
Speakers: Duncan Hallas and Sean Matgama.
IS members only.

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