

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Border dispute aids Moscow and Peking rulers

By CHRIS HARMAN

RELATIONS BETWEEN Russia and China have reached an all-time low in the last two weeks. On their common far eastern border, their respective 'socialist' armies have been firing at each other.

In Moscow mass demonstrations have been organised outside the Chinese embassy. In Peking, the Russian leaders are called the 'new Tsars'.

No one can be clear about the motives of either the Russian or Chinese leaders in the present situation. For no one—least of all the masses of workers and peasants in either country—has been told the significance of a few square miles of barren, snow-covered land.

ADVANTAGE

But a few important points can be made.

First, a limited border flare-up, provided it remains limited, is of immediate advantage to the ruling Chinese group around Mao Tse-tung. They can use it to develop a nationalistic fervour inside China in order to overcome the deep cleavages inside their regime brought about by the cultural revolution.

Loyalties within the Chinese ruling group have not recovered from the sharp divisions produced when leaders whose names had been inseparable from Mao's for 30 years—such as Liu Shao-chi and Chu Teh—were denounced. An inflated 'threat of war' can easily serve to close these cracks.

If Chinese intentions must be suspect, so must be Russian ones. Stalin's successors in the Kremlin have unhesitatingly continued his policy of using military force to subject whole nations to the interests of the Russian bureaucracy.

MURDER

The most obvious examples of this were the murder of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 (with Mao's support) and the invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer which Mao, with true Stalinist consistency, denounced.

But the same policies have been imposed upon the nominally 'autonomous' national republics inside the USSR itself through continual purges, Russification and suppression of national sentiment. Internally or externally, the aim of the Russian rulers has been to maintain economic control and to prevent any independent development of ideas.

If the recent clashes on the Chinese border represent a new aggressiveness in that area, it follows from the same policy that produced the invasion of Czechoslovakia: the need of the Russian ruling class to reassert its power bloodily and ostentatiously.

EXPRESSES

But the need to prove their power only expresses the fact that it has a shakier basis than ever before, as it is questioned not merely by Yugoslavs and Czechs, Chinese and Rumanians, but also by growing numbers inside Russia itself.

At the same time the Russian leaders hope to further safeguard themselves by 'peaceful coexistence' increased agreements with the US, the other major imperialist power.

If a full-scale war developed between Russia and China we would have to defend the right of the Chinese people to independence against the imperialist Russian bureaucracy. But this development is extremely unlikely.

The present bouts of fighting serve the interests of neither Russian nor Chinese workers and peasants. They are irrelevant to the problems facing either. When rulers on both sides glorify such an irrelevant waste of life they merely illustrate how opposed they are to the interests of the mass of people and how hollow are their socialist pretensions.

* Cartoon back page

Union leaders make dangerous concessions on blackmail clauses

FORDS: FIGHT AGAINST PENALTIES MUST GO ON

EDITORIAL

FORD WORKERS have won a partial victory against the combined attacks of the employers and the government.

However hard Mrs Castle tries to justify the settlement, it has breached her incomes policy and will encourage other groups of workers to follow the Ford lead.

Nevertheless, damaging concessions have been made and the workers must continue to resist them on the factory floor. The penalty clauses are by no means as savage as the management wished, but even watered-down penalties pose a threat to rank and file militancy and must be fought.

The management have established the principle of penalties, a principle that other employers will be quick to adopt. 'Good conduct' bonuses to individual workers, which would have encouraged blacklegging in strikes, have gone, along with the impossible demand for 21 days' notice of strike action.

But the union negotiators accepted that full holiday bonuses will be paid only if workers refrain from 'unconstitutional action'. If one section strikes, all sections will forfeit their bonuses.

The unions made a particularly dangerous concession in agreeing that lay-off pay during strikes will not apply if the dispute is within the Ford combine—that is, if Halewood strike, Dagenham men would receive no money. This is a crude attempt to divide Ford workers and must be resisted.

The concessions need not have been made. The solidarity of a factory like Halewood is something the Ford management could not resist if the workers were fully aware of their power.

SMASH THE DIVISIONS

They must use that power to smash the divisions the agreement attempts to create between workers in different sections and different plants. The struggle is always to unite workers in their own militant class organisations.

The strike has raised the question of the relationship between the rank and file and the trade union officials. There are officials like Cannon, Young and Kealey whose actions have shown that they are totally opposed to militant trade-union activity. In the present situation they would effectively present the workers bound hand-and-foot to the employers.

Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones are quite different. They are Left-wingers, but their position in the union structure often leads them to act inconsistently.

They made the Ford strike official—but only after the rank and file had moved first. Their unions have negotiated productivity deals elsewhere with, in a number of cases, penalty clauses.

What Ford shows is that the workers, relying only on themselves, can begin to push their union to do the job they were originally built to perform—to protect their members against exploitation by the bosses.

Rank and file organisation is of crucial importance. It has not been perfect at Ford. There has been a lack of connection between the stewards and the men they represent. One criticism of full-time officials is that they are distant from the shop-floor: it is essential that stewards should make sure they are in regular and direct contact with the men.

GO ON THE ATTACK

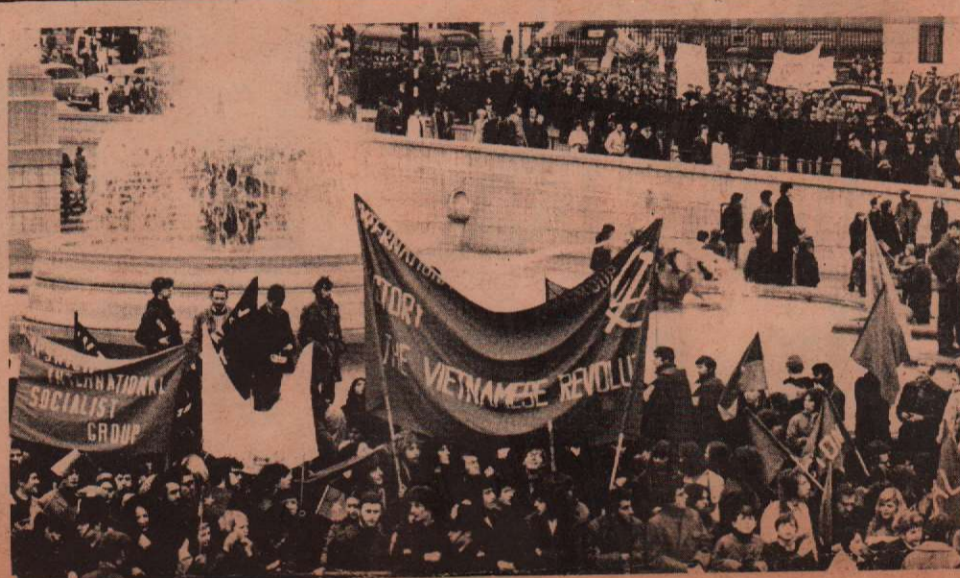
The situation will not remain static. The essence of productivity deals is that they sell conditions and safeguards the workers have built up over long periods. The bosses then feel free to manipulate the men as though they were cogs in a machine. If the shop floor is not organised to resist, conditions will rapidly deteriorate. The only way to fight effectively is to go on the attack.

The National Joint Negotiating Council is a dead body. It must be buried. In future stewards must insist on being present and in control of all negotiations.

The major problem the shop stewards face in the long run is a political one. It is clear that the obstinacy of the Ford management was politically motivated. They were encouraged by the Labour government to try to smash the workers.

The only way to fight the employer-government alliance is to fight politically. It is essential that the workers, and especially the shop stewards, should engage in regular and wide-ranging political discussions and clarification of how the government's overall capitalist policies affect them specifically. As a step in this direction, Socialist Worker will encourage and help any discussion group with information, and speakers.

At stake is workers' power against the power of the capitalist system, working-class interests and freedom against manipulation and exploitation.



Marchers entering Trafalgar Square—Picture by Jeff Pick.

Anguilla and Rhodesia: Wilson hypocrisy exposed

QUESTION: When does the British Labour government send troops to crush 'rebels'?

ANSWER: When they're black.

The panicky decision to rush soldiers and police to the tiny Caribbean island of Anguilla has spotlighted the hypocrisy of Wilson and his cabinet.

When white supremacist Ian Smith broke away from Britain in Rhodesia, Harold Wilson declared that the rebel regime would be toppled in 'weeks rather than months'.

That was in 1964. Smith is still in charge, his jails bursting with Africans and guerrilla leaders left to rot in detention or convicted on trumped-up charges.

Wilson dare not intervene because the racialsists on the Tory benches would howl about threatening 'our white kith and kin'.

As Wilson's capitulation to racialism in Britain has shown, when Powell and Sandys crack the whip, he toes the line.

But Anguilla, like Aden, is different. Here 6000 black people want to run their small island free from domination by a confederation set-up by Britain.

There is no doubt that the United States has urged Wilson to act like an old-fashioned gunboat Tory diplomatist. Any struggle for independence in the area is seen by Nixon and company as 'another Cuba'.

Gamblers

One pretext for intervening in Anguilla is the alleged presence there of a few Mafia gangsters who want to turn the island into a gambler's paradise.

The struggle in Anguilla does not give our own home-grown Mafia the right to intervene there while they appease the white racist thugs in Rhodesia.

The British labour movement should demand the immediate recall of British troops from the island.

THREE THOUSAND people marched in London last Sunday in solidarity with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam who lead the struggle to defeat US imperialism. The demonstration went from Hyde Park via the American embassy in Grosvenor Square to a rally in Trafalgar Square. Speakers included John Palmer of the International Socialists, who stressed that the main contribution we in Britain can make to the Vietnamese struggle is to build a revolutionary workers' movement to overthrow capitalism. Pete Camejo of the American Young Socialists received warm applause for his description of the work done in the US among GIs opposed to the war.

Call for May 1 strike

A CALL for a one-day national strike on May 1st against government plans to shackle the unions was made at the Engineering Voice conference in Sheffield on Sunday. The meeting was attended by 124 delegates representing 19 trade unions. On Monday, dockers in London's Royal Group called on the executive of their union, the Transport Workers, to call a strike on May Day against the White Paper.

GLASGOW:—Local shop stewards will discuss anti-union legislation at the TU centre, Carlton Place, March 29 from 10.30 am.

Fund off to flying start

By JIM NICHOL

SOCIALIST WORKER'S £4000 fighting fund for the next six months is off to a flying start. Donations totalling £397 reached the office after the appeal in last week's issue.

The money is urgently needed for new premises for the paper, our printshop and the HQ of the International Socialists, plus new equipment, to enable us to produce a six-page paper later this year.

Keep it up. Don't forget the fund after the first week. We are fighting to build an

organisation and a paper that will have a decisive role to play in the struggle for workers' power.

Rush your donations to me at Paxton Works, Paxton Road, London N17.

Our thanks to: Shellstar workers—£10 for our help during their lockout; D.H. £10; J.L. £30; J.S. £5; P.R. £5; S.S. £200; C.B. £25; P.H. £10; C.F. £5; N.C. £25; A.W. £1; M.N. £1; J.M. £8; J.G. £2; S.A. £2; J.H. £10; F.L. £25; E.M. £5; and Merton £5.

POLICE CALLED TO COLLEGE

POLICE were called to Enfield College, Middlesex, on Tuesday when students were ejected from a recruitment meeting for the armed services.

College lecturers barred

students from re-entering the meeting. The students staged a protest sit-down outside.

A mass meeting later condemned the principal's action in closing the meeting and calling police on to the campus.

Why fiddling with figures stops dressmen going bust

by JANE MACINTOSH

THE GODS OF FASHION, the Paris couturiers, have been rapidly losing their hold.

But other gods have risen in their place. Their names are Mary Quant and Barbara Hulaniki, rather than Pierre Balmain and Christian Dior.

But what is fashion? Any marxist feels instinctively that there is something wrong with any system that entails so much waste—not to mention the phenomenal profits that can be made from fashion.

In a socialist society women will still want to look their best, and men will still want to see them looking good. The clothing industry is one of the most basic industries of any society (with the exception of those very few states of the world where there is so good that protect their necessities).

A socialist Britain would still require to clothe its people. This could be done by functional 1984-type overalls, which may well become the clothing of the people during the period of socialism. Priorities are to ensure sufficient goods for all.

But socialism to me does not mean total conformity, and once everyone can have a choice, industry will again be able to provide some options.

REASONS

Fashion today, like so many other things, is dictated by the ruling class. Apart from its obvious profitability it is used by them for many other reasons.

It's a mark of class distinction, for a start. Maybe not so clearly as it used to be—50 years ago you could tell 50 yards away which class someone belonged to.

Today you may need to

look closer, but you can still tell. The clothes they wear cost anything from five to a hundred times as much as the clothes we wear.

Cashion is used to mark the continuing subservience of women. As long as women wandered around in skirts down to the ground they were physically incapable of doing a lot of men's work which they were otherwise perfectly well equipped to do.

Why do you think the fascist countries of Greece and Spain, and Catholic Italy, ban mini-skirts? Not because they don't like seeing girls' legs, you can be sure.

No, it's because mini-skirts are a symbol of female emancipation.

Girls today are saying, we're as capable as men of doing anything they can do. Instead of welcoming this vast

reservoir of labour, these backward countries, realising that their economy is so badly planned it can't give an honest day's work to the men, let alone the women, do everything they can to discourage it.

Fashion is used by the ruling class to try and hide their mistakes. Remember the 'boyish look' of the 1920s?

After the disaster of the First World War, they'd managed to kill off large numbers of men aged from 20 to 40. So what were the women to do? There weren't enough men to go round.

The gods of fashion came up with a bright idea. Why not get women to disguise their femininity, flatten their chests, cut their hair and in this way compensate for the lack of men?

When, in the 1950s it was

realised that soon there were going to be more men than women—modern medicine was keeping more children alive, and more boys are born than girls—the trend moved to the Marilyn Monroe type of figure.

Let's have a look at the profit made out of fashion. Today they bombard us with propaganda to say fashion is cheaper than ever before, that the girl with a £4 dress looks just as good as the girl in a Paris original.

But percentage wise, they're making every bit as much profit in the boutiques.

BARGAIN

That £4 dress, which may seem a bargain, probably cost 12s6d to make up. That is the average figure for any dress produced in the sweat shops that supply the boutiques. The material used didn't cost £3 7s 6d!

The dress has been made to last not more than a few

months, and with any luck waists will be an inch higher or lower by next week anyway, so you won't wear it long enough to see what bad value you're getting for your money.

It's a profitable business, fashion. Today's teenager, with her wage packet of £15 a week—and one which won't increase noticeably as she gets older—probably spends at least a third of it on clothes, and cosmetics, if she's living at home.

The money is just going back to the capitalist. Fashion is an important part of the capitalist system and, in the sense of Keeping up with the Joneses, will not exist in socialist society.

Once the profit element is removed, women will be able to dress genuinely to please themselves, to fit themselves best for whatever job they do, and will still look attractive—but to themselves and to men, rather than to the pocket of the capitalist.

Stay in and fight! Militants must not abandon the struggle in the unions

by TOM HILLIER

THE GROWTH of monopoly capitalism and the increasing centralisation of industry has reduced parliament almost to the position of a rubber stamp for the employing class.

In spite of the half-hearted cries of 'government interference' from the Tory Party, the big boys of industry have benefited financially from the Industrial Reorganisation Commission and similar bodies whose aim is the rationalisation of the productive forces.

Arnold Weinstock, for example, got £40,000 from the government to assist the GEC-AEI takeover which, in the interests of 'efficiency', threw thousands out of work.

No radical changes in industry can go ahead without the problem of industrial relations being posed. The unprecedented co-operation which the loyal trade union leaders have given the Labour government signalled the green light for the employers

to go on the attack.

A wage freeze in the 'national interest' followed and the restive rank and file were begged not to 'rock the boat' by the union chiefs.

But as the economy went from crisis to crisis, it became clear that the classical capitalist solution was being considered by the government.

Accept rises

Unemployment rose and the Prices and Incomes Board was created. Workers experiencing a cut in real wages were forced to accept rises at the cost of their conditions through productivity deals.

The process of enveloping the trade union leaders in the system started decades ago. Today the respected members of the TUC are accepted by the ruling class as decent fellows who have the country's

interests at heart—that is, the employers' interests.

Once the union leaders accept the concept of the 'national interest' they cannot represent the interests of the workers. Their role is that of labour agents, selling manpower at the ratio imposed by the employers. From this flows the sell-outs and betrayals—and the knightships and directorships.

It is not surprising to find industrial militants and others toying with the idea of leaving the 'corrupt unions' and starting to build a 'pure' organisation. Others drop out of the struggle altogether.

From the point of view of someone working in a key industry like the motor industry employing many thousands, it is tempting to think of a combine committee which could cut right across union lines and link up with workers at Rootes, Ford Vauxhall and BMH-Leyland.



AEI Woolwich: workers demonstrated last year at the closure of the factory by GEC, which received £40,000 from the government.

But in my view this can best be achieved by remaining within the union framework. The difficulties of building a separate union would be tremendous—and there is no guarantee that it would be free from the corrupting influences I have described.

The history of rank and file movements shows that by far the most successful have been those which worked within the existing unions.

The shop stewards' movement that became powerful during the first World War, had mass support and was built on the shop-floor rank and file.

Real force

Although most of its demands were economic and its perspectives limited by its tendency towards syndicalism (the theory that abandons the political struggle and believes

power can be won through a general strike) it nevertheless represented a real force.

It ignored war-time jingoism and seized the opportunity to demand concessions from the employers at a time when they were in no position to refuse. It would be hard to find a movement which had that degree of success outside the union structure.

To believe that revolutionaries should stop working in the trade unions is a most dangerous position. It is like those religious fanatics who decamp to a mountain top to avoid the sordid realities of life.

To abandon the working-class organisations because they have become degenerated is to avoid the struggle to influence workers and win them to socialism.

What else is the class struggle if it is not the fight for ideas? Do we run

away because the battle field is not to our liking?

The capitalist class and their Labour caretaker government would welcome yet another split in the working class. The divisive value of racialism has already been noted by the Powells and Callaghans.

Pure pastures

For revolutionaries to talk of leaving the unions and seeking 'pure' pastures would mean in practical terms abandoning the leadership of the workers and leaving them to the influence of the class enemy.

This is old-fashioned ultra-left nonsense, but it is dangerous nonsense and must be fought against.

Tom Hillier is an AEF shop steward at the CAV (Lucas group) works in North London.

Needed: a solidarity movement with Czech workers and

LETTERS

THE STRUGGLE for socialism in Czechoslovakia points up the need for revolutionary socialists in the West to come out in solidarity with our comrades in Eastern Europe.

The millionaire press has been shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the Czech workers and students, not because they have any feeling of sympathy for the socialist ideas being expressed in Czechoslovakia, but because any publicity that discredits the Soviet Union, and thus by implication, communism, is good for the maintenance of the capitalist regime in the West.

EXPOSE

Revolutionary socialists too have an interest in discrediting the imperialist activities of the Soviet Union, not because of an inbuilt hostility to communism, but because of the need to expose the insidious nature of state capitalism and its role as a block on the world struggle for communism.

The International Socialists have taken an important role in building the movement for solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle for self determination against

American imperialism. In so doing, we have not only given the Vietnamese the feeling that millions of socialists in the West stood by them in their struggle, but have also pointed out to many people the nature of Western capitalism.

I believe that the time has come for IS to take the lead in building a movement of solidarity with the Czech comrades around the idea of the right of nations to determine their own road to socialism, of opposition to Soviet imperialism and of solidarity with Czech workers and students in their struggle for control over the means of production.

IS should put out a call to all the other groups on the Left for the formation of an ad hoc committee to coordinate a mass demonstration in London against the Russian embassy.

In so doing we shall not only be giving our Czech comrades proof of our solidarity with them, but also demonstrate to people in the west the twin natures of Soviet and American imperialism, and thus the need for a truly

revolutionary alternative to Stalinism and capitalism.—**DAVE CLARK**, Manchester IS.

AEF leaders: ignoring 'the facts'

IN LAST WEEK'S Socialist Worker you record that the 'vacillating and confused' AEF leaders have already signed agreements of the Ford type, and cite Henry Wiggin in Hereford.

May I draw to the attention of your readers that this is somewhat of a falsification of the facts. Giving your correspondent the benefit of the doubt let us assume that he did not read to the end of the Sunday Times report on this case. If he had he would have been able to read:

'The AEF's acceptance of the Wiggin contract ... does not mean that the union was overjoyed by its contents ... There had been four strikes in

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SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria, must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-

WHERE WE STAND

mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed, with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

The
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THE STRUGGLE of the peoples of Latin America against imperialism and capitalism. East is an ion of this

But the Arab people complicated the process of the Zionist offshoot—the Israel.

A series of edies brought Palestine to Russia, Persian Europe and of Nazism.

When they time, they fought by Arab motivation to Jews there, conflict between settlements was unavoidable

Closed

Zionism is an ancient economic Arab population of Arab been blocked

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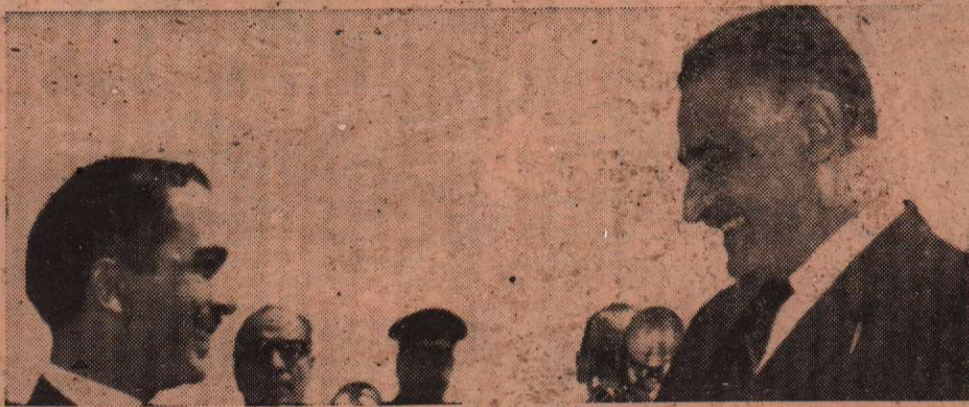
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survival of the Zionist state exposes the spinelessness of Nasser and the Ba'ath

MIDDLE EAST

Only the overthrow of imperialism can win peace for Arabs and Jews

by MOSHE AVNERI



'The obscene embrace': Nasser greets Hussein in Cairo last week

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cent per person of those in the Jewish part.

In opposing the local Arab population, Zionism had to try and serve the ruling imperialist power. The guiding principle of Zionist diplomacy has always been to affiliate itself with the world power whose sphere of influence was Palestine.

Heavy subsidies

Herzel, the founder of political Zionism, courted mainly the Turkish Sultan and the German Kaiser. After World War I, Zionism was orientated toward British imperialism. After World War II, Zionism switched its attachment to American imperialism.

Zionism has been subsidised heavily by Western capitalism.

You need only think of the hundreds of millions of reparations paid by West Germany. This is not the product of Bonn's contrition over

Nazi crimes towards the Jews—after all 20 million Russians were killed by the Nazis and still not a single Mark was paid to Russia by Bonn!

It is because Washington willed it that Bonn paid it to Israel. Between 1949 and 1964 nearly \$6,000m came to Israel via German reparations, economic aid from the United States government and from Jews in America and elsewhere. (S. Zarhi, 'Peace and the Israeli Economy', New Outlook, Tel Aviv, February 1967).

This sum comes to some \$3,060 per head of population in Israel. It is a fantastic sum.

Israeli naturally supports and is supported by imperialism everywhere. It supported the French war in Algeria during the years 1954-61, supplied arms to the Portuguese government in Angola and went as far as to accept feelers from the Saigon government, which asked for advice on how to control the Vietcong.

In Vietnam

You may well wonder what Moshe Dayan was doing in South Vietnam at the beginning of 1967 when he stayed there as a newspaper 'correspondent'. Was it to learn the use of 'strategic' or was it to teach the Americans and Marshall the use of Palmach and Nahal?

Socialists and revolutionaries everywhere must support the underprivileged, oppressed Arab workers and peasants in their resistance to imperialism and its ally Zionism.

This does not mean that all Arabs are revolutionary or anti-imperialist. The Kings of Saudi Arabia, the ruler of Kuwait and other Persian Gulf Gulf dukedoms, and King Hussein of Jordan are dutiful allies of imperialism.

But even the 'anti-imperialist' Nasser or the Ba'ath rulers of Syria and Iraq are not more consistent in fighting US and British imperialism than Chiang Kai-Shek was in fighting Japanese imperialism.

Shallow roots

Neither Nasser nor the Ba'ath can ever become revolutionary, can ever grow beyond their middle-class social basis of the army officers, civil servants and teachers, sons of merchants and prosperous peasants, better-off peasants and small-scale landowners.

Because of its very shallow roots in the masses, Nasserism and the Ba'ath are very brittle, very prone to ractionalism (hence the break-up of the United Arab Republic—the secession of Syria from Egypt—in 1961, the bitter

conflicts with Kassem's Iraq, and so on).

Because of its social base Nasserism and the Ba'ath vacillate between republicanism and the obscene embrace of 'our Arab brother' King Hussein of Jordan, or King Feisal of Saudi Arabia. Nasserism also vacillates between an attack on the 'Moslem Brotherhood', including the execution of a number of their leaders, and Islamic fervour.

Unstable regimes

One of the main lessons from the collapse of Ben Bella in Algeria and Kassem in Iraq (as well as Nkrumah in Ghana and Sukarno in Indonesia) is that the bonapartist regimes in backward countries, trying to balance between the working class and the peasantry on the one hand, and imperialism on the other, as well as between the Great Powers (the policy of 'positive neutralism'), are extremely unstable.

For a really successful anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, Nasserism and the Ba'ath are found wanting: they are far too removed from the masses.

For such a struggle it is necessary for the national revolution to be intertwined with the social revolution, for the workers to take over the oil fields, factories, railways, etc. and for the peasants to carry out a revolutionary land reform.

Before the June War in 1967 there were a quarter of a million Arabs under Israeli rule (some 1,000,000 refugees have left, or were driven out of their homes in the 1948 war).

Since the war there are nearly two million Arabs under Israeli rule. And their resistance is growing daily.

Not effective

Until now the two main organisations which led the resistance movement have not been very effective, nor consistently anti-imperialist. Their organisations are Al-Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Both have an agreement—overt or otherwise—with the existing Arab regimes on not intervening in their internal affairs.

It is true the Popular Front uses the language of Mao, Che and Castro, but its tacit agreement with King Hussein of Jordan and the Ba'ath of Syria show its real vacillating nature. Al-Fatah is very heavily subsidised by the Arab oil rulers.

There is probably no place where Stalin's 'theory' of stages—which separates the



THE EXPANSIONISM OF ISRAEL

- 1 The Partition Plan: the plan for division of Palestine adopted by the UN in 1947
- 2 The actual border of Israel according to the armistice in 1949
- 3 Cross-hatched areas occupied by Israel since 1967

national from the social revolution—proves more bankrupt day after day than in the Arab East.

To give an example: one of the weakest links in the chain of imperialism in the Middle East is Iraq. The Ba'ath regime that has not touched the imperialist oil companies at all is exposed in the bloody suppression of the Kurds and in the public hanging of 'spies' (after a secret 'trial').

To expropriate the oil companies one has to unite

Arabs and Kurds, as the Kurds are on top of the oil fields of Mosul and Kirkuk.

If the language of Che and Castro is being used by the Popular Front while it follows the opportunist policy of Stalin, Nasser and the Ba'ath, Dayan is forcing the Arab resistance movement into more and more radical channels.

The expansion of Israel in the Six Days' War brought it into an impasse: the two million Palestinians are like a bone in the throat of Zionism—it cannot be swallow-

owed or spat out.

For military-political reasons, Israel dare not withdraw from the occupied area. Neither can it assimilate the Arabs. Resistance is growing daily.

The attacks by Israeli forces on Beirut airport at the beginning of the year were nothing but a sign of weakness, an act of desperation.

The Zionist oppression of the Palestinian Arabs and the continuation of imperialist exploitation of the Arabs all over the Middle East will force the movement into a more and more revolutionary path.

The 1948 victory of Israel led to the overthrow of King Farouk and the feudal landlords of Egypt. The Israeli victory of 1956 led to the overthrow of the Nuri Said feudal regime in Iraq.

Now every day of survival of Israel as an expansionist and segregationist state exposes the spinelessness of the middle class regimes of Nasser and the Ba'ath.

Victorious struggle

The self-reliance of the guerrillas will increase and the movement will spread beyond the boundaries of occupied Palestine.

The Arab workers and peasants who suffered oppression over a long period of time need both social and national revolutionary policies. National emancipation and social emancipation are inseparable.

Only when the workers take the key industries and the peasants take into their hands the land, can a really victorious struggle against imperialism and its hangers on be carried out, however long, bloody and tortuous this struggle may be.

The only possible solution to the needs of the Middle East is the workers' and peasants' revolution aimed at the establishment of a socialist republic, with full rights for Jews, Kurds and all national minorities.

Join the International Socialists

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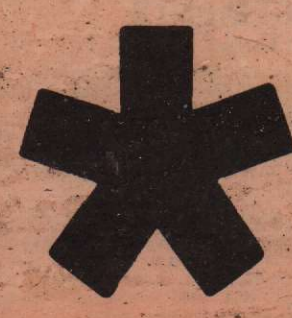
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Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address

Black-White Unity Mobilisation

WOLVERHAMPTON

April 27

Using coaches, numbers, now Details from:

Committee Convenor

545 Wolverhampton Rd, Walsall, Staffs.

'Save our jobs' march demands

From JIM RICHARDS

TWO THOUSAND workers marched on parliament on Monday to protest at the closure of the C.A. Parsons factory in Erith, Kent. The shutdown threatens them with redundancy in an area where there is little hope of fresh employment.

The men downed tools at 11 am and marched to the station, where they linked up with workers from other local factories—Vickers of Crayford and Sovex, British Oil and Cake Mills and British Insulated Callenders of Erith. The last two firms also face the threat of closure in the next two years.

Homeless evicted from empty house

From JIM SMITH

EDINBURGH:—Police evicted a homeless family on Monday five hours after they had been installed in an empty house in Whitehorse Close by the Edinburgh Squatters' Campaign.

The squatters are considering legal action against the police as a test case of their right to evict people for 'trespassing' in empty property.

The house is owned by Edinburgh Housing Corporation and has not been occupied for four years. The corporation charges £9 a week for houses in the area and there is no waiting list for them.

But there is a 6000 waiting list in the whole of the city. The corporation only builds houses to rent for working-class tenants in outlying districts.

They want to keep the central areas for middle-class people as a tourist attraction and as a 'suitable' route for royalty visiting the city.

Away from the 'respectable' areas there are 10,000 overcrowded homes and 21,000 without baths. 180 people live in homeless hostels, with 12 families living in 14 insanitary rooms in the notorious Duddingston Flats.

Further details from Edinburgh Squatters' Campaign, 14 West Preston Street.

Police watch as squatters attacked

A YOUNG COUPLE called Elaine and Dave occupied an empty house in Leyton, east London two weeks ago. They followed the example of squatters they had seen on television but did not contact the local group until they were safely installed.

Elaine and Dave—they are not revealing their last names—knew from their relatives Pat and Harry Worth of 72 Adelaide Road that no.70 had been empty since the last tenant did a 'moonlight flit'. The homeless couple had been refused council permission to live with the Worths and the agent of no.70 turned them down.

Elaine was pregnant and she and Dave did not fancy the idea of a homeless hostel. So they moved into no.70 and then sought support from Ilford and Leyton Squatters.

The agent's builders broke into the house, smashed locks and windows and bruised the couple and the Worths. Police watched the attack but took no action.

Two days later, Elaine went to hospital to have her baby. Dave is still occupying the house and the Squatters are considering legal action against the builders.

Two families move in

TWO HOMELESS families occupied a house in Notting Hill Gate, west London, on Saturday. The house, 43 Artesian Road, had been empty for nine years and the landlord was in the process of turning it into three luxury flats.

The families are Mr and Mrs Lee and their two children who have had five addresses since Christmas and were in a homeless hostel until Saturday, and Mr and Mrs Lewis and their four children, a West Indian family who were evicted on Saturday from their one room where they had lived for 25 years.

They marched from Waterloo Station to the House of Commons shouting slogans and carrying colourful and imaginative banners.

The slogans included: 'C.A. Parsons dropped in the sh.. by you know who', 'Jobs today, not redundancy pay' and 'There's a depression centred over South East England'.

A coffin was carried at the head of the march with the inscription 'In loving memory of 91 factories and 70,000 jobs which have quietly passed away since 1964.'

Through the back streets

The marchers had planned to go down the Strand and Whitehall but the police sent them through the back streets of south London to Lambeth Bridge, where they forced them to leave their banners before crossing the river to parliament.

But the workers formed up again on Millbank and marched on the Commons, still shouting their slogans.

Works convenor at C.A. Parsons, Ray Day, said he was convinced the closure was a political act.

'Parsons merged with Reyrolle in March last year under the auspices of the Industrial Reorganisation Commission,' he said. 'The freehold of the buildings is owned by Weinstock's GEC—a company well known for its closures.'

Lost jobs three times

Some workers on the march have been made redundant three times in the area. They were bitterly angry at government policy which uses public money to close factories and send them to other parts of the country. They said South East London and Kent would soon be a depressed area.

In his vicious attack on strikers last week, Harold Wilson bragged that £58m of public money had been used to develop factories on Merseyside. But that money goes into the pockets of the employers and government policy results in unemployment being spread thinly over the whole country.

There is no clearer example of the anarchy and inefficiency of capitalism when a 'distressed area' in the north is helped by creating another in the south through wholesale closures and mass redundancies.

STUDENTS' DECISIVE CONFERENCE

AS STUDENTS throughout the country face the end of an eventful term, militants are preparing for a decisive conference in Manchester this weekend where the lessons of the term's experience will be discussed.

At LSE the ruling class made a vicious attempt to smash the most militant and advanced socialist base in the universities. The recent closure and victimisation are

ANNOUNCEMENTS

IS spring conference, Easter, April 5 & 6, London. Details from branch secretaries. Discussion on perspectives for revolutionary socialists. Extra copies of perspectives document ready this week. Phone orders to 01-808 2879. IS Dockers' group urgently needs typewriter and duplicator. Any offers to Alf Waters c/o 1 Russell Road, Tilbury, Essex. DUPLICATING paper available at IS spring conference, footscap 115 a team, quays St. Orders to Fred Wilson 118 Wolsey Cross.



Moderates move to split Ulster rights campaign

From SEAN REED

SIX RIGHT-WING leaders of the Irish Civil Rights movement have resigned in an attempt to split the campaign and forestall a swing in favour of more militant policies.

MPs John Hume and Ivan Cooper have quit as chairman and vice-chairman of the Derry Citizen's Action Committee. Both will remain on the committee.

The other four, headed by Irish Communist Party leader Betty Sinclair, have resigned from the executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, alleging that it had been taken over by the People's Democracy.

'NONSENSE'

This claim was described as 'absolute nonsense' by Michael Farrell. He said the PD members, himself and Kevin Boyle, were democratically elected at CRA's annual meeting last month.

The real reason for the resignations is that the rank and file of the movement, sick and tired of the excuses of Sinclair and company for not organising any action since last summer to push their demands, have swung behind the militant PD policies.

Last week, PD announced

plans for a march to parliament on March 29 to protest against the Public Order Bill. Last Saturday's CRA meeting agreed to jointly sponsor the demonstration in spite of Sinclair and her supporters. Rather than accept the decision, they resigned, hoping to split and wreck the movement.

If there is no compromise with these elements, the way is now clear to commit CRA to a programme of street struggle in alliance with PD.

The resignations on the same day of Hume and Cooper can be seen as acts of self-defence. Both men have lost popularity in Derry since their election to parliament last month.

The Derry Labour Party decided to organise a mass defiance of the Public Order Bill when it goes through Stormont. Both Hume and Cooper were opposed to the Citizen's Action Committee joining but they feared that an open refusal on their part would mean a loss of support for their middle of the road committee.

By stepping down they hope to ride the wave until—as they think—the present militancy has passed.

Franco police crack down on strikers

BILBAO:—In this industrial area of the Basque country, three large firms are on strike—Altos Hornos, Sociedad Espanola de Construccion Naval and Babcock and Wilcox. More than 15,000 workers are involved.

The authorities have closed Altos Hornos and arrested more than 100 workers. Ten workers from Construcciones Navales were also arrested and 16 from Babcock and Wilcox.

At Altos Hornos there had been negotiations before a new collective contract was signed. The workers had elected special representatives to sit with the Jurado de Empresa—a management-worker council.

On January 22 a meeting was called which was to be attended by the Jurado de Empresa, the shop stewards and the specially elected Departmental Commissions. But one of the members of these commissions, Basilio, who had great support among the workers, was excluded from the meeting.

All 300 members of the commissions left the meeting in protest and subsequently the management sacked Basilio. It seems that the Jurado de Empresa opposed the sacking.

Workers' demands

Next day, as soon as Basilio's sacking was known, 1000 workers met outside the office building and demanded:

The resignation of the Jurado de Empresa

No victimisation of members of Departmental Commissions

The right for the Commissions to meet within the firm.

On January 24 the firm's magazine insulted Basilio and gave a distorted picture of the reasons for his sacking. The workers immediately published a clandestine leaflet giving the true facts.

Two days later the police went to arrest Basilio, Fuentes, another member of the Factory Committee, and Pedro, a worker priest. Only the priest was found at home and arrested. Copies of the workers' leaflet were found at his flat and confiscated.

Two days later the police arrested Basilio and Alberto Fernandez, a militant from Babcock and Wilcox. An attempt was made to arrest Fuentes at work but when his shop threatened to come out on strike the police van left.

No answer

By January 31, the management had given no answer to their demands and the workers staged a two-hour stoppage.

That evening Fuentes was arrested. He had previously managed to avoid arrest by leaving the factory surrounded by a large group of other workers, but that evening about 70 police went to Altos Hornos and made workers come out two by two.

The following morning, at 2.30 am, three militants from Altos Hornos were arrested.

There was an almost complete one-day strike at Altos Hornos and the Civil Guard surrounded part of the plant. Eight workers were arrested.

On February 3 the government shut Altos Hornos. The workers continued to meet in an open-air dance hall.

On February 5 Construcciones Navales and Babcock and Wilcox joined the strike. On the same day the police went to the homes of maintenance men from Altos Hornos and forced them to go back to work.

The next day, the management sent all their workers a letter ordering them to end the strike and reminding them that under the State of Exception they were legally bound to do so. Nearly 100 were arrested.

This report has just reached Socialist Worker. The author is a worker at Altos Hornos de Vizcaya, a large steel mill in the suburbs of Bilbao. Babcock and Wilcox is a British firm and we hope that our readers will make the report known to their workers.

CHALLINOR'S CHOICE

Wilson —marxism by default

WHENEVER Harold Wilson makes a swinglike attack on workers, he unwittingly exposes the falsity of his own position. The importance he attaches to curbing strikes merely shows how vital workers are to the health of the economy.

Wilson does not have to worry about businessmen and financiers. They can go in hordes to bask in Caribbean sunshine and thus avoid Britain's wintry weather.

Their absence makes not one whit of difference. He does not have to make any speeches against them, accusing them of wrecking the economy.

Could there be any more conclusive proof of the truth of the labour theory of value? By his very concern over industrial disputes, Harold Wilson reveals that the working class is the creator of all wealth.

Highly profitable con game

STRIKERS from the Courtaulds' Skelmersdale factory recently adopted the unusual procedure of journeying to Liverpool to picket the Labour Exchange. Their demonstration was against methods used by Ministry officials to inveigle them into working at Skem.

Said leading shop steward Tony Bryan: 'Most of the men were conned into coming to the factory with a promise that wages would not fall below £25. However, none of us have been able to reach this figure, even with overtime and bonuses.'

Another striker, Peter McCoy, who left a £27 a week job in Liverpool to come to Courtaulds, said: 'If they told the truth about the wages, they would get no one up here.'

From their accounts, it would appear as if the Department of Employment and Productivity is running a deception racket, a business lucrative only for shareholders. Of course, it may well be that it was the firm, rather than the Ministry which was responsible for the highly imaginative figures given.

In its struggle with workers at Skelmersdale, Courtaulds has been strengthened by an immense amount of public money. Out of the £7½m which it cost to build the factory, £3m came from the state.

Such a gigantic subsidy must have been one of the factors influencing Courtaulds in coming to the new town.

It has been closing plants, outside development areas, where no state aid was forthcoming, and fresh factories in areas which do qualify for national assistance. Three mills at Bolton, employing 1300 were closed and the Skelmersdale mill, which will ultimately employ 800, opened.

Less workers, higher profits—this seems to be the slogan throughout British industry today. And development grants facilitate this process, bringing the capitalist state and big business into a closer, more intimate association.

Workers on strike at Skem would do well to take heed. Courtaulds itself shows what happens.

Its directors include such Tory ex-cabinet ministers as R.A. Butler, Eccles, Horsburgh, and Watkinson, while the company also employs ex-deputy prime minister George Brown and Douglas Jay, formerly President of the Board of Trade, from Labour's ranks.

Surely, this is a veritable high-powered political coalition out to maximise profits at the workers expense.

Lick that!

TALKING about sacking, let me give you the best get-your-own-back story I've heard this week. A worker, dismissed by a sweet factory, showed his annoyance by putting four-letter words in half a mile of Blackpool rock!

Ray Challinor

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