

Socialist Worker

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Prices outstrip pay as unemployment soars

NEW BLOW TO WAGES

'UNEMPLOYMENT is a social, psychological and economic evil.' With these words Robert Carr, the Tory Minister of Employment, last Friday joined in the procession of notables who have been weeping crocodile tears about the fate of the jobless.

What he did not do was to offer any hope that the situation will improve in the near future.

In spite of the great flourish with which the Tories have announced plans to increase government spending, big business's own magazine, *The Economist*, has pointed out that they will not 'really increase employment until 1973'.

The Tories offer feeble excuses for this state of affairs. The feeblest is to claim that they could not 'predict' the rise.

But their story is not entirely true. While pretending to be upset at the rising scale of unemployment they have deliberately thrown thousands on to the dole on the Clyde and elsewhere. In private they float over another set of figures.

These are the figures released on Monday that show earnings now rising more slowly than prices because workers are more reluctant than they used to be of going on strike.

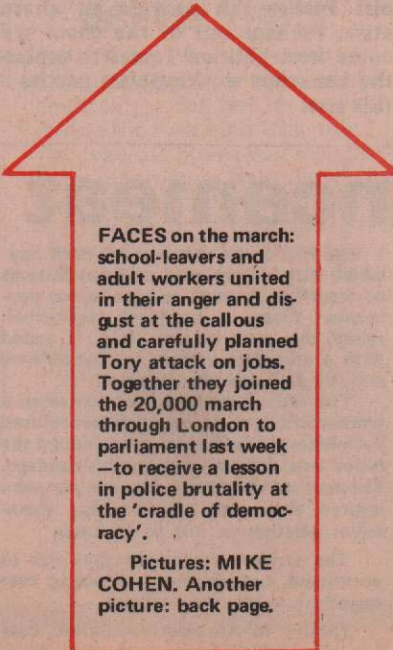
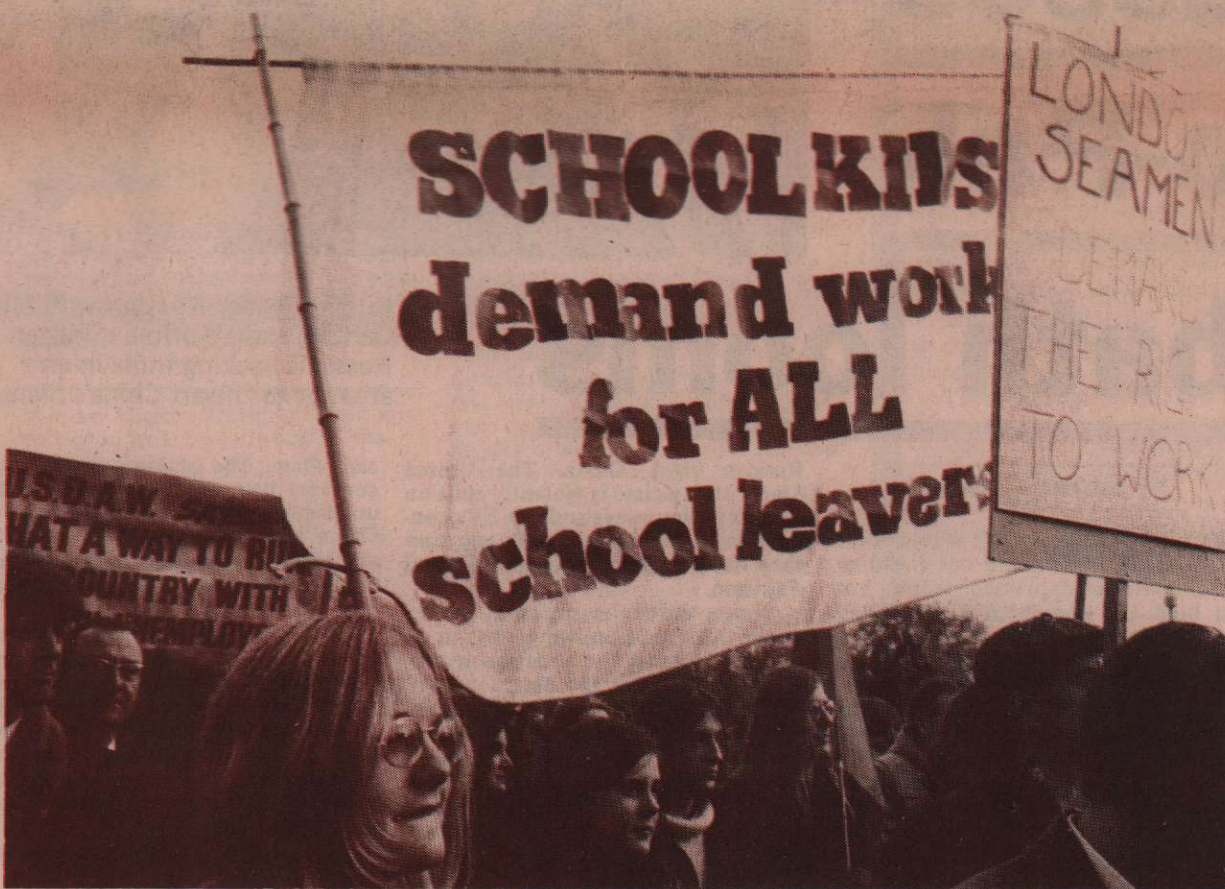
MOBILISE

What is desperately needed is a mobilisation of the organised working class to defeat the ravages of unemployment.

1. Occupations and strikes are needed to stop bosses moving out the work and machines of those they want to sack.
2. There must be an immediate end to productivity deals. These mean that some men take over the work of others who go down the road.
3. Every pay claim that goes forward must include the demand for the 35 hour week without loss of pay. The shorter working week would mean work for nearly all those at present on the dole.
4. Overtime must be banned in firms and districts where men are being thrown out of their jobs. Basic wage rates must be forced up to make overtime working unnecessary.
5. There must be a real struggle for five days' work or five days' pay. If any firm cannot promise this to its workers, then the trade union movement should demand that it be nationalised under workers' control.

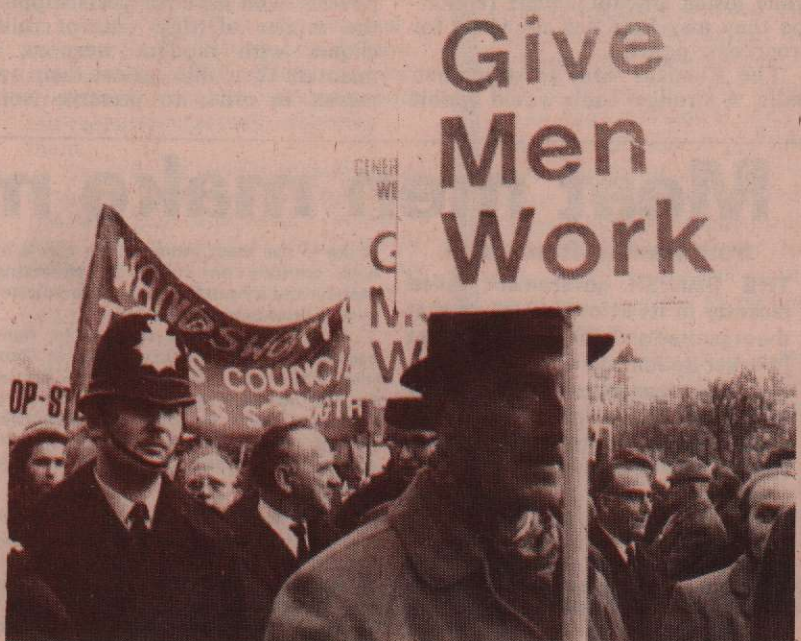
The trade union movement has the power to fight successfully for all these things. But it has to be prepared to use that power.

That is why success in the struggle against unemployment depends on building a socialist organisation with militants in every industry who are prepared to challenge the complacency of the present leaders of the labour movement.



FACES on the march: school-leavers and adult workers united in their anger and disgust at the callous and carefully planned Tory attack on jobs. Together they joined the 20,000 march through London to parliament last week—to receive a lesson in police brutality at the 'cradle of democracy'.

Pictures: MIKE COHEN. Another picture: back page.



THIS WEEK



SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME fittingly ends his career as a died-in-the-wool reactionary Tory politician with his 'settlement' of the Rhodesian issue. The other most notable achievement of Home's career was his sordid role in the Munich talks that attempted to reach agreement with the Nazi dictator Hitler.

Now Home has signed a deal with the white racist settlers in Salisbury that will maintain their domination over the majority black population. Report and analysis: page 4.



HAROLD WILSON, anxious to grab a share of the limelight, went on a much-publicised tour of Ireland and came up with a plan that would mean a united (capitalist) Ireland in 15 years' time. But until then, the troops stay, internment stays, the brutality and concentration camps remain. And the whole scheme is designed to maintain British capitalism's grip over the whole of Ireland. Report: page 12.

PLUS

WHICH trade union spends more on burying its dead members than on keeping live ones on strike? The General and Municipal Workers (of course). Britain's third most powerful labour organisation has few elections and invests members' money in firms with which it negotiates. LAURIE FLYNN's special report: centre pages.

TORY plans for boosting council tenants' rents are part of the general attack on workers' living standards. The rents issue needs urgent action—in conjunction with the organised labour movement. HUGH KERR writes: page 8.

IN 1932 British troops were rushed to Northern Ireland—to put down a united mass movement of Catholics and Protestants. That unity threatened the whole Orange police state and holds important lessons for today. Story: page 8.

RADIO ONE—just mindless music? DAVE LAING thinks it has a more sinister purpose. REVIEW: page 9.

AND the top round-up of industrial news: pages 11 and 12.

MAKE sure you see *Socialist Worker* every week—the paper that fights the Tory-employer offensive.

WORLD NEWS

Conflict in Israel as Mid-East faces crisis

Once again war threatens in the Middle East. But while the Jordan Prime Minister is assassinated and President Sadat of Egypt whips up nationalist feeling by proclaiming that war with Israel is imminent, what is going on inside Israel? World News has been talking to Rami Heilbronn of ISRACA — Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee.

TWO of the most significant developments in Israel concern the question of conscientious objection and the so-called Black Power movement. The population of Israel is partly of European origin (Ashkenazi), and partly of Jewish stock called Sephardim.

The Sephardim look Arab and speak Arabic and by and large they do all the really rough jobs. Most of the labourers on building sites are from Morocco and other countries in North Africa.

Contrary to official propaganda there is very little intermarriage between the two groups. The older Sephardim mostly accept this. It is often better than the life they had before they came to Israel, and they want to show just how anti-Arab they are by voting for all the most disgusting right-wing and religious parties.

Their children are quite different. They were often born in Israel and are starting to raise hell. They can see that the establishment is basically corrupt and bureaucratic.

What is annoying them at the moment are the terrible housing conditions. The activities of crooked estate agents who influence councils are becoming almost as noticeable in Israel as in Tory Britain.

When they demonstrate, or occupy empty flats awaiting Russian immigrants, they are slandered by the press. The troublemakers are accused of taking money from the Arab guerrillas—a lie of course.

Their bad social conditions and the conflicts within the old-fashioned traditional families have led to much demoralisation and a lot of them have convictions for vandalism and petty theft. Nobody with such criminal convictions is allowed into the army.

Strange as it may seem to us, one of the Black Power demands is to be allowed to serve in the army even with such convictions. For the army is one of the few institutions in Israel which still maintains the old idealism

of Zionism (though for Jews only, of course).

In the army a Sephardi will become a sergeant if he is up to the job, but the same does not apply to skilled or supervisory status in industry, or to trade union officials.

An echo

The problem facing the Israeli state is that as it industrialises itself, it needs a large working class in large factories. There is now quite a substantial engineering sector, with many plants of more than 200 workers. The unskilled or semi-skilled workers in such factories are Sephardim or Arabs but too many Arabs in the factories would go against Zionist ideology.

It is in the new, young, working class that the so-called Black Power movement has awakened an echo. Although unsophisticated they have seen through much of the Zionist myth.

Recently a really right-wing group suggested that the Black Power boys be settled in the Occupied Territories. The swift reply was 'Go and settle

in the occupied territories yourself if you're so keen'. There are no reports of the right-wingers leaving their air-conditioned Tel Aviv flats to undertake this 'patriotic' but unpleasant job.

This hostility must in the end lead to moves towards the Arab workers in Jerusalem and elsewhere, whose youth suffer even worse discrimination and a similar breakdown of the old family structure, with similar effects.

Already the racists are almost incoherent with rage because a tiny group of middle-class youngsters have declared themselves conscientious objectors on political grounds. (Only religious grounds are allowed).

These kids refuse to serve in an army which is oppressing another nation. Fearful pressure has been put on these courageous teenagers. Their parents are asked in the popular press what they think of their children's behaviour, and they are interviewed and named. The hysterical reaction shows the sensitivity to anything that challenges the myths of Zionism.

ON 19 NOVEMBER the Enskilda bank of Stockholm announced the death by suicide of Marc Wallenberg, who had shot himself. Marc was 48, and the youngest of the Wallenberg family of tycoons which has dominated Swedish industry and banking for the past 200 years.

The Wallenbergs are the most powerful of the dozen or so families that own most of Sweden's industry. They own four out of five firms in so-called 'socialist' Sweden with a turnover of more than £200 million, including SKF (bearings), SAAB-Scania (motors) and Ericsson (telephones).

Wallenberg concerns employ half a million workers, and estimates put the total turnover of the Wallenberg empire close to £200,000 million.

Wallenbergs give large financial contributions to the rightist parties in Sweden and are very close to the military, whose efforts to increase defence expenditure they support, while they themselves get many military contracts.

The reason given for the suicide was overwork, but readers needn't worry about more suicides in Sweden from overwork in the near future. The figures for unemployed are already more than 116,000 with forecasts of a quarter or even half a million for the coming winter.

A STUDY published recently by the American Association for the Advancement of Science reports 'widespread devastation' throughout South Vietnam as a result of the Crop Destruction Programme being carried out by the US Army.

Its aim is to cut off food supplies from 'enemy soldiers', but as the report admits this has failed. It is the ordinary people who are suffering. Powerful herbicides sprayed over large areas have utterly destroyed between 20 and 50 per cent of South Vietnam's mangrove forests and about half of all hardwood forests as well as acres of food crops.

The health of the population has also suffered. Heavy spraying of herbicides has coincided with large numbers of stillbirths and with an increase in the numbers of people suffering with cleft palates and spina bifida. These are the lengths that the American army is prepared to go to to subjugate the Vietnamese people.

AFTER MORE than a year's discussions, the General Councils of the three biggest Italian unions have decided to unify their organisations into a single body. The unions involved are the CGIL (General Confederation of Labour, Communist-led, three and a half million members), the CISL (Italian Confederation of Labour, Christian-Democratic, two million), and the UIL (Italian Union of Labour, Social-democratic, one and a half million).

The meaning of the unification was summed up in the words of one of the union bureaucrats: 'Unification is not only an end but an indispensable means to achieve our objectives . . . Structural reforms, rationalisation of the system, participation of the unions in economic policies . . .'

The aims of the programme of unification are to strengthen the bargaining position of the unions in order to push through reforms intended to modernise but not challenge Italian capitalism, and to regain control over the militants who have been challenging the unions in the factories.

This unification goes hand in hand with the Communist Party's collaboration with the government at all levels in order to foster 'economic and social progress' at the expense of the Italian working class and to defend the 'national interest'.

THE NEO-NAZI National Democratic Party in West Germany faces a split. It has lost 7000 members over the last year, and its leader Adolf von Thadden has resigned. The split is between the old guard supporters of law and order, and a new right wing demanding direct action and street fighting.

Misery for the masses as Indo-Pak blood bath looms

THE DIE SEEMS cast for war as the Indian government turns the screw on the Pakistanis. Socialists in all countries will ask: 'Why war? Why now?'

The immediate initiator is of course India, but the people who started it all off in the first place were the Pakistani army clique with their treacherous massacre of the people of Bangla Desh. Now the chickens are coming home to roost, but the worst sufferers will be the innocent in India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan.

The Indian economy is collapsing under the strain of supporting nearly 10 million refugees. There is no economic growth and no sign of the Pakistanis making anything like the concessions necessary to get the refugees back, though recently Yahya Khan has made some meaningless diplomatic gestures.

The Pakistani government has made the gestures because it is running out of foreign exchange and is desperately seeking new markets for the goods it previously sold to the Eastern part of the country. There is inflation and unemployment in West Pakistan, and the burden has fallen almost entirely on the urban classes — the workers, small businessmen and white collar employees. The rich peasants in the countryside who provide a solid mass of support to the government have not yet felt the draught.

A clue to the real motives of the Indian government is to be found in the Daily Telegraph of 27 November. Their correspondent states that if the Indians delay much longer the left wing will take over the Bangla Desh

by Edward Crawford

guerrilla movement. The whole point is that the Indians are not invading to liberate an oppressed people, but to bind the people of Bangla Desh more securely to their own reactionary ruling class, while weakening the rival state of Pakistan.

Meanwhile, what are the great powers doing about this? The Chinese, supporting the mass murderers in the Pakistani army, have talked big about intervening, but the dangers in doing so are so real that it is very probable that they will do nothing at all. Now they will get all the blame from the bloodthirsty colonels in Pakistan, while losing any threadbare reputation they may have had elsewhere for progressive policies.

The Russians want to strengthen India. A stronger India would inhibit

Russia's rival, China. The United States ruling class is violently split on foreign policy issues and the US economy is in deep trouble. In any case they have interests in both India and Pakistan.

Nixon shifts uneasily from one leg to the other, not knowing what to do without making the situation worse. He does not want the destruction of the Indian economy and the Pakistani army and it looks as if that is just about what will happen. Britain's only contribution has been to train the leading officers in both armies, who will probably both make a hash of it.

The final responsibility for the state of affairs rests on the imperialist powers, who have for years supplied the armies of tiny corrupt ruling cliques with modern weapons to maintain their rule against their own masses in order to preserve world

capitalism. The Indian sub-continent contains half the population in the underdeveloped world outside of China; ruin and chaos there would be a terrible weakening of world imperialism, though at dreadful human cost.

If the Indians win a short sharp victory by overrunning Bangla Desh the result will be less costly in the short run for everyone, including the West Pakistanis. Probably there will be a much slower process, with fearful economic strain and the possibility that if the Indian armies suffer any temporary setback there will be a pogrom among the 50 million Muslims in India.

None of the three Indian Communist Parties can provide an alternative. Perhaps out of the chaos will come new political forces to replace the bankrupt working-class parties in this area.

strike in the meat industry. Its aim is to help workers on strike by collecting money and by putting them into contact with militants in other areas.

One of its main aims is to fight against the labour court, which in Denmark is the chief instrument of the bosses to stop workers improving or defending their conditions. In 1899, after a conflict lasting nearly five months, the unions agreed to the centralisation of all wage negotiations.

Since then all questions of pay, holidays, hours and conditions are settled together in one collective contract for all workers in the industry. These contracts run for two years, and any strike that takes place while this contract is in effect is illegal.

Meat men make mincemeat of bosses

from Rasmus Rasmussen

THE DANISH government failed recently in its efforts to prove that the organisation Arbejder-Solidarit (Worker-Solidarity) was illegal. This gave the organisation the go-ahead to support two illegal strikes in the meat industry, which both ended in victories for the workers.

This was the first time for years that strikes have ended this way. They usually end in defeat for the workers, thanks to the alliance of the state, bosses and unions all combining to smash the strike.

Arbejder-Solidarit was formed earlier this year by militants who had been fired and blacklisted after the defeat of a

The first strike was over fall-back pay which should have been paid out because of insufficient work to earn bonus payments. When a workers' spokesman raised the issue he was fired. It ended with a complete victory for the strikers and the dismissal of a manager.

The second strike broke out when a worker who had cut his hand was refused permission to go home, even though the blood was dripping through his bandage. The tradition had been that workers who injured themselves decided for themselves whether or not to go home.

The strikers demanded that this be continued, but the firm refused to even negotiate with the strikers.

Thanks to Arbejder-Solidarit, cash for the strikers was collected from

work-places all over the country, and in the end the firm agreed to the strikers' demand.

Another important event recently was the result of the court case brought by a group of militants in Odense against the shipbuilding company Odense Staalskibsværft. They challenged the right of the company to deduct fines for strikes out of the wage packet. The first time they tried this in the local court they lost. They lost also in a higher court.

The case has served to draw attention to the role of the local engineering union, which refused to give any assistance to the militants, and of the LO (Danish TUC), who not only refused to give any documents to the militants' lawyer, but gave some instead to the bosses' lawyer.



Russian leader Kosygin with Mrs Gandhi, India's prime minister. Russia is backing India in an attempt to thwart China's plans.

Socialist Worker

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Productivity deals bear their grim fruit

THE KEY FACT to grasp about the steady rise in unemployment is this: In the last 12 months there has been no increase in total output, but output per man (productivity) has grown, according to the Treasury, by more than 6 per cent.

Over the last three years output has risen by 4 per cent but industrial employment has fallen by 8 per cent. Output per man has gone up by an average of 12 per cent. The success of the government-backed employers' offensive against conditions through productivity deals is bearing its inevitable fruit. More and more jobs are disappearing. Long-term unemployment is growing steadily.

In the five years up to the start of 1971 the total number employed in production fell by one million. The fact that the number of registered unemployed rose by 'only' 350,000 in the same period is proof enough of the TUC's estimate that the real unemployment figure now is one and a half million.

The government claims to be taking steps to reduce unemployment. Last July, when he introduced his 'give to the rich' mini-budget, Mr Barber announced 'unemployment should stop rising, perhaps after a couple of months or so, and before long it should start to fall'. Last week Employment Secretary Robert Carr admitted 'It is true, and we have admitted it, that our forecasts were proved wrong by events'.

The latest proposals to increase the spending of government and nationalised industries will have no effect in the short run and little in the long run. This is partly because some of them are phoney. For example, the alleged increase in local government spending is merely a permission for local and county councils to increase their debts if they want to. But more important is the fact that government and employers are hell-bent on continuing to destroy jobs by productivity increases which inevitably mean more and more redundancies.

The government is in something of a dilemma. On the one hand it would undoubtedly welcome an increase in output and unemployment. Profits are none too healthy just now. An economic revival would help profits provided it did not halt the drive for higher and higher output per man without significant real wage increases.

On the other hand they are well aware that the whip of unemployment is as important as the whip of the Industrial Relations Law in driving workers to accept more productivity. As the big business weekly The Economist said this week, the situation is 'cruel but potentially very hopeful'. Hopeful, from their point of view, because massive unemployment offers them the best hope of breaking the back of shop-floor opposition to speed-ups and yet more redundancies.

Productivity, then, is the key. There is nothing inevitable about unemployment. It is the direct result of the capitalist system putting profits before people. It can and must be fought.

Outright resistance to all productivity deals is the first and essential step. This, of course, means a fight inside the unions against both the right wing and the Scanlon-Jones left. The fact that the Communist Party's Morning Star can produce a programme to fight unemployment which does not even mention productivity deals is a sure sign that the CP will shrink from such a fight.

The next vital policy is refusal to accept any further redundancies and an assertion of the right to work by factory occupations, strikes and blackings.

There must be a real fight for a 35-hour week, for overtime bans and for a minimum wage of at least £25 per week to make overtime bans effective. This is the only way to force employers to take on labour.

Above all, the whole labour movement must be won to a determination not to tolerate the misery of unemployment. Many years ago the Labour Party used to call for 'Full Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union Rates'. It was a good demand then and it is a good demand now. If the system cannot provide jobs for all able and willing to work then the system must go.

PARSONS' PLEASURE, BUT NOT THE UNIONS'

THIS WEEK the National Industrial Relations Court, established under the notorious Tory Industrial Relations Act, opens up shop. There are, of course, no trade unionists on the court.

Anti-union decisions can be expected shortly. The ministerial order establishing the court also 'brings into force all the unfair industrial practices in the Act except those associated with the rights of a worker or trade union member, and those in Part V of the Act relating to unofficial and sympathetic industrial action.'

An early test case is likely to be the application of the 'United Kingdom Association of Professional Engineers', a non-TUC 'professional association', for agency shop rights—that is exclusive bargaining rights—for a section of workers at C & A Parsons, Newcastle now covered by the draughtsmen's and technicians' union.

A decision in favour of the UKAPE is very likely. Unless it is successfully defied the rot will set in. In union after union the right-wing pressure to register, to surrender to the Tory law, will grow stronger and stronger.

The argument 'we must register in self-defence' will be parroted at all levels. In fact, the only effective self-defence lies in defiance. As this paper has said again and again, the law cannot be implemented in face of mass refusal to obey it.

The draughtsmen at Parsons will need to be supported by the direct action of all grades. This must be fought for now. And Bros. Scanlon and Jones must be forced to translate their brave words into action. Official union support in defence of basic rights is essential.



"THE MAESTRO"

COTTONS WARS

Wisecrack

GOOD NEWS for Britain's disabled. It comes from York University Economics professor Jack Wiseman.

'Most disabled people,' according to portly, cigar smoking Professor Wiseman, 'would be quite happy working for a lower rate of pay than their fully fit companions, if they knew that their output was lower.'

Wiseman is an enthusiastic supporter of free enterprise. Other delights in his personal version of the better tomorrow include sewing machines which could be worked by one-armed people and a research programme 'to look into a specific set of disabilities to see whether different types could be related to the employment available'.

Of course, if you believe in a system which finds it better to maim and cripple workers than to see that jobs are safe then it's only logical that you should try to make as much profit as possible out of what Tory economists probably call 'damaged plant'.

Milk's off

CENSORSHIP BBC-STYLE: Radio London arranged a discussion programme on the school milk issue and invited a number of people—including IS member Jenny Southgate—to take part, along with spokesmen for some of the London councils prepared to get round the government's restrictions.

But last week the BBC told Mrs Southgate that the broadcast was off. None of the councils was prepared to discuss the matter on the air. Of course, all the other spokesmen were still prepared to take part, but you can't have just one side of the argument on the radio, especially when it's anti-government. The BBC might be accused of bias.

Offside

LETTER from a sports fan to the



The Vic Feather Treasure Trove: speaking at Lancaster University Labour Club last week, the TUC gensec told his startled audience: 'I am a marxist' and added 'There is no such thing as the international capitalist system'. It's just a mirage—like a marxist TUC leader.

Sunday Mirror: 'During a recent visit to Upton Park I was struck by the affection held by this wonderful crowd for their two coloured forwards, Clive Best and Ade Coker, more so when I heard the chanting of 'come on the Black and White Minstrels'. What an example for the betterment of race relations.'

Mmmmm. When you consider that the Black and White Minstrels is just about the most offensive programme on telly and that Alf Garnett is a West Ham United supporter, you wonder just how wonderful the crowd is...

IT'S AN ILL WIND: front-page headline in the December issue of Safety, paper of the British Safety Council: 'Shock from Ulster: IRA bombing terror cuts work accidents!'

Passed over

WHILE the Tory gradgrinds in London legislate to make school children pay full fare on the buses during the rush hour (the only time they can use buses, you will note) a news report from Italy shows that things don't have to be the Tory way.

The mayor of Bologna is proposing to introduce no-charge transportation on the town's buses in the morning and in the evening. The plan is for urban transportation services to be free before 9am and between 5pm and 8pm. The mayor says that the majority of the passengers during these hours are people going and coming back from work and school-children and students. He proposes that the latter should be given a pass to entitle them to travel free also at lunch time when they come home from school.

Ku-ee

MORALS of the 'superior' whites in South Africa: wives of young business executives in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth are being dragged into a new sex game called the Sheet Game.

At parties staged in luxury homes of senior executives, the men strip and cover themselves in sheets with peepholes cut in them. Wives are expected to choose sleeping partners from what they can see through the holes. If they chicken out, their husbands' promotion prospects are likely to suffer.

The sheets the men wear are, naturally enough, white. More to the point, according to a newspaper report, they are cut in the style of the Ku Klux Klan.

FURTHER NEWS of Lord Bath of Longleat who, you will recall from a few weeks' back, is planning to give over two rooms of his mansion to a display of mementoes of his late and unlamented hero, Adolf Hitler.

Questioned by the Telegraph about this curious decision, his lordship denied that he was a fascist. 'Hitler did a lot of good for the Germans but I got a little upset when I heard he wanted to wipe out the English aristocracy.' Apart, no doubt, from Lord Cohen.

And just to balance things up a bit, Lord Bath is to build an annex to the Hitler exhibition given over to a display of photos of Winston Churchill. Entrance fee 50p, bring your own gas masks.

Bear truth

TALKING of Churchill, a small town of that name in the far north of Canada has problems—it is besieged by polar bears. The inhabitants have appealed to wildlife officials to take firm action to remove the bears, without recourse to actually shooting them.

The officials have in turn appealed to various 'experts' for advice. The following gem came from a British Army officer, asked about the use of rubber bullets: 'They are most unsuitable for the Arctic. And they could seriously injure a bear.'

But not, apparently, Irish Catholics.

SUNDAY's Business Observer observed: 'It is an anachronistic oddity of socialist Sweden that it is dominated by a handful of merchant families.' And it is an oddity of the Observer that so many of its writers are anachronistic nincompoops.

HOMER'S HOAX

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of a 'Rhodesian settlement' by the Tories followed one of the biggest publicity stunts in British political life since Munich. The 'hard bargaining' between that ancient dinosaur politician Sir Alec Douglas Home and Ian Smith lasted a record-breaking two days.

The rest of the time, a total of seven days, was spent posing with moderate African businessmen and clergy for the benefit of the press. Most Africans who saw Sir Alec agree that he seemed hardly interested in their viewpoint.

Never has such cold-blooded cynicism been shown for the interests of Africans in Rhodesia. It turned out to be a giant hoax, in which the British press readily played its part.

A cursory glance at the deal shows a massive sell-out of the interests of the five million African workers and peasants in Rhodesia. It is an act of racial and class solidarity to legalise and strengthen the already super-exploitation of the Africans.

The so-called assurances on the ending of racial discrimination and the improvement of the political and social status are an affront to human intelligence.

That these assurances were made by Smith, a tested and confirmed racist, is to be forgotten. That the deal itself was made between two dubious political gangsters, without regard to the views of the black majority, is reflected in every clause of the settlement.

Ignored

The majority African viewpoint expressed by the two detained nationalist leaders, Sithole and Nkomo, have insisted on majority rule before the granting of independence. This has been ignored.

The settlement retains the white power-structure evolved with British help for the past 80 years. The repressive apparatus to maintain the privileges of some 20,000 whites remains intact.

The basis for the entire racial system in Rhodesia, the Land Tenure Act, remains with some minor amendments. This means that the 50 million acres of the richest land, removed from the African, is under the sole control of a mere 6000 white farmers.

The same act which classifies the Africans as 'aliens' in the urban areas will not be touched. Instead, an advisory commission appointed by the regime will depend on the good grace of Ian Smith to increase the land available for African use.

Rhodesia deal is sellout to the racists

by
ROGER TEMBO

It has still to be pointed out that the five million acres of unallocated land is very poor land. So what the four million African peasants are to expect is a dismal increase of infertile land to add to their already poor and overcrowded farms.

The shoddy lie implied in the settlement that economic development actually benefits the Africans has long been exposed in dynamic South Africa, where wages of Africans have hardly increased in the past 50 years. In Rhodesia itself the £12 per month average industrial wage for Africans and the incredible 50p a month for agricultural labourers are to remain.

The settlement actually upholds the racist 'republican' constitution of 1969, exclusively drawn up by the Smith regime. All that the Tories have done is to tamper with this insidious document to appear to be championing the African interests.

The electoral provisions and the complex window-dressing that goes with it ensures above all the retention

of power in the hands of the white minority. It puts the Africans at the mercy of a decadent, parasitic yet militarily powerful minority.

There is absolutely nothing to stop the regime, if it so wished, from breaking the agreement. Even the 'declaration of rights' will be tested in the courts, where the judges have not long ago expressed their clear political support for Smith's Rhodesia Front Party.

Blessing

In real terms the settlement re-establishes the pact between British capital and the white middle class in Rhodesia. It is the extension of the pact already existing in the white-dominated countries of Southern Africa.

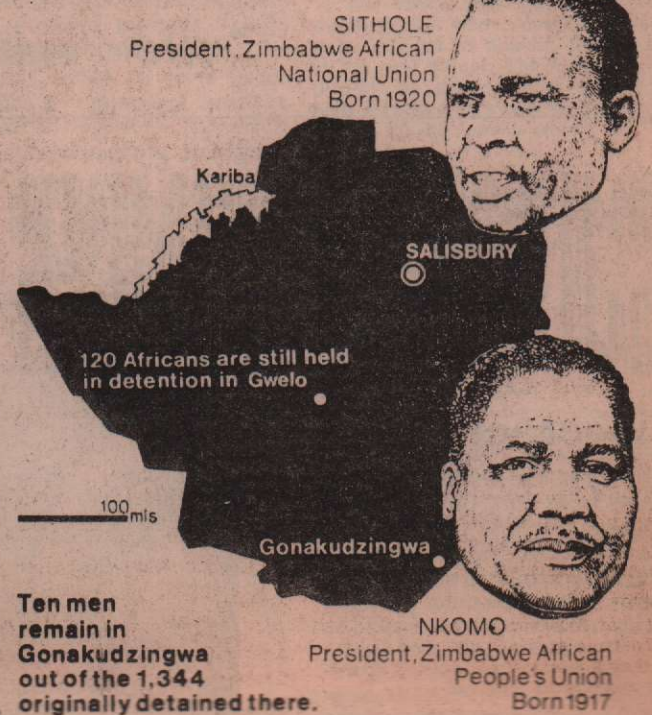
From now on the African majority can expect a strengthened force in Rhodesia that will deny them everything except hard exploitation. The combination of terror and repression

SMITH'S PRISONERS

Rhodesian African nationalist leaders Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole have been held for 7 years.

Nkomo is in Gonakudzingwa restriction area near the Mozambique border

Sithole is in Salisbury Jail.



will continue with the gracious blessing of the British government.

But the settlement must lead to a more determined and united response from the three Zimbabwe liberation movements. The very fact that British capital has now staked its future with such a regime demands a

concerted anti-imperialist struggle based on the increasing power of the urbanised workers.

Such a force can only emerge from the rank and file of Africans and such a force is the only one that can defeat this sordid alliance of Tory Britain and white Rhodesia.

Complex con game to keep white settlers in power

ALL THE POSH PAPERS admit that the Rhodesian settlement agreement about Principle one 'unimpeded progress towards majority rule' is very complex. It is a complex con designed to confuse.

In fact there is very little change from the 1969 Constitution designed by Smith's white supremacist government to keep them permanently in parliamentary power.

The 1969 Constitution had an A roll, for which all adult whites (90,000) could vote and a B roll for which Africans paying income tax could vote. Income tax starts at £480 for single persons and £960 for married. In 1970 there were only 1500 African taxpayers, that is 0.5 per cent of the African working population in Rhodesia.

Abolishes

Because it would be an embarrassment, in terms of seeking any sort of settlement with Britain, to have only half an African sitting alongside the 50 whites in parliament, the whites gave the B roll Africans 15½ more seats on 'credit'. Of these eight were elected by the taxpayers and eight by the chiefs on whom the government can rely.

Home's agreement with Smith abolishes the income tax qualification and instead introduces a property/income / educational qualification where Africans on a par with whites are put on a special voting list of 'Higher Africans'. The lowest quali-



SMITH: parity is far away

fication for this role is four years' secondary education and a minimum yearly income of £900 which kicks out a large number (unspecified) of the 1500 tax payers who voted on the old B roll.

The 'Higher Africans', probably less than 500, are supposed to compete in numbers with the rest of the white electorate. When these Africans are equal in number to 6 per cent of the white electorate they will be given two seats, when equivalent to 12 per cent another two, and so on until there is parity in parliament

between black and white seats.

Since 6 per cent of the white electorate equals 5400 and the 'Higher Africans' only 500, and not growing very much, the first two seats, let alone parity, is far away. Added to this, Smith is hoping that now white Rhodesia is respectable and legal, white immigration will increase, swell the numbers of the white electorate and make it even harder for the 'higher Africans' to reach their 6 per cent.

Increase

Meanwhile, the 16 old African seats remain this time with an educational qualification for voters. We are told that with the help of Britain's £50 million in aid over the next 10 years, that education will increase and the voters for this roll with it.

But that money adds up to only £2.50 per year for each African child of school age in Rhodesia. And seats on this qualification will remain at 16 however large the voters might grow in numbers.

So all talk of parity and the unimpeded move towards majority rule for Africans is a load of rubbish whether it be in 20, 40 or even 300 years. The Tories know it.

W. Enda

International Socialism 49



Europe
World Economy
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

New Tory housing Bill is part of the attack on workers' living standards

THE NEW TORY RENT PLAN being pushed through parliament is one of the most vicious anti-working class measures ever enacted by parliament. The Tories' real aim, despite their talk of 'reform', is to save £200m in subsidies by 1974-75. They plan to do this by the most massive and sustained rent rises ever seen in this country.

The basic reason for the continual escalation of rents over the past 10 years is not because we are all living in luxurious new houses. It is because the capitalist system is screwing more and more out of the housing market at the expense of tenants.

There are three main places where your rent goes when you pay it each week. The biggest single element is in interest payments to the money-lenders.

When a local council builds a house it has to borrow the capital to build it from the financial speculators in the City of London. They charge the 'market' price for lending their money—currently 9 per cent per year.

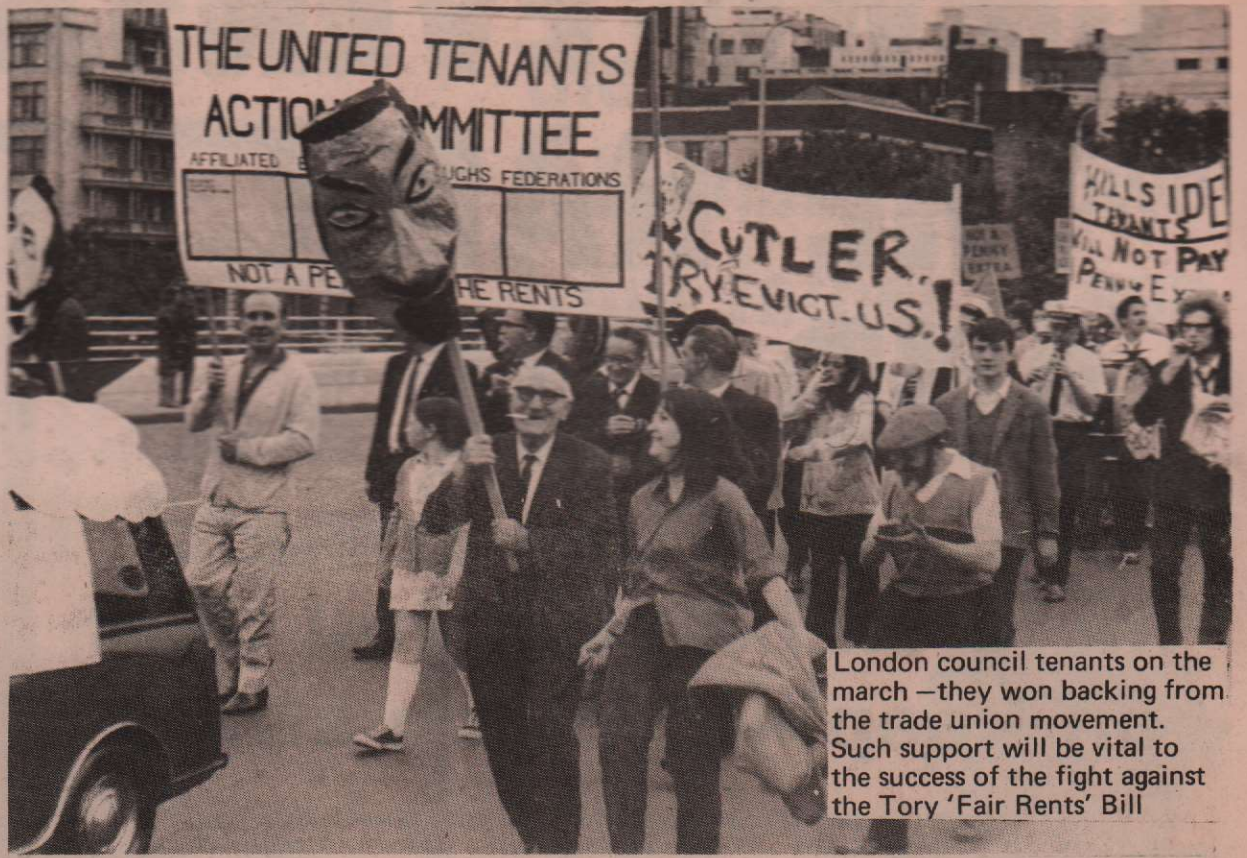
This means that a house which costs the local council £5,000 to build can cost more than £22,000 to repay over a 60-year period. At the present time council tenants nationally are paying around two-thirds (65 per cent) of their rent straight to the moneylenders and the proportion is increasing every year.

Because of the activities of land speculators, land prices have shot up enormously in the past 10 years. It now costs local councils in London more than £2000 per house in land before they can even lay a brick.

Added to this are the running costs of the local councils, the pay for the army of officials who chase us up to make sure we pay our rent and that we don't paint our houses the wrong colour.

And on top of these three areas, there are the profits and costs of the builders who by their inefficiency and profiteering again shove up the cost of the shoddy flats and houses we live in.

'FAIR RENTS' ONLY IF YOU'RE A MONEYLENDER



London council tenants on the march—they won backing from the trade union movement. Such support will be vital to the success of the fight against the Tory 'Fair Rents' Bill

Tax relief

THE CURRENT MYTH, which has replaced the one about council tenants keeping coal in their baths, is that tenants live in incredibly cheap houses, subsidised by the poor hard-up owner occupiers. The truth is somewhat different.

Last year council rents were subsidised by £157m from the Exchequer. But people buying their houses got £320m in tax relief on their mortgages.

And the bigger your house and the bigger your income the more subsidy you will get.

The truth is that people who buy their houses and people who rent them in our society both get conned by the system, but the rent payer gets conned the most.

The present Housing Bill being pushed through parliament is based on the White Paper jokingly called 'Fair Deal for Housing.' The government intend to take away the power of local councils to fix rents. Instead the local authorities are required to assess a 'fair rent' for their dwellings in consultation with the local Rent Officer. They then publish these rents, consider representations from tenants and submit their assessments to a special Rent Assessment Committee who can either confirm the rent or alter it.

The Rent Assessment Committees were introduced in the 1965 Rent Act by the Labour government. Their purpose as Richard Crossman, then Minister of Housing, now admits was to push up rents in the privately rented section of housing. They have been successful.

Since the Rent Assessment Committees consist of a lawyer (the chairman), a valuer or surveyor, and a lay member it is clear that their interests are unlikely to be with the tenant. Out of the 55 lay members in the London area, only six were nominated as trade unionists.

Increases

WHAT IS THIS likely to mean in rent

by Hugh Kerr
Harlow Tenants' Association

rises over the next few years? In comparing council rents with the 'Fair Rents' set by Rent Assessment Committees in the privately rented section of housing, it is estimated that rents on average would increase by 69 per cent.

But since council housing is on average much younger than the private sector this is in fact an underestimate. In many areas of the country average rents will in fact double.

The prospect over the next five years is that the average rent paid by council tenants will be around £7 a week in London and £5 a week in the rest of the country. These figures exclude rates, for which you can add an average of £2 a week. Total outgoings for housing will, on average, be around £9 a week in London and £7 a week in the rest of the country.

And many people will have to pay more than this average. In Harlow, rent and rates for some houses already exceed £8 a week and will increase to more than £12 a week under the new scheme.

The Tories' response to these appalling prospects for council tenants is to say, 'but of course if you can't afford it you can get a rebate.' They are planning to force local councils not only to adopt the Fair Rents scheme but to bring in a rebate scheme.

So if you are prepared to get a statement of earnings from your employer, go to the local council, fill in a complicated form, and have this examined by officials, you may be entitled to a rebate.

If, for example, you are married with one child and earn £16 a week you will pay only 40 per cent of your rent, around £3 a week (plus £2 rates) in London. But for every £1 a week extra in wages you get your rent will rise by 17p a week. And of course if you are getting any other income-

related benefits such as rate rebates, free school meals or Family Income Supplement you will lose even more.

It is estimated that for every £1 wage rise a worker with a family gets between £16 and £22 a week he stands to lose on average 85 per cent of it, either in loss of benefits or increased charges. The smooth young Tories who bleat at their annual conferences about 'the penal rate of taxation crippling private enterprise don't think of the low paid.

It is clear that the Rent Rebate Scheme is another part of the general drive started by the Labour government, to change the Welfare State into a means test state. This is a classic method not only of reducing its cost but of dividing the working class. As such it must be opposed absolutely by the labour movement.

Own activity

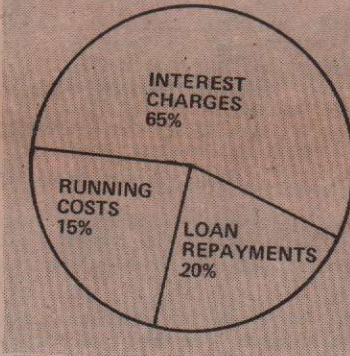
ONE BODY we should not rely on in opposing the Fair Rents Plans is the Labour Party. The Labour Government of 1964-70 allowed council rents to rise by more than 60 per cent and they justified this by the use of rent rebates.

Tenants must rely on their own activity. In every area of the country, council tenants should be organising. They should be holding protest meetings, issuing leaflets, organising demonstrations to inform their fellow tenants of the Tory plans.

They must also involve the wider labour movement by getting every trade union branch, shop stewards committee, and trades council to back the opposition to the rent rises. They should also demand that every local Labour council should refuse to implement the Fair Rents scheme.

But tenants should make it clear that this will involve the councils in a central political confrontation with the government. There are no legal loopholes in the Housing Bill as there were over free school milk which gave Labour councils

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES



a let-out. The Tory Bill includes a clause which empowers the government to appoint Housing Commissioners to take over local authority housing and fine councillors up to £400 each if they don't implement the Bill.

In the last analysis tenants will have to consider direct action to defeat the Bill. Partial or total rent strikes backed by the trade union movement will be necessary if the Tory plans are to be defeated.

The possibilities for success are greater than ever before. From April 1972, every council in the country is required to raise its rents by an average of 50p a week under the Bill. This means that tenants up and down the country will be hit in a similar way.

Already tenants in many areas are organising against the rent rises. By next spring it is within our grasp to organise a tenants' movement on a national basis that with the backing of the trade union movement can stop the rent rises in their track.

The Tories' rent plans are closely related to their other anti-working-class measures. Faced with a crisis in capitalism in Britain, reflected in inflation, falling profits and growing unemployment, their only answer is to attack our living standards to try and shift money to capital and profits.

We will never solve the problems of housing and rents until the capitalist system is replaced with a socialist society. But as part of building towards that society we must advance the workers' interests on every front.

The tenants struggle will, in the coming months, be a vital part of this battle. It is up to every tenant, socialist and trade unionist to join that battle.

If we can build the tenants' movement we can defeat the Tory plans and bring one step nearer a society based on social need and not on profit.

Women and the family LEON TROTSKY

The Russian Revolution was begun by women. On International Women's Day in 1917 women textile workers went on strike in Petrograd and sent an appeal to other workers to support them. This strike was the beginning of the revolution which was to culminate first in the overthrow of the Czar and then in the overthrow of the capitalist class. Why weren't women liberated by this revolution? Read Trotsky's important pamphlet. 31p plus 3p post.

Stepney Words

A book of poetry written by Stepney school children and edited by Chris Searle, the teacher sacked for encouraging children to put pen to paper. 30p plus 3p post.

IS BOOKS

6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Smooth seas for the profiteers

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY continues to give the wealth of the country away to businessmen.

European Ferries, the company that owns the George Nott and Thorenson Car Ferries (all of them named 'Free Enterprise!') has just bought the Atlantic Steam Navigation Company. ASN was owned by the National Freight Corporation, which is owned by the government. The deal suited European Ferries, whose shares had been moving up steadily as the City learned of the news before it was publicised.

The deal cost European Ferries £5.55m. They paid for it with 3.75m shares. Those shares were immediately sold by Warburgs, the blue-blood merchant bankers, who got £1.47 a share. Since the share price was £1.60 when the news was announced, that's £459,000 they've given away for starters.

But it's worse than that. Because European Ferries is the third most profitable company in the country, and the fifth in the growth league, it is a very good investment.

Profitable

Its profits, all tax free because of the money given them by the government in investment grants, has grown faster than most people's wages in the last few years. So the government, not satisfied with selling itself off to private industry, is giving away the shares in one of the most profitable companies in the country.

There is more to come. European Ferries paid £5.55m for assets of £6.34m, according to the offer document. So that's another £790,000 down the drain. And the ASN is forecasting profits of between £125,000 and £150,000 for 1971, as against £753,000 last year.

It may seem suspicious that even the Tories would sell that sort of profit for £5.5m, but look at the reason. The Liverpool-Belfast route lost business over the troubles in Ulster, and increasing capacity on the Felixstowe-Europort route is going to be costly enough to reduce profits this year, though it will boost them from now on.

It is also known in the City that in the next European Ferries Report and Accounts no breakdown of profitability of routes is likely to be given, so that re-nationalisation will be very difficult.

So there it is. The Tories give their friends £1.2m overnight, they sell in the ASN's worst year for ages, and they sell their shares in the country's third most profitable company, one that has been government-subsidised for years.

T.H. Rogmorton

GMWU: EVERYBODY'S SWEETHEART

THE RANK AND FILE'S...

The union that spends more on burying you than on keeping you on strike

LAST MONTH the annual report for Securicor Limited proudly boasted that the firm had the lowest overheads in the 'industry'. Despite an increase in turnover, it added, the firm had succeeded in reducing head office staff by 50 per cent and closing two of its bigger London offices.

It is doubtful that the next half-yearly report of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers will make any mention of this notable success. But for eight years now the GMWU has had exclusive recognition for recruiting trade union members in this delightful organisation. The GMWU got recognition in December 1963. A closed shop and check-off deduction of union dues was conceded in return for a 'no-strike' and 'no walk-outs' pledge.

This was a complete about-face for Securicor management. In 1962 the Transport and General Workers had succeeded in organising some of the Securicor men.

At the time Keith Erskine, Securicor managing director, stated: 'We will never agree to shop stewards. We will not share clients' secrets in this way. If any man wants to join a union, he should seek employment elsewhere.'

In July 1963 Securicor was busy sacking men for 'attempting to introduce trade unions into a non-union company'.

That same month a Securicor subsidiary was sending out letters to prospective clients in the Hounslow area of London offering some new services.

(a) From..... 1.10.62..... to..... 21.5.63.....
 (Please state the last date claimant actually worked.)
 Paid one week in lieu of notice finishing 21.5.63
 (b)
 (a) Yes
 (b) Yes
 Attempting to introduce trade unions into non-union company

Securicor's reply to a Ministry of Labour form asking what the grounds were for sacking a member of the GMWU. Five months later the same union got a closed shop agreement in return for a 'no-strike' pledge.

Essence

These services included the supply of undercover agents and men planted among employees 'to provide a complete appraisal of any unauthorised happenings, the following of vehicles used by employees in the course of their work, the investigation of frauds, thefts and embezzlements, reporting on anyone who might be suspected of causing dissension or inciting employees to defection, and the screening of prospective employees and search into their antecedents and background.'

Four months later, the closed shop agreement with the GMWU was signed. Presumably the industrial spies would themselves have become members.

American commentators have a fine phrase to describe this kind of deal. 'Sweetheart agreements' they call them. And this is the essence of the Securicor arrangement.

The firm's staff consultant at the time was a gentleman called Jim Mathews, a GMWU official. Securicor's board of directors included (apart from such well-known representatives of the labour movement as Bessie Braddock, Ray Gunter and Robert Carr), the Baron Ecclestone, otherwise known as Tom Williamson, former General Secretary of the GMWU. He and Jim Mathews could guarantee the union's respectability.

Autocratic

The sweetheart agreement is the very cornerstone of how the General and Municipal seeks recognition. It points to its formidable record of industrial peace, the tiny amount of money it spends on disputes and its autocratic power structure.

For example in 1960 the union's accounts show that £11,255 went out in strike pay, £68,271 in funeral benefit and £692,000 in paying officials' salaries.

By 1966 the GMWU had concluded 315 such deals where the closed shop was conceded by the employers in return for 'no-strike' pledges.

Recently the Northern district secretary concluded a deal with Dunlop Rubber for the closed shop before the factory they were talking about had even been built. True, there had been a bit of trouble at Fort Dunlop in Birmingham last year, but the union had shown its colours. Its record in the North East was also sure.

In 1970 a strike broke out in

George Angus, which makes oil seals for car engines. The GMWU district secretary made full use of the local press to denounce the strikers as endangering the fabric of democracy. A deal was done which settled the strike and left the company free to refuse to take back the convenor and a steward. When Angus employees protested, the firm calmly announced that this had been done with the regional secretary's agreement.

Interestingly enough, George Angus is a Dunlop subsidiary. The General and Municipal superannuation fund has 3500 ordinary 50p shares in Dunlop. Perhaps the regional secretary was thinking more about the dividends than damage to the fabric of democracy.

This pattern is repeated right through the General and Municipal's operations. It negotiates for electrical

cable makers, and has substantial shareholdings in British Insulated Callendar Cables, the biggest firm in the industry. It negotiates with GKN, and has a big block of shares there.

Business

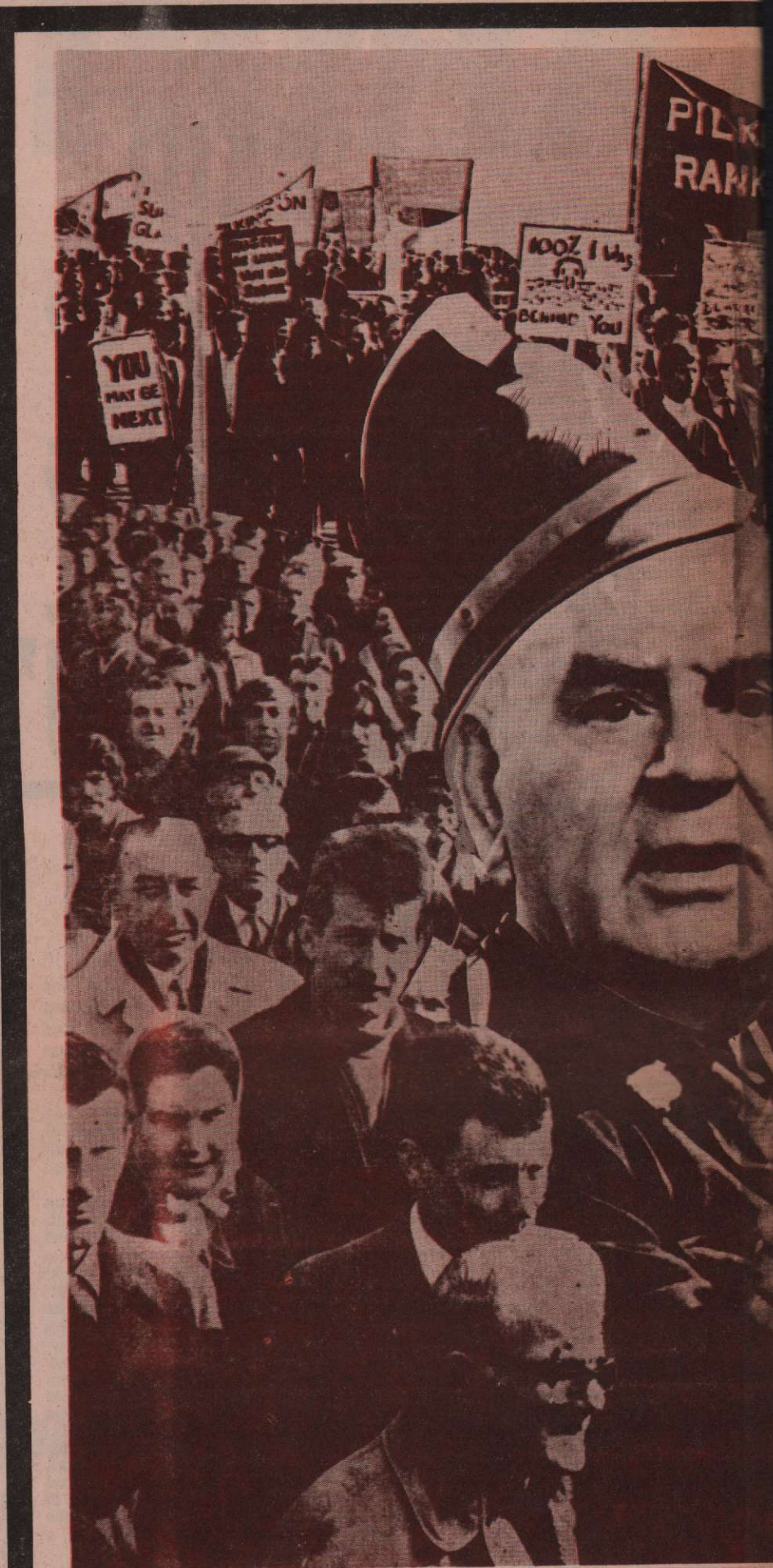
It organises in the building industry and has shares in Taylor Woodrow. It organises the building materials industry and has shares in British Plaster Board. Similarly in the shipbuilding industry it has shares in every major firm.

And it also has some £3 million in equity holdings where money can be made and influence won. No other union in Britain is remotely comparable. The Americans have another word to describe this: 'business unionism', a scientific term of course.

Enormous power wielded



Andy Cunningham and Jack Eccles, Northern and Lancashire regional bosses



Trouble on the picket line: Constable Cooper deals with a striker. Photo

FOUNDED ON THE WAVE of militancy in the late 19th century when the unskilled got organised, the subsequent employers' counter offensive was devastating in the places where the GMWU organised.

A conscious policy of hysterical anti-militancy, anti-communism and place-seeking was adopted by the leadership as its only counter. Here lay the basis of the sweetheart agreements and business unionism.

Union rules are among the most undemocratic in the land. Power is completely concentrated at the top and in the hands of the barons who are the regional secretaries. There are virtually no elections.

The reason for this is quite simple. In the 1920s the Communist-led Minority Movement put up a magnificent fight for wide-ranging changes in this and other unions. In one election in particular, they came so close to success that the GMWU leadership worked overtime to rewrite the rule book and make sure that it never happened again.

What emerged over the years was not in any real sense a national union, but 10 unions banded under one title.

Each region was run as a sort of baron-etcy, by the so-called regional secretary who disposed of vast amounts of power and money. He could dispense success or failure for the up-and-coming. This he did quite mercilessly, making and breaking men.

Each baron would weave a very tight web into the regional power structure of industry and local government, with regular and lavish lunches for the employers where the GMWU's responsibility as a union would be touted by the officials and toasted by the employers.

The most pathetic rivalries were unleashed. For years Lancashire was cock of the GMWU, with far more members and funds. But with the toll of redundancy, the honour recently fell to the Northern region. And much was the boasting done when Lancashire was surpassed. A motion of congratulation was passed in the Northern region in respect of the regional secretary achieving 'his life's ambition'.

Organised into some 2000 geograph-

ical branches, and the barons, the union that the members participate.

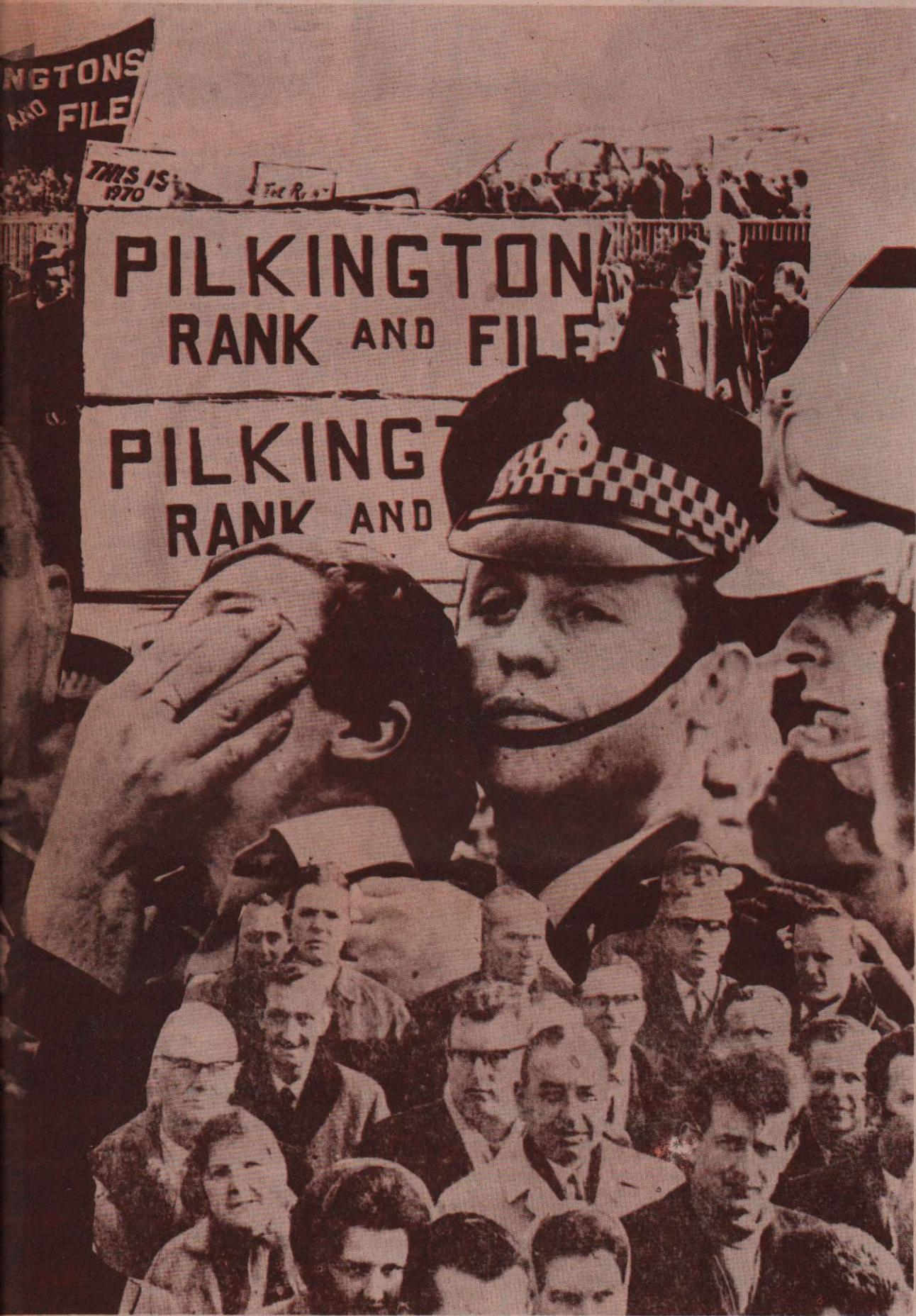
There are many who do not know where it meets, where it meets, of branches, with many years, thousands of rooms it would be six people into.

Until last year rebirth of the founded such as general and Municipal town of St. Helens sprung up and Pilkington and GMWU.

Though the battle was rooted out, the reverberation battle are still being and Municipal Workers. Some major

SPECIAL FEATURE

AT HEART, EXCEPT



Photontage by RED/CAST

by regional barons

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changes have been

pushed through by a leadership no longer sure of itself. The union is going over to industrial branches, which could allow the militants who now exist to find a platform and a base for much wider changes.

In the last two years alone the GMWU has paid out more money in strike funds than in all the years since the war. The Pilkington dispute and the fight against low pay touched chords in the membership few knew existed.

It is a hard and uphill task to take on a bureaucracy as entrenched and ruthless as the GMWU, but the first weak roots have been planted recently. They need careful nurture.

If they are made to flower, the union's 100th anniversary will be celebrated rather differently than its 75th. Then thousands of pounds were spent on a gigantic booze-up for employers, union machine men and friends at the Albert Hall.

Next time they might not recover from the hang-over.



The amazing Donnet brothers

Alec and Charles Donnet: in the family way

Keeping it in the family: top jobs handed down from father to son

THE PRESENT general secretary of the union, Lord Jack Cooper, has something of a reputation for being a finance man. Much of his union's funding has been built up at his prompting.

Ruxley Towers, the plush Surrey headquarters, is regularly let to a firm company for instance. Part of the grounds were sold off for a smart piece of speculative housebuilding. The head office has a nice big cocktail bar.

Cooper's many official positions brought contact with the best financial advice. On the board of the London Business School which he joined in 1964, he would meet the chairman of Tube Investments, the managing director of Ford, the chairman of GKN screws and fasteners.

He would also bump into the managing director of Dunlop Rubber—where the union had members and shares, and Sir Ronald Edwards of the Electricity Council—where the union had members and loan stock. On the board of the BBC, he even got to know John Davies, then of Shell-Mex, later Tory axe-man.

Lord Cooper won himself the distinction of being the only trade union general secretary who was actually a director—of Telefusion Ltd.

This was quite a complicated business but the essence of it was that his union invested a large sum of money in Yorkshire and Tyne Tees (now Trident) Television. Jack Cooper became a director of Telefusion, the firm which held some 22 per cent of the shares in Yorkshire/Tyne Tees Television.



Sir Fred Hayday: famous son, famous father

Great dream

Such was the union's wide-ranging involvement in the business world that in 1965 its leaders were to break really new ground. A company called General and Municipal Services was registered.

This was part of the greater dream, for the company would be a retail organisation supplying members with anything from radios, televisions and cars, booking their holidays and tickets, doing insurance business and anything else you care to name.

It would do these things provided 'the company shall not support with its funds any object . . . (which) would make it a trade union'. While there was no question of any profit accruing to individual members, there was nothing to prevent its servants being paid 'reasonable salaries'.

The interesting thing about this operation is that while four out of its five directors are General and Municipal full-time officials, the other is an insurance broker and director of Lloyds.

Another key feature of the GMWU is that it is a strictly family affair. Jack Cooper is himself the nephew of Charles Dukes, a previous General Secretary. Cooper married the daughter of another previous General Secretary. In 1969 the marriage was dissolved, and Cooper went back to his childhood sweetheart.

Family nature

Cooper's main rival in the 1961 election which brought him to power was Sir Frederick Hayday, the son of Arthur Hayday, another prominent man in the union.

In Dundee, the union has only recently been known as the GMWU. It was called simply 'Donnet's Union', a reference to the family nature of the operation in the region.

Old Donnet had two sons and a daughter working in the office. One of the sons (Alec) is now chairman of the union and of the Scottish Trade Union Congress, the other (Charles) is now a national industrial officer of the union and chairman of the Scottish Labour Party.

The story is the same in Lancashire. The late Andrew Basnett was the regional secretary of the union for many years and his relative, David is today a national official and a member of the TUC General Council.

The General and Municipal has an enormous influence in the TUC. At present it provides three General Council members. Over seven Congress Presidents have sprung from its ranks, far more than any other union.

Its influence is not unconnected with the fact that the entire membership of the union is grouped in the general workers' section, though it could technically be split over several.

This means that it can put three of its own officials on the General Council and with the normal horsetrading, its

candidates can be raised to the greatest heights.

This process is repeated in the Labour Party, where the union is strong, both in terms of having officials in high places and sponsoring Members of Parliament. Harold Wilson and James Callaghan are members for example, and there are many others. And at local Labour Party level the process is the same, with GMWU councillors scattered all over the land.

The reasons for courting these positions are most revealing. The GMWU's rule book is one of the few which actually enshrines the principle of seeking positions in the Labour Party, local government and municipal bodies like water boards, airport authorities etc.

Decision reversed

And the policies pursued were almost always the most reactionary ones. At the time of the Ban the Bomb movement, the GMWU conference carried a motion supporting unilateral nuclear disarmament. The executive just refused to comply and called a special conference to get the decision reversed.

Cooper made speech after speech in support of incomes policies and seeking only moderate wage rises in spite of the fact that his union organises people with some of the most appalling wages and disgusting conditions in the land.

In the 1960s his attention turned to supporting productivity dealing as a way of getting increases without a fight.

The GMWU has welcomed state interference in trade unionism. In his evidence to the Donovan Commission, Cooper argued the case that it would not be difficult to force unofficial strikers to pay their fines.

He quoted his experience as a magistrate in dealing with divorce and desertion cases where if a man disappeared, he would be followed up and if necessary his furniture and possessions impounded to provide the money. He seemed to suggest that this would be an excellent idea for dealing with unofficial strikers.

Last year as the President of the TUC, he openly announced he would advise his executive to register under the Industrial Relations Act, in defiance of the decisions of Congresses he himself had chaired.

Now the GMWU has announced it will hold a recall conference to decide the matter. What the leadership fears is that if the union does register (and its leaders want to) they will lose the protection of the TUC Bridlington Agreement which forbids other unions to recruit someone else's members. If this did happen, the GMWU might really fall apart.

by LAURIE FLYNN

WHEN ULSTER WORKERS UNITED

There are deep and bitter divisions in the working class of Northern Ireland. Despite low wages, shortage of housing, and high unemployment, the working people seem to be more concerned with fighting each other than with uniting against the employers and the Ulster Tories.

This has not always been the case. In October 1932 the situation was altogether different from today. At that time one in four of the male population of Northern Ireland was unemployed.

The Stormont government did nothing to help these men and their families. They were left to rot in misery.

Benefit stopped

Then on 5 October in Belfast some 2000 unemployed refused to do 'task' work unless the local authorities increased their scales of relief. These were men whose unemployment benefit had run out or had been stopped and they were compelled to do heavy manual labour in order to qualify for outdoor relief.

The maximum that a married man was entitled to was just eight shillings (40p) while a married man with three children was entitled to only £1 a week. The alternatives were starvation or the workhouse.

The entire working population of Belfast, both Catholic and Protestant, united in support of these men. Day and night meetings were held in the streets to rally support for the strike. Within a few days more than £300 had been raised for the strike fund by collections in the factories and mills.

At last on Monday, 10 October the Stormont government took steps to curb this agitation. Hundreds of armed police were drafted into the city. That evening armoured cars patrolled the streets, breaking up meetings and dispersing crowds.

Marchers attacked

This attempt at intimidation only increased the determination of the unemployed. The following day the Relief Workers' Strike Committee called a march in protest against the action of the police. The government banned the march but the organisers went ahead regardless.

As the various contingents assembled in their own districts, the police moved in. To begin with they concentrated their attack almost entirely on the Catholic marchers assembling in the Falls Road area. They were met with a hail of stones, bricks and bottles.



Lord Brookeborough, bigoted founder of the Orange State. As Sir Basil Brooke in 1934 he urged employers not to take on Catholic workers

a married man was increased from 8s to £1 and for a married man with three children from £1 to 28s.

The Stormont Tories were terrified by this spectacle of a united working class movement that had risen up to threaten all their privileges and wealth. The concessions they made took the steam out of the movement for the time being and they used the breathing space this gave them to set about deliberately stirring up religious hatred.

The Tories set out to convince the Protestant working man that it was the Catholics who were responsible for unemployment. The Protestants were told that unemployment was not caused by the government's economic policies but was the result of the Catholic custom of having large families.

They were told they had to defend themselves against the Catholics in order to keep for themselves what few jobs there were.

Discrimination

This ideological offensive was reinforced by a campaign to persuade Protestant employers to discriminate against Catholics. In this way the Tories hoped to be able to unite Protestant employers and Protestant workmen in an unnatural alliance against the Catholics.

In March 1934 Sir Basil Brooke, who was then Minister of Agriculture and who later became Prime Minister, publicly appealed to employers 'not to employ Roman Catholics, 99 per cent of whom are disloyal'. He went on to say that 'I have not a Roman Catholic about my own place'.

In this way the unity of 1932 was broken. The anti-Catholic campaign reached a climax in July in 1935 when the traditional Orange parades were used as an opportunity for sectarian violence.

Protestant mobs, filled with religious hatred, were turned loose on the Catholic ghettos to burn and kill. The unity of 1932 was drowned in blood.

Workers divided

The Ulster Tories were well content to watch the homes of Protestant and Catholic workingmen burn because they knew that while this continued their own homes were secure. Nothing is better for any ruling class than that the poor should fight among themselves, for then their wealth is safe and they can rest easy. In Northern Ireland the Tories deliberately stirred up religious hatred in order to divide the working class.

But the events of October 1932 do show that the call for working class unity in Northern Ireland is not a daydream. It has existed before and it will exist again.

But such unity does not drop from the sky. It has to be built and fought for.

Only when the working people of Northern Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, can see a possibility of overthrowing the cruel social order that dominates their lives will they cease to fight among themselves and turn in that direction.

For this to happen a revolutionary socialist movement has to be built in the whole of Ireland that is powerful enough to offer a credible alternative to the continual round of religious bloodletting, that offers hope and frees the working class from the terrible despair that turns them against each other.

Catholic and Protestant action on streets shook Stormont regime

by JOHN NEWSINGER

When news of the police attack reached the Shankill Road, Protestant marchers hurried to the assistance of the embattled Catholics. J.J. Kelly, the journalist, described how 'Orangemen and Catholics, the lines of starvation already etched in their hollow cheeks, gripped hands and declared emotionally, 'Never again will they divide us'!

Squads of men rushed to the relief work sites and took the tools they had been forced to slave with as weapons. Pickshaft and hammer met club and truncheon. Hundreds of working men and women chanting 'We want bread' battled with the police.

Unable to baton the workers off the streets, the police opened fire. Five men were taken to hospital with gunshot wounds and one of them, Samuel Baxter died that night.

The following morning, Wednesday 12 October, the first British troops arrived in the city to reinforce the hard-pressed police. Fierce fighting continued all that

day as a reign of terror was let loose in the working-class districts of the city. Another worker was shot dead by the police and 50 more received gunshot wounds.

Everywhere barricades were put up to keep the police and the troops out. On a number of occasions workers were dragged from their homes and forced at bayonet point to take their barricades down.

General strike

British Army jackboots trampled over Protestant and Catholic unemployed with equal impartiality. The troops were used to drive the workers back into their slums.

That evening Belfast Trades Council called a general strike throughout the city in support of the strikers and in protest against

the brutality of the Army and the police. A mass meeting of 3000 mill workers voted to strike.

Thursday saw a lull in the fighting. The police had been successfully kept out of the Falls Road, but now they retaliated by preventing any food going into the area. For the moment the two sides, government and strike committee, were stalemated.

The following day the two men who had been killed by the police were to be buried. The Relief Workers' Strike Committee called for a massive demonstration to follow behind the coffins. Feeling was so great that the Stormont government did not dare to ban the march.

On Friday 14 October tens of thousands of working people marched in the funeral procession. It took 2½ hours for the procession to pass through the city.

This massive demonstration of determination and solidarity at last broke the Stormont government's resistance. That same day substantial increases in the scales of outdoor relief were announced. The rate for



Radio One —soft selling a 'wunnerful' system...



JIM and JIM: triumph of 'free speech'

THE CHAIN of events which led to Radio One and the recent Tory proposals for local commercial stations began with the launching of the first pirate radio ships in April 1964. In his book *Revolt Into Style*, George Melly remarks that the ships 'aroused the enthusiasm of those who resented the paternalism of Harold Wilson' and 'won the loyalty of the young mods who resented the paternalism of the BBC'.

But the pirates also had the support of a more significant group—the pop music industry. The conservative BBC had been slow to respond to the massive boom in record sales and the changes in teenage tastes that accompanied the rise of the Beatles.

They didn't give as much airplay to pop music as the industry (for whom airplay was free advertising) or the teenagers wanted. The Light Programme was still made up of shows like *Housewives' Choice* (which featured mostly older singers like Vera Lynn and Bing Crosby) and *Music While You Work*, a programme of non-stop tunes played by a military or dance band, which was started during the war to encourage higher production.

Outlawed pirates

The industry and the pop fans got what they wanted from the pirates. Radio London and Radio Caroline played the new records non-stop, and an unknown group who could get their record played enough by the pirates had a good chance of getting into the Hit Parade.

Which added up to a lot of money for the record company, agents, managers and the group. Though after all the middlemen had taken their cut, there wasn't always very much left for the musicians themselves, who were (and still are) often victims of contracts they signed before they read the small print.

In August 1967, the government outlawed the pirate radio ships, and one

by one they ceased transmissions. But it was really a victory for the music industry and the pirates, for soon after the BBC announced plans to replace the Light Programme by two new stations, *Radios One and Two*.

And Radio One was soon as near to the pirate stations as made no difference. Only the adverts and the unlimited needle-time (the Musicians' Union insisted that a certain amount of 'live' music was broadcast) were missing.

It would be wrong to think, however, that pop music is all there is to Radio One. On many shows, what happens in between the records is just as important as the music itself. The only programmes which rely entirely on their musical content are those devoted to jazz, folk and 'progressive music'.

The reason is that the listeners to these shows are enthusiasts for the type of music they present. And the music is generally the kind that demands your total attention, even when it's not very good. In contrast, most of the records played on the *Tony Blackburn*, *Jimmy Young* and *Terry Wogan* shows are really background music, for shaving or doing the washing-up to. If you are trying to concentrate on something like 'Chirpy Chirpy Cheep Cheep', you soon find your attention wandering.

So what happens on these general pop programmes? To begin with, they are closely geared to the daily routines of capitalist society: getting-up and going to work (*Tony Blackburn*), the lunch break (the former *Radio One Club*) and the housewife's day (*Jimmy Young* in the morning, and the relaxed *Terry Wogan* in the afternoon).

They automatically assume that their listeners are model workers and happy housewives. As well as his schoolboy jokes, *Tony Blackburn* slips in frequent time-checks accompanied by exhortations not to be late for work, and sometimes 'common sense' remarks about current affairs that he assumes nobody will disagree with.

He makes hostile cracks about strikers, student demonstrators and the women's liberation movement. Predictably, his comment the morning after the

Miss World contest was about 'bra-burning'.

In interviews *Blackburn* likes to prattle about his 'professionalism' and says he wants to be the *Hughie Green* of radio. By this he means the ability to tie together inane chatter, reactionary jokes and records in an unbroken two hour stream, and the willingness to do what he's told by his producer.

This image of a kind of musical civil service, full of happiness and integrity, is the image that *Radio One* as a whole likes to project. Unfortunately, the real situation is rather different, as a series of events over the last couple of years has shown. Two disc-jockeys left after objecting to the paternalism of the station.

Fired for joke

David Symonds didn't want to play and pretend to recommend, records he didn't like (the disc jockeys aren't allowed to choose what they play—the final decision is the producer's). And *Kenny Everett* was fired after daring to make a joke about a news item announcing that the wife of the Tory Minister of Transport had failed her Driving Test.

Most damaging to the image were the revelations by the *News Of The World* that producers and disc-jockeys were in the habit of taking bribes from record 'pluggers' in return for featuring their discs. The evidence was pretty conclusive, and the BBC reacted by setting up an internal investigation, and refusing to admit that any irregularities had occurred. None of the people named in the revelations was sacked or reprimanded.

In this, the *Radio One* chiefs were being realistic. For such 'corruption' is an inevitable part of a major competitive industry, where a few dozen plays for a record on *Radio One* can make the difference between failure and very lucrative success. It's as inevitable as industrial espionage in other highly competitive capitalist industries.

In fact, until 1955, the BBC operated a system of official 'payola' (as this form of bribery came to be called in the

USA). This guaranteed to music publishers who paid a set fee that 50 per cent of every programme of contemporary dance music would consist of tunes they wanted to plug.

Perhaps the most important figure on *Radio One* is 48-years old, ex-recording star *Jimmy Young*. During his four years as a regular disc-jockey he has graduated from being just a man who used to read out the requests on *Housewives' Choice*, to one of the judges of the *Mirror's* 'Mrs Average Britain' contest.

To understand the show that has made him such an 'expert' on housewifery, with its telephone calls, recipes and listeners' letters (1000 a day), we have to look at the nature of radio in capitalist society.

Radio is often referred to as one of the media of communication, but communication implies a two-way process, a dialogue, and the BBC is very much a monologue. In fact radio is used as a means of communication by the police, taxi firms and amateur radio 'hams', who use short-wave to talk to people all over the world.

And even transistor radios are potential transmitters. They could interact with other receivers if their circuits were reversed.

The marxist dramatist *Bertolt Brecht* understood the potential of radio as early as 1932: 'Radio would be the most wonderful means of communication imaginable in public life, a huge linked system—that is to say, it would be such if it were capable not only of transmitting, but of receiving, of allowing the listener not only to hear but to speak, and did not isolate him but brought him into contact. Unrealisable in this social system, realisable in another . . .'

It is unrealistic under capitalism because it would break the monopoly of broadcasting and of the dissemination of ideas by state corporations like the BBC, and by commercial interests.

Nevertheless, the contradiction between the potentialities of radio and its necessary function in a class society is expressed in *Radio One*, and in particular in the *Jimmy Young* show. For the telephone conversations with listeners

and the recipes sent in by them, represent not their desire to communicate with *Young*, but attempts to communicate with each other.

Of course, it is an attempt that is frustrated and distorted by the structure of the programme. The phone conversations are always trivial, and start from the assumption that all women at home want to talk about their hobbies, their families and their husbands' jobs.

No dialogue

The illusion is created of a nationwide community of housewives, brought together by *Jim*, the man who chose *Mrs Average Britain*. A more promising development used to be the long letters sent in by women to *Johnny Walker's* old show, which often contained complaints and criticisms about being housebound.

But even then, there was no dialogue. *Walker* would just brightly say 'that's interesting' and move on to the next record. Like *Anthony Wedgwood Benn* and the 'enlightened' capitalists, the controllers of *Radio One* want participation by their listeners to make them identify with the programmes and the ideology that lies behind them. *Young's* latest participation gimmick has been to do a show live from a council house on *Clydeside*.

But they would be terrified at any suggestion of control by the audience.

This attitude comes out clearest in the coverage of current affairs. The only disc-jockey allowed to discuss politics is *Jimmy Savile* in his Sunday afternoon show *Speakeasy*. He is the ideal choice: an amiable buffoon who dyes his hair different colours and wears hot pants on television, but also has a social conscience, working as a hospital porter and leading charity walks.

Hollow triumph

This 'sensible' position sets the tone for the show, which features contributions from an audience of young people as well as a panel of 'experts'. Occasionally socialists can get a point across, but in general speakers are kept short by chairman *Savile*, who asks the questions.

The overall effect is of the triumph of capitalist 'free speech', where as long as everyone has their say, it doesn't matter if no answers are reached to the important social and political issues of our time. No one really learns anything from *Speakeasy*.

Socialists working in broadcasting are becoming more and more aware of the problems resulting from the restriction of genuine communication in radio and TV. Most recently they have challenged the assumption that a fourth television channel should copy the existing ones, and have proposed that it should be open to all groups in the society with something to get across.

But it will be only in a socialist society that the media will achieve their full potential as means of communication democratically run and controlled, with the abolition of the absolute division between those who speak and those who listen.

And as *Brecht* wrote: 'If you should think this is utopian, I would ask you to consider why it is utopian'.

BOOKS

'What did you learn in school today, Dear little boy of mine? . . . I learned our government must be strong, It's always right and never wrong, Our leaders are the finest men, And we elect them again and again, And that's what I learnt in school today...'

Tom Paxton

WHAT GOES on in the schools is largely designed to keep pupils from either knowing themselves, or the world they live in. For example a recent survey in York of sixth form pupils (ages 16-18) revealed large numbers of them who thought imperialism meant 'taking over another country for mutual benefit' and the term the Third World was 'the world after death'.

Clearly the pupils who think such things have gone through several years of mis-education in schools which have avoided any attempt to confront pupils with questions like Vietnam or Bangla Desh.

This is not accidental. Schools have always been more concerned with control and discipline, rather than enquiry. When state schools were set up in Britain at the end of the 19th century they took over where the church and factory left off, with the end of compulsory church-going and the abolition of child labour. The early state schools trained children to sit still and shut up while they endured a repetitive and soul-less drilling to prepare them for factory life.

The same process, whether in this country, America or Russia, continues today. The education machine is one part of the state, and it sifts out those creative teachers like *Christopher Searle* who present an alternative purpose and vision to that of the authorities.

A number of books by American writers concerned with education have appeared recently that expose the crisis within the American schools.

One of the best is *John Holt's* *The Underachieving School*. In one essay, 'Schools are bad places for kids', he describes what the child 'learns':

' . . . he learns that his studies are separate

from life, that to be wrong, uncertain, confused is a crime . . . he learns to be bored, to work with a small part of his mind, to escape from the reality around him into daydreams and fantasies . . . he learns that he is worthless, untrustworthy, fit only to take other people's orders, a blank sheet for other people to write on . . .'

Herbert Kohl's *36 Children* is an account of how one teacher attempted to break out from the confines of the dull and dishonest books and material he was meant to teach as part of the official curriculum and instead began to listen to the children and start from their world and interests.

Basically what the books argue for is change within the education machine, or even the abolition of formal schooling, so that new forms of education could offer variety, choice and involvement of all in a process of learning. The problem is that these alternative forms of education are not discussed in any social or economic context.

For example, the fact that schools reflect the priorities and demands of the

political system they function under means inevitably that any fundamental and deep going changes will have to be part of the same process in every other sphere of living—political, social and economic.

The Russian experience after 1917 reveals this most clearly. There was an explosion of new, creative thinking in the arts, education, film and literature, but this was only possible because of the revolution.

Of course teachers and pupils have to organise and agitate now for democracy in schools, for the right to decide how they should be run and what should be taught, but the main emphasis lacking in the books under review is that the final resolution to all the distortions of education under capitalism is not by the unrealistic idea of islands of real education within capitalism—the educational equivalent of *Robert Owen's* ideas—but the abolition of the system itself.

John Holt: The Underachieving School, Penguin 30p; Herbert Kohl: 36 Children, Penguin Educational Special 45p.

GRANVILLE WILLIAMS

DAVE LAING

Strikers reject report

PLYMOUTH:-The 17-month-old strike at Fine Tubes has entered a decisive stage.

Last week the report of the government inquiry into the dispute was published, and by accepting its recommendations the national officers of the transport and engineering unions (TGWU) and AUEW) have opened the door to a sell-out.

The report itself is a curious document. Professor Archibald Campbell and his team found the Fine Tubes management clearly guilty of provoking the dispute, but all this is forgotten in their recommendations. Here they call upon the unions to withdraw pickets and blacking in return for a promise of 'meaningful negotiations' from the company on the re-employment of the 49 strikers.

Free hand

The report also recommends a settlement should include 'an agreed level of cushioning payments if re-employment of the 49 strikers is phased or delayed.'

Any agreement on these lines would leave the company with a free hand to leave militant strikers outside the gates.

Equally dangerous is the proposal that the strikers should be re-employed, rather than reinstated into their former jobs with their former seniority. Without this guarantee the strikers could be made redundant on the basis of 'last in, first out'.

The strikers themselves do not accept the recommendations of the report. They insist that a settlement must include full reinstatement of all 49 men, and recognition by the company of trade union rights and procedure. They also say picketing and blacking has to be maintained until Fine Tubes is prepared to agree to such a settlement.

Messages of support and donations to 48 Stuart Road, Pennycomequick, Plymouth, Devon.

Council woken by milk demo

THE usual business at the November meeting of the Labour-controlled Haringey council was rudely interrupted on Monday this week, when local ratepayers in the public gallery angrily demanded that the council stop looking for loopholes and defy the Tory Government by restoring free milk for schoolchildren.

The meeting was halted, the gallery cleared and the police called.

This intrusion of real life into the council meeting was one upshot of the recent campaign on the free school milk issue organised jointly by the Tottenham Labour Party Young Socialists and the local IS.

John Kettle appeal

AFTER last week's article on the plight of one of the million plus unemployed, Socialist Worker has received two letters containing money to help John Kettle pay for the £60 damage he caused to his union's offices. On Wednesday Mr Kettle was told he had been expelled from the union—the Construction Engineers.

If he is not able to pay for the damage he will be jailed. Donations to Socialist Worker (John Kettle appeal), 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

ICI FIGHTS ON

DONCASTER:-Engineering Union workers at the ICI fibres plant voted last week to continue their three-weeks-old strike and to appeal to TGWU members for support. Backing has been promised to the strikers from ICI workers in Wilton, Billingham and Huddersfield.

WILL POSTMEN DEFY TORY HATCHET MAN

SINCE the end of the 47-day strike by the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW) in March the Tories and their Post Office hatchet man, Bill Ryland, have been planning to attack the workers in the postal section of the industry from several directions at once.

Their strategy, laid down by the Hardman Committee which ended the strike, is to make postal services profitable by productivity deals, mechanisation and cuts in services.

On 8 December a special conference of the UPW will be held in Bournemouth to decide the union's attitude to these threats.

By DAVE PERCIVAL and STEVE MANN

The Post Office is very profitable. It made more than £30 million during the last year. But while over £90 million was made on the telephones, nearly £60 million was lost on postal services.

These postal losses are not caused by over-generous services to the public or pay to the workers. There has been a great jump in the number and pay of non-productive bosses—the number of administrators has increased by a third since 1966.

	1966	1969
Administrators	9,889	12,300
Supervisors	9,974	11,295

The losses are also partly due to investment in mechanisation—itsself one way in which jobs are being cut.

But the UPW told the Hardman committee: 'The union has co-operated to the full in mechanisation and automation of sorting office work. No device which has proved operationally useful has been rejected... In this respect the union has an unblemished record and our continual complaint is that the Post Office has not moved with greater speed'.

Similarly the union has supported productivity dealing. Productivity experiments were made in several offices, and these turned the UPW branches involved all against it.

For example, Blackpool said: 'We feel the scheme is merely a camouflage to cover the real dynamite of pure work study'. Bromley said: 'In general the experiment has not been accepted by the membership. Toward the end we were finding some active resistance from all grades.'

Despite this the UPW leaders want the special conference to accept for all offices a refined variation of this productivity deal. The scheme has absolutely no favourable features for the staff and even the initial payment of about £7 will be taken back from later payments.

MASSIVE CUTS

The bonus will be paid entirely as percentage of the savings in labour costs. The only real difference between the Post Office and UPW leaders is whether the staff should get 40 or 50 per cent of savings made from themselves.

Finally there are the massive cuts in postal services proposed for next August. The main reduction will be to cut deliveries to private houses from two to one (naturally business firms are exempt and will get a full service).

Again the union executive has reacted pathetically. UPW secretary Tom Jackson is quoted by The Times as saying he was sure that a staff reduction of 7,000 could be easily taken care of by normal wastage over the next six years.

'I am mainly concerned that the public is being hoodwinked,' he said.

The difference between this position and that of the management appears to be one of numbers not principle (the Post Office estimates staff reductions of 25,000).

LOST CONFIDENCE

Clearly since the strike the UPW leaders have been groping for a policy. On the one hand they have lost confidence in the ability of the rank and file to achieve anything through their own efforts, but on the other the management are seeking to do away with the UPW as an independent body with a will of its own.

On one point, however, they have made their position very clear. No rank and file or political challenge within the union will be tolerated. Small publications put out by militant workers have been the subject of hysterical circulars from UPW head office and individual members have been threatened with disciplinary action.

Despite this, opposition to Jackson's policies are growing—the special conference next week may well reject the productivity deal.

NO POWER STRIKE

A CALL for strike action over their pay claim was defeated by only 10 votes out of 200 at a national delegate meeting of electricity supply men last week. And one reason for the majority against industrial action was the unrepresentative nature of some of the 'delegates'.

In Manchester, the Engineering Union divisional organiser, John Tocher (who is also president of the Communist Party) insisted that full-time officials who have never worked in the industry should go to the meeting, not rank and file representatives.



Digby Jacks, NUS president, addresses the students who marched to Westminster in protest

Students fight for autonomy

IN the tradition of all good union bureaucracies, the National Union of Students' executive indulged in backsliding and manipulation at the union's conference to protect its vested interests.

The main debate was on the proposals in the government's Consultative Document on the Financing of Students' Unions, with which the Tories aim to curb the activities of radical students. The NUS executive made it clear that militant action was not on the agenda.

Several colleges called for direct action, but the executive successfully argued against proposals for a series of days of action, culminating in a total shutdown of every academic institution.

New proposals

The programme substituted is a formula for defeat—a day of (unspecified) action on 8 December, a publicity campaign, and a march on 23 January (which is a Sunday). Students are also being encouraged to secure the support of directors of education and vice-chancellors, many of whom urged for the change in legislation. And, of course, we must all write to our MPs!

The sell-out really came on the question of negotiations. While agreeing with the majority of delegates that the document was non-negotiable, the executive have nevertheless asked for 'clarification' on twenty points. It is quite clear that they are mobilising mass support in the hope that the government will make new proposals on which they can reach a compromise solution.

By GRAHAM PACKHAM

Many delegates were appalled at the lack of political analysis and the weaknesses of the proposed campaign. At a left caucus meeting at the end of the conference, the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Students' Unions was established.

The committee, which is a united front of revolutionaries and militants, will act as a pressure group within NUS and also as a separate body acting independently. It sees its role as co-ordinating the struggle within the most militant students' unions, and informing less-militant unions of the main struggles.

The committee stands for total political independence for students unions, no financial accountability, no negotiations, no 'clarification', and no collaboration with college authorities. It wants the government proposals totally rejected and calls on students to fight to extend student autonomy, and for student/worker solidarity.

The committee plans to contact all student unions and socialist societies. Already over 20 unions are supporting the committee. All militant students are urged to affiliate their socialist society, and if possible their union, and send delegates to the first national policy-making conference at 12 noon on Saturday, 4 December, at Imperial College, London.

The vital word was missing

THE functionaries of the Department of Education and Science seem to have accepted the Thatcher Green Paper on student union finance as official policy already.

At a meeting to discuss the final draft of the articles of government of the proposed Middlesex Polytechnic (Enfield, Hornsey College of Art and Hendon Tech) student union representatives were astounded to find that the department had removed references to the 'autonomy' of the student union.

Since the union has already a policy of complete opposition to the Thatcher proposals, its representatives informed the

meeting that they could not accept articles of government which implemented these in advance.

But a further shock was in store: for the union. The chairman of the Labour controlled Haringey Education Committee Mrs Berkerey-Smith professed astonishment that they should be prepared to hold up the foundation of the polytechnic over 'one little word'. The word 'autonomy' has apparently no place in the minds of Labour bureaucrats.

The students, however, are in no mood to accept such proposals, and a mass meeting of all students from the three colleges concerned is being called.

TOOLROOMS SOLD OUT

by SW Reporter

COVENTRY:-After only three days of strike action, the toolroom dispute ended in a defeat for the city's 8000 engineering workers.

The struggle began after the local employers ended a 30-year old pay agreement which guaranteed toolroom workers the average wages of skilled production workers.

For the ten weeks after the agreement was scrapped in September, the toolmakers mounted a series of one-day protest stoppages.

The employers retaliated by imposing a city-wide lockout on the day after each strike and attempted to crush all resistance by indefinitely locking out 1150 workers at Rolls-Royce.

Confronted with this offensive,

the right wing officials of the engineering union (AUEW) held a strike vote which finally resulted in a majority for action. The strike started last week, laid off 20,000 workers within one day and was sold out within a matter of hours.

The negotiated settlement accepts the cancellation of the toolroom agreement but postpones it until February. A payment of £7 per man was agreed in compensation for the period when the agreement was not operating.

Final clause in the agreement provides for the establishment of a special skilled toolroom operatives committee. This will review toolroom

wages twice a year. It cannot take decisions but can only make recommendations if it is thought that any group of toolroom workers is falling behind in earnings levels.

After February, the toolroom workers' wages will be negotiated on a factory-to-factory basis—which is precisely what the employers were after in their drive to curb wage rises in the city and abolish piece-work.

The blame for the defeat must lie firmly at the door of the right wing of the local AUEW. Throughout the struggle they consistently shunned a real fight with the employers and then—once the strike had started—seized the first opportunity of ending it.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

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

Socialist Worker

Quaye family win appeal

SW Reporter

THE QUAYE family of Lewisham, South London, have won their appeal against convictions imposed on them at Lambeth Court. The convictions took place three months ago after Mr Quaye and his daughter Kathleen had both been beaten and insulted by the police for no reason, apart from the fact that they were black.

The magistrate refused to listen to their story and instead accepted what the police said.

Now the judge at the Inner London Sessions has decided that the police took unwarranted action and that the Quayes

were highly regarded members of the local community. A police inquiry is to be held into the allegations of brutality made by the Quayes against the police.

The reason the appeal was successful was that the judge clearly felt compelled to try and dress up the tarnished image of the legal system. For the case had become the centre of a great deal of publicity. An appeal fund had been backed by the local council leader, trades council, trade union officials,

local International Socialists and Communist Party branches and the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Reports which brought out the facts were printed in the Sunday Times, Time Out and Socialist Worker. This meant that instead of going along with the antics of the boys from Greenwich police station, as had happened at the magistrate's hearing, the bench were forced to make some acknowledgement of the facts of the case, even though the evidence was identical to that produced before.

Tory scheme no help for jobless

by Laurie Flynn

THE PRESS has given a great deal of coverage to the Tory government's 'emergency action' to reduce unemployment. In particular, the decision to allow the Central Electricity Generating Board to build an extra power station at Ince in Cheshire has been heralded as a great step forward.

But the number of jobs produced will be small, even at the construction stage. The CEGB itself estimates that only 1600 will be involved.

Ince will be a repeat performance of the current fiasco at the £92 million Hartlepool power station, where half the promised construction jobs have simply disappeared.

'Peak labour needs will be reached in some two years' time when about 2500 people will be engaged on the project,' Mr T B L Faulkner, Hartlepool chief project engineer stated on 12 February 1969.

But in September last year the Transport Workers' Union were told that the maximum number of jobs would be 1300, exactly half the number promised.

What then is the motive behind authorising this extra power station? An article tucked away in the Times Business News last week reveals all.

Lobbying

'For Reyrolle Parsons the decision to advance the Ince B project is vital. The company has been lobbying the government over the spare power station programme since the CEGB decided not to go it alone ahead with the Sizewell B nuclear power station' wrote Roger Vielvoye.

'It (the CEGB) told the government it was prepared to order a new station that was not strictly necessary, in order to keep the heavy engineering industry in a healthy state, providing it was given financial assistance by the Treasury,' he added.

The Ince B deal has rather less to do with helping the unemployed than giving a badly needed handout to the hard-pressed power plant employers. It is in marked contrast to recent public statements from Mr Edward Judge, the current boss of Reyrolle Parsons.

At the annual dinner of the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association, in March this year, Mr Judge told the assembled audience (which included Edward Heath) that while there was a need for swift government action to stimulate industrial investment, the electrical industry welcomed the opportunity to stand on its own feet.

It should be remembered however that the special terms the government has agreed with the CEGB to finance this 'not strictly necessary' power station will cost the taxpayer only a trifling £12 million. And, after all, two years of depriving primary school children of free milk will more than make up the difference.

UNITE IRELAND PLAN

BY WILSON IS A PHONEY

by BRIAN TRENCH

HOODWINK HAROLD has struck again. A great deal of publicity was given to a speech last week in which Labour leader Wilson spoke of a 'united Ireland' in 15 years' time.

But this served only to disguise the central feature of his policy—continued support for what is being done by the Tory government in London and the Tory Unionist government in Belfast. It is not surprising that Reginald Maudling, Tory Home Secretary, was able to praise Wilson's attitude, for the Labour leader made clear that he supports the imprisonment of opponents of the

Northern Ireland regime without trial and that he wants the British army to continue its occupation of the province.

He spoke of it staying there for 15 years or more and of the need to build new barracks to house it.

There is a slight difference in emphasis between Wilson and the Tories. But that is only natural.

Both are committed to maintaining the rule of the small class that dominates both Ireland and Britain. That is why for decades both were able to accept without complaint the existence in Northern Ireland of a regime based upon religious discrimination, police violence and the suppression of the democratic rights of much of the population.

It was only in 1968 and 1969, when the people of Derry and Belfast began to stand up and demand their rights, that the Labour leaders took notice of what was happening there—and then only because it seemed that British big business's interests in Southern Ireland might be endangered by moves towards civil war.

The Tory Party in Britain has always been closely linked with the businessmen and landowners who rule Northern Ireland. But British big business wants an arrangement that will also keep happy the government that safeguards its interests in Southern Ireland.

FIVE MEMBERS of the socialist group People's Democracy were among those seized by the British army and imprisoned without trial last weekend. Their crime was selling their paper, the Unfree Citizen in public. Few things could reveal more clearly that 'keeping the peace' by British troops in Belfast really means keeping the opponents of the government from being heard.

What Wilson's plan really amounts to is an indefinite continuation of the domination of Ireland by the British ruling class and its Irish hangers-on, dressed up to look like a concession to Irish nationalism.

All the central props of British rule would remain. Not only would the Army be left there, but the basis of religious discrimination would remain entrenched.

The wealth of the country would continue to flow into the pockets of shareholders and money lenders in the City of London.

Such is the system that the British troops are at present upholding. It is a system that breeds the religious sectarianism which Wilson and the Tories try to use to justify the continued presence of those troops.

No progress is possible in Ireland until that system is ended by throwing out the British ruling class and its troops. We do not think this can be accomplished until a socialist movement genuinely based upon the interests of the mass of workers, in the south as well as in the north, Protestant as well as Catholic, is built.

Labour MPs take over giant march for jobs

A SECTION of the giant 20,000 march on parliament last week to protest at the appalling level of unemployment created deliberately by government and employers as part of the attack on the labour movement.

The march was organised by London Trades Council but was led by a group of Labour MPs and union bureaucrats, including Mrs Barbara Castle, architect of the last Labour government's anti-union policies. The marchers were viciously attacked by the police at the House of Commons.

Included in the picture is the banner of the federated chapel of SW Litho, Socialist Worker's printers, which groups together printers and journalists.



Ssh! You-know-who is bumping up Leeds' dole queue

by Vince Hall and Sheila Parkin

LEEDS:- 'At one time you could go into any pub in the city and guarantee that somebody would be able to tell you about a job going. Now when you go in, people only tell you about the latest redundancies.'

These words sum up the feeling of many people in Leeds about rapidly rising unemployment.

Over the past 20 years Leeds has always been a city with low unemployment coupled with low pay. Leeds district engineering rates are among the lowest in the country, while pay rates in clothing have always been appalling.

At the beginning of this year, the Wellworthy piston factory was shut. It had been bought only three years' earlier by the Wellworthy Company (part of Associated Engineering Ltd). A director bluntly admitted that it had been acquired just to get the machinery and patent rights. 700 people were thrown out of work.

Since then there have been redundancies at nearly every major engineering factory and a lot of tailoring firms. The latest jobs bombshell was three weeks ago when the giant Cadbury-Schweppes Food group announced the closure of Moorhouse's jam factory in Beeston, South Leeds. The £60 million combine has given notice to 600 men and women to quit by March. They will be joining the existing dole queues of 11,000 chasing only 1000 jobs in Leeds.

The announcement of closure at Moorhouse was sudden and unexpected. Maurice Galvin, the General and Municipal Workers factory convenor, told us how he and other workers had heard the news.

'The Cadbury-Schweppes director came up from Bournville and made a statement to our people in the canteen.' Most of the workers were absolutely numb because they had no idea what they had been called together for.

An Action Committee has been set up by the shop stewards to fight the closure. It has challenged the parent company to prove that the firm is unprofitable. Martin Croker, the spokesman, pointed out that some companies in the Cadbury-Schweppes group are making losses and are being expanded, others are being shut

White-collar men fight rep's sacking

RUGBY:-300 members of the draughtsmen's section of the Engineering Union at the GEC-AEI Mill Road site staged the second of a series of one-day strikes last week. They are fighting against the sacking of their union representative after he had attended a meeting on the site to discuss redundancy notices given to three members.

Management is following a deliberate plan to smash the draughtsmen's union, as was shown in July when the union got hold of a secret document written by the Employers Federation. The GEC combine has been at the centre of the attacks on the union. Disputes have been created deliberately and union representatives have been intimidated and victimised.

The Mill Road believe that the management has acted in this latest case because of the fight the union has been leading against redundancies both at this site and at the English Electric works across the road. The union's national overtime ban is beginning to hit certain sections, and the union has replied to redundancy notices by preparing to impose a four-day week with work sharing.

At a mass meeting the men have voted to work to rule and to strike every week for one day unless the victimised representative is reinstated.

Purdie-Prescott verdict

THE verdicts in the 'Carr bombing' case on Tuesday show that the police were a little too keen to frame Purdie and Prescott for even Mr Justice Melford Stevenson of Cambridge student trial fame. And Superintendent Habershon and his bully boys are determined to fix Purdie by raising other charges against him. Socialist Worker congratulates the 'accused' for their acquittal on the trumped-up charges and expresses solidarity with them for their future ordeals.

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