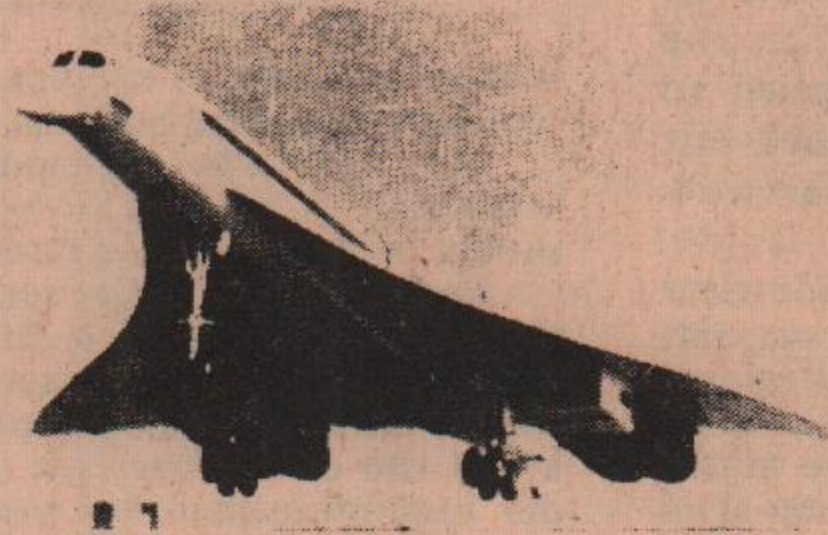


Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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£900 m LAME DUCK



The current annual spending on Concorde represents more than the estimated annual saving of increases in charges for school milk, school meals, Health Service charges, and council rents.

A PROFOUND CRISIS is threatening the lives of Britain's wealthiest businessmen. It is a transport crisis and it is probably the most serious of its kind since the threat to the QE2, the last of the luxury liners.

The problem can be stated simply: how to get to New York in time for lunch. Even with the time advantage, it is still impossible even in the fastest Jumbo Jet or VC10 to leave London at a decent hour in the morning and get to the lunch table at the Waldorf Astoria.

Now, however, the businessmen's government has come to their aid once more. Last week, Mr John Davies, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, took a flight in the prototype of the Concorde aeroplane.

It was, he said, a 'fabulous' experience. By all accounts, the flight was so smooth that the gin and tonics could be filled to the top of the glass without fear of spilling.

It was enough to convince the Minister that the Concorde project should go ahead. 'You have no more worries' he told Sir George Edwards, chairman of the British Aircraft Corporation that makes Concorde.

Sir George is delighted. Concorde has always represented for him the best form of 'co-operation' between business and government. The government pays for all research, all development and all losses. The firm gets the prestige and the profit, if there is any.

DOUBLED

So far, nine years after the decision to build Concorde was taken, the British government has spent £265m on the project. One prototype is built and another is nearly completed.

The same amount of money spent over the same period in building technology could have rebuilt all the slums in the city of Glasgow or Liverpool. It could have doubled the hospital building programme.

The current annual spending on Concorde represents more than the estimated annual saving of all the recent government increases in charges for school milk, school meals, Health Service prescription charges and council house rents.

Not a penny of the £265m will ever be recouped. Completion of Concorde will require another £168m in research and development costs, none of which will ever be recovered.

Total estimated cost of the British and French Concorde is a colossal £900m.

by
PAUL FOOT

Even when Concorde is ready for sale, there is no guarantee that this fantastic government subsidy will end. Unless the hundreds of Concordes are sold, BAC will get a 'sales subsidy' from the government.

If hundreds are sold, the effect on mankind in general could be catastrophic. For only a tiny handful of rich individuals will ever be able to afford the benefit of Concorde's speed.

A standard joke in Bristol is that the Concorde prototype is called 002 because only 0.002 per cent of the British people will ever be able to fly in it.

Those who live in its flight path will suffer all kinds of damage to their property, their hearing and to their environment. On the recent test flights of the prototype down 'boom alley' on Britain's west coast, the government (taxpayer) was forced to pay out compensation for damage which amounted to £50 for every mile.

Houses damaged, windows broken, animals panicked, individuals partly deafened—all these horrors and many besides have been experienced.

How does the government justify producing this monster at such enormous expense and so little benefit to the community at large? It boasts that the Concorde project employs 26,000 people.

A famous pre-war economist, Lord Keynes, used to argue that the best way to solve the lunacies of capitalism was more government-sponsored lunacies—such as employing large numbers of men and women at high wages to dig holes in the ground and fill them in again.

The story of Concorde shows that the idiosyncrasies of modern capitalist society are more ludicrous and very much more dangerous than Keynes himself ever imagined.



THE MEN WHO FIGHT FOR BANGLADESH...

Badly equipped and clothed, they are members of the Mukti Bahini, the liberation army of former East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. They have flung themselves heroically against the Pakistani Army. Now they face a second grave danger: the 'liberating' forces of India. Report p 12, editorial p 3.

We want more pay

We want more pay
Said the Royal Family
Without delay
Said the Royal Family
Our barefoot kids in the palace grounds need nothing less than a million pounds
said the Royal Family

We want more pay
Said the Members of Parliament
And straight away
Said the Members of Parliament
Poor starving things in the lobbies they'll queue
To vote themselves a thousand or two
Will the Members of Parliament

We want more pay
Said the coalface workers
Twenty shillings a day
Said the coalface workers
You greedy wretches, seven per cent
must be your fair emolument
That's what you'll get
That's what you'll like
I wonder why they're going on strike?
Are the coalface workers

Alex Glasgow

Anti-Internment League

Torchlight march through West End

SUNDAY 19 DECEMBER

Assemble Charing Cross Embankment 4pm

END TORTURE NOW
RELEASE THE INTERNEES
WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

All out 19 December

LEEDS POLICE PROBE BY HOME OFFICE

Flying Squad men in court on fraud charges

Immigrant 'hounded to death by two policemen'

THE POLICE

special feature pps 6 & 7

Mass march against German steel lock out

FRANKFURT, 9 December:- In the biggest demonstration in the city since the war 35,000 metal workers marched through the streets of Stuttgart last Wednesday. The employers in the North Baden/North Wurttemberg area replied to the union's selective strikes with a total lock-out and the second attempt at arbitration has now failed.

Feeling remains militant: the marchers made clear that the minimum they would accept is the 11 per cent that their union, IG-Metall, is demanding. Regional chairman Willi Bleicher reflected their anger when in an hour-long militant speech he declared that the much-vaunted German economy had not been built up after the war by 'a handful of industry bosses', but by the workers, and that the employers had never shown their profit-greedy face so clearly as now.

But one thing wasn't said in Stuttgart, at least by the most left-wing member of the union bureaucracy: there was no call to spread the strike. Only if this is done

SW Correspondent

is there a chance of success. The bosses are determined to achieve a unified national settlement.

They are now demanding openly that whatever settlement is reached in Nordwurttemberg/Nordbaden should be the basis for a national agreement.

And they want a low settlement. They have rejected the proposal of the 'last-ditch' arbitrator for a 7.5 per cent rise and a 40 per cent guaranteed 13th month's wage which IG-Metall accepted. This would have meant a real rise of 8.5 per cent (compared to inflation of 6 per cent more than last year) and is over the government's guide lines.

So the employers are building up pressure for a permanent government involvement in wage negotiations. On Tuesday evening economics minister Schiller was applauded at the annual jamboree of the employers' association when he declared that the government

could not look on while the economy was endangered.

On the same evening Chancellor Brandt met both sides for an attempt to achieve a settlement. Once again there was none, but the bosses' first goal—the active involvement of the government—has now been reached. Already proposals for a law allowing 'cooling off periods' is being discussed.

Meanwhile the effects of the lock-out spread. Volkswagen have already laid off production workers and Opel and Ford (in Cologne, Saarlouis and Ghent in Belgium) will be forced to shut.

They are prepared to pay the cost of a long strike in order to teach the German working class that its newfound militancy does not pay. And since the union refuses an effective fight they will probably succeed in achieving a favourable and government-negotiated settlement very soon. Whether the lesson will be 'learnt' however, seems increasingly dubious.

On Monday, following the despatch of this report, IG-Metall agreed to accept 7.5 per cent. The offer will go to a ballot of the union membership.

SHANTIE NAIDOO and Robert Sobukwe have lost their appeals against the decision last July which prevents them from leaving South Africa.

Shantie, who worked for the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was put under house arrest and forbidden to communicate with her friends in 1963. She was a victim of the government's repression of SACTU, the only principled multi-racial trade union organisation in South Africa.

In 1968 the order was renewed for five years, she decided to try to leave for Britain, but was arrested in June 1969 and held in solitary confinement for six months under the notorious Terrorism Act.

In December 1969 she was called to give evidence against 22 Africans charged with furthering the aims of the African National Congress (ANC) but refused. This led to another six months in jail. More house arrest followed.

Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan-African Congress, a black nationalist break-away from the ANC, was jailed in 1960, for 'inciting people to hand in their passes'. He was sent to a concentration camp on Robben Island for three years. His sentence was later extended to eight years.

'Prod deals' take their toll of jobs in France

It is not only British workers who are facing the threat of rising unemployment. World News has received the following report from our French comrades in Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle).

UNEMPLOYMENT is now an important problem in France. At the beginning of November the press announced various batches of redundancies affecting thousands of workers.

Twelve thousand jobs have been lost at Wendel-Sidelor, one of the biggest French steel companies with its main plants in Eastern France and there have been a thousand redundancies at Roussel-UCLAF, a big pharmaceuticals company with several factories in the Paris area.

Yet if the unemployment level for the whole country is showing a slight increase (2.1 per cent for the last quarter of 1971, as against 1.7 per cent last year), the situation is far from being as worrying as in other countries such as the US or even Great Britain.

For if the number of unemployed is increasing, the average period of unemployment is still less than three months. For young workers under 25 it is only a fortnight.

And the redundancies now affecting a large number of workers do not result from recession. On the contrary, they are caused by rationalisation of production in the firms concerned.

This has been planned for years, as part of a programme of expansion. Roussel-

UCLAF, for example, last year made profits of £148 million in France, and recently took over several smaller pharmaceuticals firms. Wendel-Sidelor is planning to build a large steel complex in the South of France, near Marseilles.

It is clear that these firms are by no means 'in difficulties'. They are setting up modern workshops and production lines which will increase their productivity and enable them to compete on the world market.

In this situation, the policy of the various trade union federations continues to be the one they have followed for several years: 'defence of jobs'.

Supervise

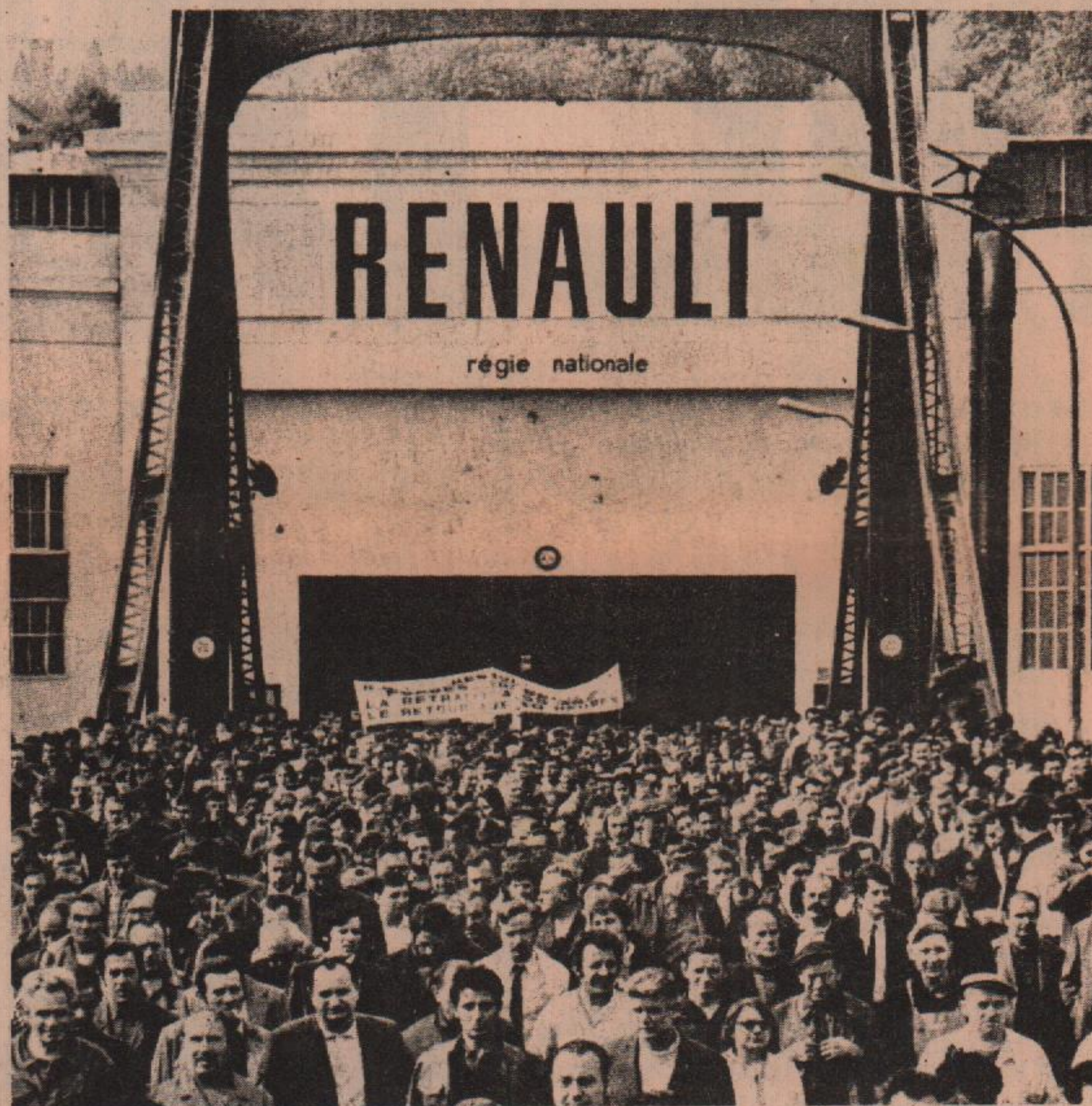
For them this means merely signing agreements with the bosses and the government for the protection, compensation and regrading of workers hit by redundancies.

And in the last few years a whole series of such agreements have been signed. In February 1969 there was a general national agreement on employment, and in June 1970 an agreement which increased unemployment pay and gave permission in advance for further redundancies.

Almost all these agreements set up parity commissions including trade union representatives to supervise their application.

But all this obviously did nothing to stop the bosses deciding on redundancies when it suited them. And in particular the agreements enabled them to claim massive government subsidies for 'reconversion' and the 'creation of jobs'. This happened notably in the case of Wendel-Sidelor.

But for revolutionaries, the task is not



Workers are under attack as bosses rationalise

to 'help' the unemployed. Instead, they must prevent the working class being split into unemployed 'outcasts' on the one hand, and workers compelled to work 45 hours or more per week.

Here the only valid demand is a general reduction in working hours and a sliding

scale of hours without wage reductions.

For the bosses the logic of profit-making means rationalisation which leads to increased unemployment. For the workers it means that since the same level of production, or even an increase is possible with less hours work, then the 30-hour week is now a realistic demand.

Tough fight by Spanish miners

There have been many big struggles in Spain this autumn. One of the biggest was the strike by the Asturian miners in Northern Spain. We are publishing here extracts from a report from eye-witnesses in the Asturias belonging to the Spanish organisation USO (Workers' Trade Union). It was originally published in the French paper Lutte Ouvriere.

THE MINERS' strike is one of the biggest since May-June 1962. It has affected all the mines, as well as the workers who wash the coal, the workshops and other services. All have gone on strike openly.

As always, the interests of the bosses and the government are the same, and the only reply they have given to the demands has been punishment and repression.

But on this occasion several editors of various journals have supported the strike in different ways. They have denounced the government's administration as undesirable and incapable of responding effectively to the concerns of the miners, in view of the fact that for more than eight years no section of workers in Europe has had a higher percentage of strikes.

Nonetheless, the strikes are continuing until satisfaction is obtained on the main demands—better wages, shorter working

day, right to hold meetings with adequate premises, social security and pensions big enough for present needs, for illness, retirement and silicosis.

In the course of the strike there has been plenty of support for the struggle against repression. Since he took over at the head of the Hunosa company, the manager, Guerra Zunzunegui, has been using a new form of repression which, for about a year, seemed to be an effective way of disciplining miners.

This method consisted in cutting one or more day's pay, by deducting it from days worked, for any section or pit that went on strike, whatever the demands. This measure caused widespread indignation and held back the struggle.

If strikes continued despite these repressive measures, then the punishment was extended to one or two months, as was the case at the Polio pit at Mieres, which was closed by the management. This method had given Hunosa better results than massive redundancies, or the sacking of the most militant workers. When only a few were sacked they were assisted by collections and other means from the solidarity fund.

During the strike the first sanction lasted until 18 October, when the miners presented themselves at their places of work. Since they had no information from the company in reply to their demands, they decided to continue the

strike. In several pits they presented requests to the mine engineers, and in others mass meetings were held to discuss the reasons for the strike.

At present the majority of miners have been penalised, with their jobs and wages suspended.

There have been several actions in support of the strike. On one day at Barredos, a small town in the Nalon valley, housewives refused to make purchases from the grocers, the baker or the dairy.

An atmosphere of solidarity prevailed and all the people went out into the streets to discuss the strike and other problems. It was a day of struggle which won support for the strike and in which young people and adults took part. It was the young people who took the lead by refusing to enter the gaming houses and by boycotting a newsagent and tobacconist who had said they should go back to work.

The Civil Guard took the names and addresses of people seen taking part in meetings, and confiscated the identity cards of some who protested at being harassed like this.

At present resistance continues on an economic level, though there are cases of severe hardship in some families, but these are being helped with necessary food, such as milk, potatoes, bread, and cooking oil.

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Indecent exposure at Westminster

IT WILL HAVE COME as a profound shock to many of our readers when they heard that senior government ministers and their civil servants have been rigging Question Time in the House of Commons in order to avoid 'embarrassing' interrogation from the opposition.

The mock anger from the Labour benches at the disclosure in the Sunday Times was evaporated somewhat on Monday when Peter Walker, Minister of the Environment and Member of Parliament for Slater-Walker, blandly told the Commons that the system was nothing new and was, in fact, a revered parliamentary custom.

So yet another layer of paint is stripped away from the sagging facade of the parliamentary system. When it claims to be the 'oldest and best method of democracy' there could be a strong case made out for reporting it under the Trade Descriptions Act for attempting to mislead the public.

Parliament is not democratic in the sense that socialists use the word. The essence of real democracy is that those elected to office must be accountable and recallable at any time. MPs are not. Elected once in five years, they are then free to break every election promise and cannot be recalled.

Parliament is the rubber stamp for the capitalist system. The ruling class, the owners and controllers of industry and wealth, make the real decisions affecting the lives of millions and parliament gives those decisions the seal of approval through the mock democracy of debates where the votes are cast before discussion begins between two parties that are less and less distinguishable.

The fact that despite all these advantages Ministers and their civil servants find it necessary to lie and erect elaborate machinery to avoid the remote possibility of the truth ever seeping into the Palace of Westminster is clear evidence of the profound crisis shaking the system.

We should be grateful to Mr Walker, Mr Amery and co. They have performed a useful function in showing to the sceptical world just what a charade the parliamentary system is. It cannot be tinkered with. It certainly cannot be used to 'legislate socialism' as the Labour left and their reformist pals in the Communist Party like to believe.

It must be scrapped and replaced by a true democracy based on workers' councils operating at every level of society, with delegates who at all times must account for their actions and be subject to recall and removal by the working population.

INDIA'S REAL AIM IN EAST BENGAL

A GOOD MANY PEOPLE on the left in Britain are cheering on the Indian advance into East Bengal. There is understandable pleasure at the beating that is being handed out to the military bullies who murdered thousands of Bengalis and drove millions from their houses. The quickest way and the one least costly in lives to establish an independent Bangladesh seems to be to rely on the Indian army.

There are also quite a few people who take seriously the claim of the Indian government to stand for 'secularism, socialism and democracy'. It seems very progressive, especially when contrasted with the medieval 'Holy War' rubbish that is the main ideology of the rulers of Pakistan.

The reality is quite different. The Indian government is in no sense progressive. It is a reactionary capitalist government which is devoted to the interests of the privileged classes of India. The Indian government fears a genuinely independent Bangladesh as much, if not more, than the military bosses of Pakistan fear it.

This fear was a big factor in the Indian decision to intervene. The Indian government is establishing a puppet regime in Bangladesh, a regime that will depend, in the last resort, on the Indian army and it is doing so to smash the Bengali national movement.

The Bengali nation was divided in 1948 between India (West Bengal) and Pakistan (East Bengal). In Indian West Bengal the elected state government, headed by one of the two main Indian Communist Parties (the Communist Party of India-Marxist) was overthrown earlier this year by Indira Gandhi who sent in the Indian army to 'restore order'.

West Bengal remains today under 'Presidential Rule'. It is the main field of activity of the Naxalite guerrillas. 'A significant side effect of the war', writes the Guardian's correspondent, 'has been the eclipse of the popular pro-Chinese peasants' movement, the Naxalites, who were gaining strength in West Bengal'.

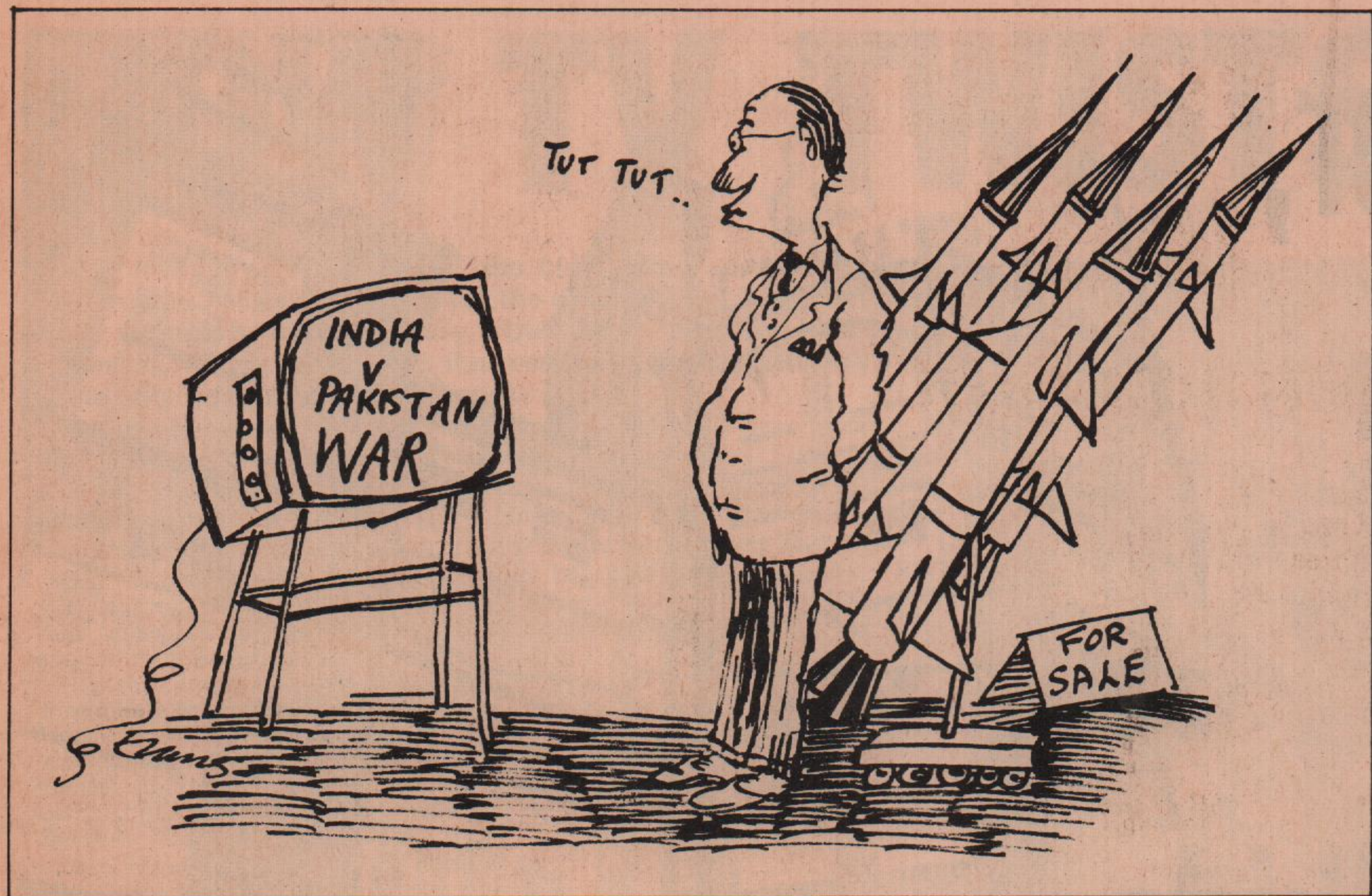
Exactly, and this was one of the factors in the calculations of the Indian ruling class. A really independent Bangladesh, which would inevitably swing far to the left, would make West Bengal ungovernable. The matter does not stop there. India, no less than Pakistan, is a collection of nations and communities held together by a state machine in the interests of a small number of rich exploiters. If West Bengal were lost to India's capitalists the example would be contagious.

A very significant news story last week was not given prominence in the British press. It was that due to 'a shortage of police in East Bengal' the Indian government is sending in teams of West Bengali police officials—fresh from their exploits in hunting down Bengali peasant rebels.

The puppet rulers cannot hope to control the mass movements of peasants and workers that will follow the destruction of the West Pakistani garrison without outside forces. They need Indian soldiers, Indian policemen, Indian administrators.

All socialists must support the independence movement of Bangladesh. This movement can only succeed by its independent efforts. It is absolutely correct for the independence movement to accept guns and money from India or any other source that will supply them. It is absolutely fatal to rely on the good faith of the Indian government.

Neither Pakistan nor India, but only the workers and peasants of Bangladesh can free their country and themselves.



COTTONS WARMS

Doleful

LAST WORD in bad taste: Liverpool Trades Council's Development Society is running a Christmas lottery, first prize £100 plus 10 hampers for the runners-up—'one of these will be allocated to an unemployed person of your choice', says the ticket.

And how does the lottery work? The winner is the person who guesses most accurately the December unemployment figure. Everyone who buys a ticket can have six guesses.

An extra redundancy on Merseyside could be the genius who thought up this little prank.

HEADLINE of the week 1): 'Pop groups and pilots blamed for VD increase'. Fasten your chastity belts...

Brown-ed off

LORD GEORGE-BROWN is alive, 'tired' but well and living it up like any good socialist and trade unionist should.

His American publishers have been having a tough time in getting his lordship's memoirs, In My Way, off the ground. The American edition was printed in Britain and shipped across the Atlantic but the copies were held up by the American dock strike—a nice touch, you might think.

The strike over, all seemed set, but then the publishers, St Martin's Press, ran into added difficulty over the cost of a projected tour by Lord George to publicise the book.

Said a spokesman for St Martin's: 'It was a difference between the style in which he is used to living and the style we can afford to pay.' Strange when an American publishing firm can't keep pace with the ritzy style of a Labour peer.

The firm offered to draw up Brown's itinerary and pay all his hotel bills. In New York they booked him in to the Algonquin Hotel, which used to be good enough for James Thurber and Dorothy Parker, and



BROWN: crusty reply

which charges a relatively modest 25 dollars a day for a single room.

Brown demanded the St Regis hotel at 50 dollars a day. He also, said St Martin's, wanted to go to a lot of places where nobody was likely to buy his book, such as Mobile, Alabama and Johnson City, Texas, so he could drop in on Looney Bins Johnson and swap a few boozey memories.

After much screeching down the phone from Brown, the problem has been resolved. St Martin's have agreed to pay him a flat sum (they won't say how much) and he will make up the difference.

Fair enough, you say? Not quite. Some of that difference will be made by YOU, the taxpayer. For Brown will have a chauffeur and a limousine at his disposal, courtesy the British delegation to the UN.

HEADLINE of the week 2): 'Police seek copper thieves'. Now then, now then, now then, what's that constabule doing in the boot of your car...?

Silly point

RACIALISM strikes the genteel world of English cricket, writes LBW. Two leading cricket writers, Robin Marlar of the Sunday Times (and former captain of Sussex) and John Thicknesse (ho, ho) of the London Evening Standard, are busily campaigning for a restriction on the number of overseas players allowed to join English clubs.

The influx of overseas players—mainly black and Asian, of course—is blamed for holding back the development of native cricketers. There's a Gary Sobers or Clive Lloyd waiting in every side street, apparently.

The outraged Thicknesse told his readers last week that the rule must be changed by which overseas players 'technically' become Englishmen after just five years' residence here. 'By this definition 20 of the 47 imports are not really non-Englishmen.' Gad, sir.

Top of his blacklist (if you'll pardon the expression) is Hampshire which next year will field a side with

only four 'genuine' Englishmen.

To help out the retired blimps who will wish to pen letters to The Times on this weighty subject, Thicknesse appends a list of all 'non-English' players in England, conveniently breaking them down into countries of origin. Coom back, Fred Trueman, all is forgiven.

KINDLY CHAP, J Edgar Hoover, boss of the American FBI. According to a Dallas, Texas, newspaper, Hoover 'refuses to eat any of the many delicacies sent to him by unknown admirers for fear that someone thereby might try to poison him. He gives this food to orphanages and similar institutions'. So that's why child mortality is on the increase in the States...

Duel power

MEMO to H Wilson and E Heath: please follow this precedent. General Liber Seregni, the defeated candidate of the left-wing Broad Front in Uruguay's presidential election, fought a duel with pistols against another defeated candidate last week. At a military academy outside Montevideo each fired two shots at 25 yards but neither hit his adversary.

A military tribunal in Montevideo decided that duelling was the only way to settle the differences between the two men.

Jammy job

WORKERS at the Cadbury-Schweppes subsidiary of Moorhouse jam factory in south Leeds are being chucked out of their jobs in March. The man responsible is the chairman of Cadbury-Schweppes, Lord Watkinson of Woking, a former Tory minister.

Among the 600 who will get the chop at Moorhouse are 70 people over 50 years of age, some of whom will find great difficulty in ever getting work again. They probably don't know that Lord W was up to this little game 20 years ago.

In 1948 he was chairman of the Production Efficiency Panel for southern England. Four years later when his efficiency had time to bite and a few jobs were lost, he became a member of the National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men and Women. Who says history never repeats itself?

BRITISH RAIL have replaced their first-aid post in the Doncaster engineering plant with a new central post which they claim can be reached by any worker within four minutes. As some parts of the plant are a mile from the first-aid post, informed sources report that Dr Roger Bannister is to be taken on as the works' coach.



To Mrs Thatcher, with love for Christmas, from Peckham schoolkids ...a brick

MRS MARGARET THATCHER, the Secretary for Education, will receive a rather exclusive Christmas present this year. It is a brick sent by the pupils and teachers of the Thomas Calton School in London's Peckham.

It fell out of the coping near the school entrance as people were on their way to a protest meeting. The meeting was called to organise opposition to Mrs Thatcher's decision not to allow the Inner London Education Authority to spend money it has already allocated to rebuild the school.

The kids have good reason to remember Mrs Thatcher. They can think about her every time they go to the outside lavatories.

And the kids will tell you that you never forget your first visit there. You've got your trousers round your ankles by the time you realise there's no lavatory paper in the cubicles.

One roll is mounted centrally on the main inside wall. Things are probably a little different at Cabinet meetings.

Staff, too, have to tend to their bodily functions in the open air though they and the kids do have a roof. But their superior status in the Thatcher world is fully recognised.

The boys' lavatories are simply called 'men'. The staff go to an outdoor structure labelled 'gentlemen', one of the smaller but more meaningful distinctions of British civilisation.

To the left of the main school buildings, the playground has another outdoor structure. Built two years ago, this is a prefabricated hut which houses the woodwork department.

The building has the toughness of

a packet of paper tissues. A slight shove is enough to puncture the walls.

One day soon the local newspaper may well carry a little paragraph about a child who is electrocuted there. For in this outhouse the electrical wiring (mains lead and all) is on the surface of the walls. It is therefore handy for the prying compass needle of an experimenting child.

£1 million is what it would take to rebuild this crumbling and chronically overcrowded school. Mrs Thatcher



er has refused to authorise the expenditure saying that it could be only at the expense of nine other rotting primary schools in London.

But the ILEA has the money to do all these jobs, and rebuild Thomas Calton.

What Mrs Thatcher does not want to do is to be party to that greatest of all Tory educational sins, the building of comprehensives.

Nor does she want to appear to openly oppose them. Accordingly the children of Thomas Calton are to continue to suffer, under the guise of Tory priority for rebuilding primary slums.

In this school staff, parents and the National Union of Teachers have organised and are organising to have Thatcher's veto removed. The headmaster, Ron Pepper, said last week that Mrs Thatcher had thrown down the gauntlet and the people of Southwark would take it up.

Appalling

It is a very big gauntlet and has been there for a very long time.

When children from other schools pass Thomas Calton you can hear them say... 'and they think this is the worst. You want to see mine.' And they are right.

The Stanstead Road School, about a mile away, is even more appalling. And just down the road from Thomas Calton, there is another educational ruin, the Bellenden primary school.

The free school milk problem is not confined to Merthyr Tydfil though the Labour councillors who have the guts to fight the issue seem to be. As the Tories attack the bodies of the young by depriving them of calcium, so too the system they uphold surrounds the young with buildings which do not even meet the requirements for a slaughterhouse.

Thomas Calton is one tiny crack in a filthy system. The time must come when it will no longer be a question of posting bricks in protest.

Story: Laurie Flynn
Pictures: Mike Cohen

Top: the crumbling Victorian pile of Thomas Calton school. ILEA has the cash but Mrs Thatcher says no. Above: boys from the school. Mates from neighbouring slums think they're lucky.

PRIVATE EYE



The Life and Times of Private Eye

The book of the magazine that is sometimes uproarious, sometimes outrageous, always provocative £1.50

WHAT IS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS?

In Germany in 1935 the Gestapo officially impounded and withdrew What is Class Consciousness? by the marxist psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich on the grounds that it was 'liable to endanger public security and order'. This important pamphlet is now available again in an English translation. 25p.

IS BOOKS 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

HOW TV TWISTS THE NEWS

'MAD MITCH' MITCHELL IS the only public representative in Britain who has called openly for the censorship of television news from Northern Ireland. Every other MP, Tory and Labour, is against it. Which means that the member for Aberdeenshire West is the only honest liar in parliament.

Because the news from Northern Ireland is censored, as every member of the House of Commons and every television worker knows. For some time now the BBC and ITA have been piecing together machinery to filter and refine stories coming out of Belfast to ensure that the finished product is in line with the prejudices and political needs of the British ruling class.

For example: since April no member of the IRA can appear on BBC television or radio without the express permission of the Director General of that organisation. And the DG, as he cryptically calls himself, has never granted such permission.

The ban imposed by the Independent Television Authority on a recent World in Action programme which included film of the Provisional IRA annual conference, demonstrates that a similar rule is operating on the other channel. The IRA is also banned by Radio Telefis Eireann, the Irish television and radio company.

This means that nowhere in these islands can the Republicans state their case to the mass of the people despite the fact that they undeniably represent a significant section of the community in Northern Ireland.

Clearly this is political censorship. Its effect is that opinions about the IRA's activities and motivations are not based on what the organisation itself says it is trying to do. Far from it.

It is based entirely on what other people, its enemies, say it is trying to do. The mass of the British people are therefore incapable of making an independent judgement about the situation in Ireland, because they are not allowed to hear the views of one of the combatants.

UNANIMITY

Even the 'liberals' in the television hierarchy who claim to be against formal, openly disclosed censorship, are content to participate in the present 'silent' censorship.

At an anti-censorship meeting called by the Free Communications Group three weeks ago, Keith Kyle of 24 Hours was applauded when he said that while one must strive to present the situation truthfully, one must always remember that 'the truth can sometimes be of assistance to the IRA.' 'We must be careful that we do not unwittingly help the IRA,' he added.

In other words, from Mad Mitch on the far right to Keith Kyle in the soggy centre, there is unanimity that some censorship is in order. What they disagree about is how much there ought to be. None of them believes that the whole truth should be told.

This was quite explicitly stated by Desmond Taylor, the BBC's editor of news and current affairs, at a meeting of that channel's current affairs group on 13 August this year.

'It is not the BBC's intention to try and achieve an artificial balance in news bulletins or reports,' he stated.

On the question of interviews with released detainees he added: 'The best solution is to present interviews containing

Irish truth is being censored

damaging and unsupported charges in such a way that the listener and viewer receives them in a critical or even sceptical mood.'

The BBC has also laid down the rule that even when such interviews are broadcast, no independent corroboration will be carried.

What went into the 24 Hours programme on the Compton report (Tuesday 16 November) illustrates the operation of these rules. 24 Hours had a 23 minute film about internment and the treatment of the internees available for inclusion.

ALLEGATIONS

After a day of drama and melodrama in the studio, 17 minutes of the film was included in the programme. This consisted of interviews with released internees.

The six minutes of film cut out included interviews with Dr J Lane of the Mater Hospital, Belfast, Mr Christopher Napier, a solicitor and Father Devine, the Roman Catholic Chaplain of Belfast's Crumlin Road Prison. All their statements corroborated the allegations made by those who appeared in the other 17 minutes.



by EAMONN McCANN

In other words the detainees were presented as BBC news editor Desmond Taylor hoped: 'In such a way that the listener and viewer receives them in a critical or even sceptical mood.'

The impressive corroboration of their stories which the programme could have shown were cut out of the film to prevent just this.

On a day-to-day basis news stories coming out of Belfast have to be passed through a Mr Martin Wallace, described by BBC employees as 'a political copy-taster'. Mr Wallace, a former deputy editor of the Tory-Unionist Belfast Telegraph, checks that nothing in the copy is 'unhelpful'.

On the other channel, with its many independent companies, the censorship works in slightly more complicated ways. For example, the independent television companies have five 'mandatory' programmes—This Week, World in Action,

ITN news, the Tuesday documentary and the weekly play.

The idea behind the 'mandatory' rule is that every company is thereby forced to carry a complement of 'serious' items.

But it doesn't always work out like that. The reason that the Independent Television Authority banned the World in Action film on the IRA was that Ulster Television refused point blank to show it.

PREVENT

In effect this gives Ulster Television a veto on all major news and current affairs programmes on Independent Television.

The managing director of Ulster television is Mr 'Brum' Henderson, who

makes no secret of his strong Unionist beliefs. His brother, Captain Bill Henderson is chairman of the publicity sub committee of the Ulster Unionist Council.

Both TV channels censor and distort the news from Northern Ireland, and they do it precisely to prevent the people knowing what is happening.

The media distort the situation not because they are controlled by congenial liars but because they are controlled by the ruling class. Unless the fight against television censorship is linked to the overall fight against the system and against the Tories, it can never succeed.

It is capitalism which must keep people ignorant. Which is why incidentally you really should watch the 'news' from Northern Ireland in a 'critical even sceptical' mood.

Dublin attacks the militants

THE SOUTHERN IRELAND 'Green Tory' government is pushing legislation through parliament in an attempt to hammer militants in the trade union movement.

Fifty-four per cent of employees in the Republic of Ireland are members of trade unions—a higher proportion than in any other European country. In many areas the rank and file are militant and have won higher wage levels and better conditions than their counterparts in Britain.

In recent years, rapid industrialisation has increased the strength and confidence of the Irish working class and in some years working days lost through strikes have been higher than any other country's.

Successful

Faced with the problems of a high rate of inflation and of taming the workers to impress foreign investors, Jack Lynch's government is steering a Trade Union Bill through the Dail (Dublin parliament). This Bill is aimed against 'breakaway' unions and unofficial committees.

Very often the workers in struggle have abandoned attempts to persuade the union leaders to take up their fight and have formed new unions to represent them. Some of these have been successful.

The most prominent are the National Busmen's Union, which organises about one-third of the busmen in the country, and the Post Office Officials' Association, whose telephonist members are threatening to strike during the Christmas period.

There have been many smaller unions formed in this way. And when 30 or 40 men in an industry have struck for recogni-



tion, members of other unions have refused to pass their pickets. The power industry, in particular, has been affected by actions of this sort. In one power strike, the unofficial leaders were imprisoned, but they had to be let out in order for effective negotiations to re-start.

Already the Irish government has powers similar to the Tories' Industrial Relations Act. They have tried to extend these powers in the last few years.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions is co-operating with the government. The union bureaucrats agree that the main problems are inflation and unemployment and that these must be resolved jointly by employers and workers.

In the past year they have signed a National Wage Agreement with the government which gives the bosses and the state control over the rate and the timing of wage increases. The ICTU has also

agreed to new rulings on official and unofficial strikes which again take away power from the shop-floor.

But the government is still not satisfied. The Trade Union Bill, 1971, proposes to increase the minimum deposit of a trade union from £1000 to £5000. A new union must have 500 members, and must wait 18 months from the time of meeting these conditions before a licence can be granted.

Weaknesses

This would make the formation of new organisations impossible. Government, opposition, and union bureaucracy are united in opposing the large number of small unions in Ireland.

There are weaknesses in the Irish trade union movement—as well as great strength in particular cases. The proliferation of small unions is not in the long-term interests of the workers. But if the bumps are to be ironed out and the trade union structure to be rationalised, it must be done by the workers on their own terms—not by the government and the bosses.

In Ireland no less than in Britain, the long-term aim of militants is to build industrial unions, taking in all sections in one industry or service. But this is part of a struggle to build up independent working-class strength, not a more rational structure in the interests of the employers and their allies.

Whatever its disadvantages, it is now the pattern of working-class militancy in Ireland to form new unions and committees when the official structure gets in the way. In seeking to make this more difficult, the government is attacking the militants.

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THE POLICE

CLOSE YOUR EYES for a moment and try to imagine a strike taking place with the police intervening on the side of the workers. When you've stopped laughing, just consider what it is that makes the idea so ridiculous.

After all, society tells us from our very first day in school that the police are there only to help, that they're doing a difficult and dangerous job, that we should be grateful for their protection and devotion. Some newspapers make a point of calling for the death penalty for criminals who kill policemen, which reveals something about their mentality when you consider how very few coppers ever have been killed.

Shoot your milkman and apparently that's different. Indeed, the Daily Mail, which specialises in articles which grovel to the police and call for the rope for those who shoot at them, recently carried an editorial praising the commuter who punched a bus conductor, on the grounds that this was the way frustrated passengers would react to slow service unless something was done.

Apart from vicious nonsense like that, and the sentimental rubbish turned out whenever a policeman gets hurt 'in the course of his duty' there are some truly

amazing lies told about our boys in blue, and some of them are quite widely accepted.

LIE NO. 1: 'The police are impartial'.

Once again, you only have to think about a strike situation. The least that will happen is that the police will 'stabilise' the situation, that is keep the balance of forces at a point favourable to the employer or the government.

But very frequently, as at Pilkingtons, the Barbican, BSR, Roberts Arundel (one picket had his spine broken), or London Airport, the police intervene directly and physically against the workers.

DOING A JOB ... FOR WHO?

by Martin Piper

Those who got as far as the House of Commons on last month's unemployment lobby will need no reminding of this.

Recently, after a brutal assault on the picket line at Fine Tubes, in Plymouth, policemen were asked to attend an identification parade for an enquiry into injuries and complaints by the strikers. They refused point blank, and needless to say their superior officers did not compel them.

We can expect to see more of this as the police are made to enforce the new Tory restrictions on the right to picket and demonstrate while on strike.

DEFENDERS

The whole purpose of the police force is to act as the most visible and immediate arm of the state. If the state is based on the power of a ruling propertied class, as it is in Britain, then the police will always act as the defenders of that system.

Whether or not this is done by 'sincere' or 'dedicated' men is irrelevant. As it happens, it usually isn't.

LIE NO. 2: 'The police are honest'. This may be true if you compare the British police with their American counterparts. Nobody even pretends that they aren't corrupt from top to bottom. But it is definitely not true here by any definition of the word 'honest'.

A few years ago, a book called *The Courage of his Convictions* was published. It was written by a retired professional criminal, who used the name Robert Allerton as a pen name and was accepted by all concerned as genuine.

In his book, Allerton said that he had bought his way out of more charges than he had been sent to prison for. There is no reason to doubt his word.

The really big time crime syndicates, which are no more than small-scale capitalist enterprises, cannot in the nature of things have their very own police forces in the way that monopoly capitalists can. So they do the next best thing and 'hire' the ones that are already available.

At this moment more than a dozen CID and Flying Squad members in London are suspended on corruption charges. And you can bet that they are only the tip of the iceberg. The difficulties of charging and convicting a policeman are immense.

And while the big fish save up for their retirement, the small-time cop on the beat can't be expected to be honest either.

When Ben Whitaker was writing his book *The Police* he was told by one sergeant of how his income had dropped when he was moved off the Soho beat, away from the prostitutes and dope peddlers who all paid their 'insurance' to him for protection.

The same man had previously had to suffer a drop in income when a seller of obscene post cards was told by the Vice Squad that from now on he was to pay his £20 a week to them and not

the sergeant.

That is the reason why only political and radical groups are ever prosecuted on the pretext of being 'obscene'. The real smut operators are perfectly safe unless they fall behind with their payments.

LIE NO. 3: 'The police are not brutal'.

Leaving aside the countless cases of striking workers who are assaulted by police or (as at Heathrow last month) by savage police dogs, the evidence shows that unless you are rich enough, or well enough connected to protect yourself, the chances of police violence coming your way are good.

PLANTED

Take two cases. In 1963, several people were arrested as they demonstrated against the fascist Queen Frederika of Greece in London. In court, the police produced lumps of brick which they claimed to have 'found' on the defendants, some of whom were sent to prison as a result.

It was only by a fluke that they were able to prove that the bricks had been planted on them, and that Detective Sergeant Challenor was the man responsible.

He was later found insane, but had been carrying on in this way for some years without any of his colleagues ever reporting him. How many Challenors are there in the force today?

Several in Leeds for a start. Three weeks ago, two policemen, one a sergeant and one an inspector, were very fortunate to be found not guilty of torturing a



Nigerian tramp death.

They were beating him, urinating on him. In fact, was a wide police force in a year no one testified.

Here is how described it: a group of (police) 'the Mafia' had in Leeds for several leading citizens, the Watchdog, the clique and past and present, and presence under a Constable, (whom) tence and advice.

'It consisted two of them; rest inspectors, promotions; and the Oluwale case they had not what they had feared for chances.'

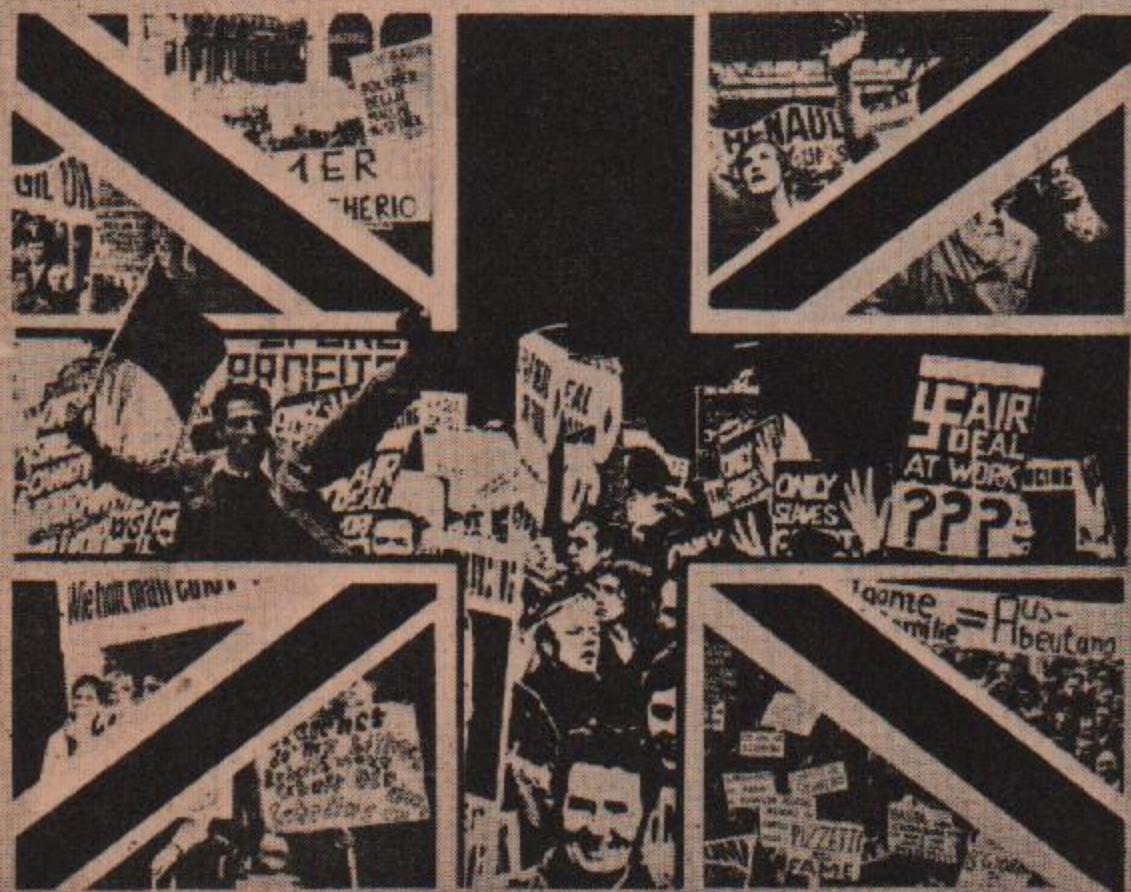
EXPE

Among 100 Oluwale case racial prejudice something which Black people in to from bitter LIE NO. 4: 'T of politics'.

It is very difficult whether or not tapped or you opened. But if you have decided to the system which the police you have a good your private life.

The Special force, the political groups two million in Britain for peace of Alan V the International the Engineering

International Socialism 49



Europe
World Economy
Revolution and Education
Ireland

Autumn 1971 15p

15p
70p
a year

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Unemployed marchers know how 'impartial' the police are

ON POLICE BRIBERY PROBE

duddling orders needs inquiry



Teamwork.

the usual way? asks a lorry driver
you need in the police.

Photo-montage by RED/CAST

David Oluwale, to
found guilty of
harassing him and
Once again, the
ly known in the
Leeds, but for over
could be found to

covered his phone was being tapped, is only one of these.

Rudi Dutschke was another. And there are many more.

Photographers attend demonstrations and record the faces of 'likely' people. Informers are paid to do the dirty work of ratting on their mates, or in some cases are pressured into doing it by the threat of a drugs or shoplifting charge.

Basically, the whole purpose of the police is a political one. They arose to protect the ruling class, and they are paid and maintained to do just that today.

Some coppers may be kind and gentle, without prejudice against workers or immigrants, and with-

out, the chance to take a bribe. They may be men who joined the force because of unemployment, or in order to secure the house which goes with the job. Such men will be very few indeed, and they certainly won't get promoted.

WEAPON

The Tory government has given the police wide new powers to intervene against strikers and racial minorities. They have let them run riot in Northern Ireland, assisted by armed soldiers.

It is becoming more and more important for socialists to expose the whole machinery of the state

as a weapon in the hands of the bosses and the property owners.

We, the men and women of no property, are perfectly capable of running our own lives and ordering our own affairs.

A socialist society will not have to keep order at the expense of the unemployed, the badly paid, the overworked and the homeless, because it will be a genuine community of interests.

To get it, we have to remove the state and its paid servants and create new institutions of society that answer the needs of working people instead of protecting the wealth and privilege which is won by exploitation and defended by intimidation and fear.

Created to protect the laws of the rich

THERE WERE NO POLICE in England until industrial workers as a class threatened the owners of wealth and property.

For 200 years the law courts and army had crushed workers' militancy. There were more troops in the North of England to suppress the workers in 1812 than were sent with Wellington to fight textbook battles in Europe.

Shooting, hanging and transportation were the methods used by the ruling class to defeat workers' revolts. In the mid-19th century the professional police were formed, when mass movements developed potentially too strong for military and magistrates to handle.

The police system was not introduced to prevent violence. The ruling class can be very tolerant about violence if they're not affected.

There was no immediate demand for a police force in London after 500 people had died in the Protestant and Catholic Gordon riots of 1780. Two families were horribly murdered in Wapping in 1811, but it was sensibly argued in parliament that 'no police system, however, perfect, could prevent murders from being committed.'

The ruling class, at first, were split over the police question. For a century the Whigs had opposed a police system because 'it would be a dangerous innovation, and an encroachment on the rights and securities of the people.'

Dropped

But some members of the ruling class wanted the police. Manufacturers liked the idea. They said that the police could break up the dangerous combinations of workmen and increase liberty by protecting the individual workman's right to sell his labour cheap.

Peel's Metropolitan Police Bill passed in 1829 with little opposition. Opposition to the police was dropped because the ruling class became scared of revolution.

They were worried by the big reform meetings and they were terrified by the rise of Chartism. The demand of the Charter was for working-class participation in government.

The Chartists held enormous meetings, sometimes 300,000 strong. They organised mass demonstrations throughout the country.

The threat was posed of general strike and possible armed insurrection. In 1839 30,000 Tyneside pit men struck in support of the Charter. In that year mass meetings were held at night.

In 1842 strikes swept through the North, Midlands, Scotland and South Wales. These activities made the Whigs forget their 'liberty' principles. They accepted the police because they feared the people.

What forces were available to the ruling class, had the Chartists turned to revolution? There was the Yeomanry - part-time soldiers, small landowners and tenant farmers, officered by the gentry and aristocracy.

Sympathise

There was the militia, ordinary soldiers, badly paid, disciplined by flogging and likely to sympathise with the workers. There was a shortage of barracks in the industrial towns and billeting tended to increase 'unreliability'.

Other groups were armed to fight the Chartists. Special constables were enrolled. These were drawn from 'respectable' citizens, sworn in by the magistrates and given a baton, cutlass, pistol and frock coat.

In some coal field areas magistrates complained that there were few non-workers and therefore recruitment of Specials was difficult. In 1839 the Home Office agreed to supply arms to 'the principle inhabitants of disturbed districts who wanted to form associations to protect life and property.'

In the case of the Specials and 'protection associations' the ruling class were clearly arming themselves. Cautious politicians felt that this open tactic invited class war.

The troops were too few and too unreliable. The ruling class needed a third force, an extensive police system to cover the country.

It was said that the police would be more effective than soldiers at breaking up meetings. Liberal opinion didn't like the sight of soldiers firing on defenceless people. The police with truncheons could move in before anything happened. The soldiers used both hands on their muskets whereas the police could hit out with their batons with one hand and arrest with the other.

The Metropolitan police force set up in 1829 was lent out to other areas at first. Then in 1835 municipal authorities were given powers to set up professional forces and finally came the extension of the system to special towns and counties in 1839.

In 1842, when strikes were extensive the Criminal Investigation Department was formed.

Care was taken in the selection of recruits for the police. The force had to appear neutral to get middle-class support.

Peel therefore directed that 'no gentleman of rank was to be recruited'. Recruits were to be either agricultural workers or ex-servicemen. Both these groups sounded like workers but would not tend to identify with town-dwelling industrial class.

Early orders to the police show how they were to be isolated: 'All men of the force who shall associate, drink or eat with civilians without immediately reporting the same to the superintendent will be dismissed from the force.'

The police image was important. Another order read: 'It is particularly desirable that individual PCs when walking along the street should not push past respectable people, but give way in a mild manner.'

Protest

Workers were not conned by the idea that the police were an unbiased force. Protest meetings were widespread. Leaflets referred to 'Peel's bloody gang', at their introduction in London, and said: 'Join your brother Londoners in one heart, one hand for the abolition of the new police.'

The following incident shows the hatred felt for the Metropolitan police. In 1833 the police baton charged a large political meeting in Cold Bath Field and a policeman was killed.

Public anger at police brutality was such that the court returned a verdict of 'justifiable homicide' on the policeman's death.

In Colne in Lancashire when the county police appeared they were routed by weavers and had to be rescued by troops from Burnley Barracks.

By 1848 the ruling class was prepared for possible revolution. On 10 April another Chartist petition was to be presented to parliament. There was a massive demonstration.

On that day many thousands of armed men, troops, specials, army pensioners, and police waited to stop the march getting to Westminster. Heavy batteries were brought from Woolwich.

All the Metropolitan foot police were armed with cutlasses and the mounted police with broad swords and pistols. There was no fight.

The Metropolitan police are not usually armed today. Not long ago a deputy chief of police explained why: 'The methods adopted in keeping the peace will inevitably reflect . . . the political conditions of the community.'

The same top policeman also said: 'A degree of controlled violence is necessary to government as we understand it.'

One hundred and thirty years ago a Chartist speaker made the same point with reference to the police and army: 'The present system is kept up by physical force.'

The police were not introduced to prevent violence but to act as a force trained in violence to protect the property and interests of the ruling class.

Audrey Kincaid

of about 10 men, superintendents, the It pulled strings on transfers . . . in special constables said spoken up about seen because they their promotion

EXPERIENCE

Other things, the reveals the extent of among the police, ch many Irish and Britain can testify experience.

the police keep out

difficult to discover ot your phone is r letters are being you are a militant, lared your hostility we live under, and dice protect, then d chance of having a monitored.

Branch of the police anch dealing with are known to have es kept on people olitical reasons. The atts, a member of nahn Socialists and g Union, who dis-



Fine Tubes: a picket gets a lesson in impartiality

Russia, too, is choking to death...

THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE world is facing a pollution crisis of terrifying proportions. This is beyond dispute.

It is easy to demonstrate that private firms in competition with each other, and national private enterprise economies similarly in life-or-death struggles for markets, will be individually unable to bear the added costs of introducing anti-pollution systems.

But in a fully state-planned economy it should be quite possible to plan for the elimination of pollution. Such economies exist in Russia and in the Russian satellites, so it becomes pertinent to enquire whether Russia provides us with a model for the solution of our pollution crisis.

The answer must be 'no'. Though the Russians have the necessary planning machinery to wipe out pollution, the Russian leaders have shown as cynical an approach to the problem as their counterparts in the west.

Most Russian industrialisation took place since the Revolution and the new planners were able to deal with an area 90 times the size of Britain, which had been largely untouched by industrialisation. Environmental pollution could have been avoided at the outset.

Fish die

As a result of industrial developments which have largely taken place since the 1930s, the mighty Volga is one of the most seriously polluted rivers in Europe, and today is only capable of supporting a quarter of its previous fish population.

In the north-west of Russia, the Dvina is so heavily contaminated with industrial waste that its fish have died of oxygen starvation.

The most drastic problems are encountered in the Caspian Sea, a vast reservoir for the industrial filth of the Ural and Volga rivers. The town of Astrakhan alone discharges 20 million gallons of dirty water daily into the Volga, while the surface of the Caspian is blotched by oil slicks from the shore-based refineries at Baku.

The contamination of the Caspian has had an effect on an important Russian export trade—the export of caviar, a prized delicacy of the Western ruling classes.

The rivers which form the caviar-producing sturgeons' migration routes are so filthy that a system of barges has been organised to transport the fish safely to their spawning grounds.

More serious to the naturalist is the state of Lake Baykal in southern Siberia, which is the world's largest freshwater lake, containing unique forms of waterlife which have been extinct elsewhere for millions of years.

To the dismay of all conservationists, this natural museum is threatened by the toxic discharges of lakeside cellulose plants.

POLLUTION



by DALE FOX

Russian economic development has not been the outright success that Russian propagandists have claimed—least of all in terms of conservation. The much-heralded Virgin Lands scheme to open up to farming the dry lands of Russian Central Asia produced a calamitous series of dust bowls as inappropriate farming techniques caused millions of tons of soil to be blown away, while social tensions were expressed in a widespread outbreak of plant sabotage.

Careless use of water has helped the level of the Caspian Sea to drop by over a foot every decade, and the level of the River Ural is getting so low through the diversion of water for industrial and agricultural uses that towns along its banks face severe water shortages.

Foul haze

The effects of pollution are not confined to rivers. Moscow is almost permanently blanketed in a foul industrial haze, while it is estimated that similar haze filters cut out half the sunlight which should reach Leningrad.

The problem is even more severe in the Russian satellite countries, and the River Bilina in Czechoslovakia is probably the filthiest river in Europe. The amount of pollution poured into the Elbe and its tributaries is so massive that Czechoslovakia pays a heavy annual compensation to East Germany.

Despite the existence of centrally-planned economies in East Europe, pollution constitutes a growing threat. In their headlong rush to compete with the west, the Russian leaders, though endowed with the necessary planning machinery, have quite callously allowed man-made contamination to become a major problem where none need have existed.

Indo-Pak war—grim legacy

Today the two puppet states which British imperialism left behind it when it gave 'independence' to the Indian sub-continent are engaged in a bloody war. Whoever wins, it is the workers and peasants of the area who will lose;

The British millionaire press, owned by the same interests that have robbed the Indian sub-continent for centuries, is indulging in an orgy of hypocrisy and 'humanitarianism'.

We are shown heart-rending photographs of the innocent victims of the conflict, gazing hopelessly at the camera with dead children in their arms.

But the photographs look much the same as those we have grown used to seeing in the past months and years.

Today the killer is war, yesterday and tomorrow, hunger and disease. The lesson we are supposed to draw is, of course, how hopeless things are in the 'underdeveloped' countries, especially, of course, once the benevolent British rulers are out of the way and the 'natives' start fighting among themselves.

But the true background is somewhat different. Not simply 'poverty and backwardness' but centuries of systematic robbery. Not simply 'hatred' between Moslem and Hindu, but the old story of divide and rule.

In the present war, the Indian government claims to be fighting to 'free' Bangladesh. But in truth, both sides are fighting to achieve the same thing in different ways—to stop the people of Bangladesh from winning their freedom themselves.

Both sides are afraid of one thing: that the fight of the people of Bangladesh for freedom could be the beginning of the fight to end the rule of imperialism in the Indo-Pak sub-continent as a whole.

If these fears come true, it will be poetic justice, for it was with the British conquest of Bengal that the bloody history of imperialism's robbery of India began more than 200 years ago.

Riches

It may be hard to believe today, but two centuries and more ago, Bengal was one of the richest and most prosperous provinces in India, and indeed in the whole of Asia. Robert Clive, the English conqueror of Bengal, wrote when he entered the Bengali capital: 'This city is as extensive, rich and populous as the city of London.'

And a few years earlier a French traveller had written: 'Bengal is of all the kingdoms of India the best known in France. The prodigious riches transported thence into Europe are proofs of its great fertility... All things are in great plenty here.'

It was trade in Indian silks and cottons and the great profits to be made from them, that first brought British merchants and traders to India. Years later an Industrial Commission appointed by the British administration in India was to state: 'When merchant adventurers from the West first made their appearance in India the industrial development of this country was at any rate not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations.'

And a British expert on Indian mineral wealth wrote: 'The high quality of the native-made iron, the early anticipation of the processes now employed in Europe for the manufacture of high-class steels and the artistic products in copper and brass gave India at one time a prominent position in the metallurgical world.'

In all these fields it was India's lead over the West that made trade so profitable. The East India Company, by monopolising the trade to Europe in Indian products, could make immense profits. Indeed there was only one problem: the

of Britain's bloody rule

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?
by STEPHEN MARKS



Part two of a new series

English produced nothing the Indians needed and which could be sold to them in return.

The drain of precious metals to India to purchase these cottons, spices and silks was a constant problem for early British capitalism.

But once the British began to get the upper hand in India, the balance of exchange could be rigged directly in favour of the European merchant. As early as 1762, the Indian ruler of Bengal was complaining to the East India Company of the conduct of the British merchants:

'They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants and merchants etc for a fourth part of their value; and by violence and oppression, they oblige the peasants etc to give 5 rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee.'

And an English merchant at the same time described how 'The roguery practised in this department is beyond the imagination; but it all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver. For the prices which the company's agents fix upon the goods are in all cases 15 per cent and in some even 40 per cent less than the goods so manufactured would fetch in the public bazaar or market.'

Robbery

But once the East India company got control of the government of Bengal, trade became simple and direct robbery. Ten times as much was taken out of the country as was put in, and a third of the government revenues were simply sent out to England as booty.

For 50 years after the British conquest of Bengal in 1757, the annual loot amounted to some £15 million a year, worth at least 20 times as much in modern money.

The native rulers had taken in taxes a fixed proportion of the peasants' produce. Now the tax was reckoned in fixed cash terms to be paid whatever the harvest and four times as much tax money was squeezed out.

To create a class with a vested interest in British rule, the local tax collectors, called zemindars, were made into landowners by the British, collecting the revenue from the peasants as rent, and keeping any extra for themselves. Previously the land had been held in common by the villagers.

The results of this plunder were simple and predictable. Within five years of the British conquest, a third of the population died in famine.

After 30 years of British rule, an

English MP wrote: 'In former times the Bengal nations were the granary of nations and the repository of wealth, commerce and manufacture in the East. But such has been the relentless energy of our misgovernment that within the short space of 20 years many parts of these countries have been reduced to the appearance of a desert.'

In the same year the British Governor-General asserted that 'one third of the company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.'

The flow of this great wealth back to England was a vital factor in the growth of industry in the 'industrial revolution', which began soon after. But once merchant robbery led to the development of industry at home, the new class of factory owners developed different interests.

They wanted the colonies as markets for their goods and sources of raw materials for their factories. The old system of trade monopoly stood in their way. With typically profitable self-righteousness, English liberals suddenly discovered the evils of the East India Company's misrule in India.

Destroyed

Now the basis of exploitation was to change. Instead of providing manufactures to be resold at immense profit in Europe, the native cottage industries of India were to be destroyed. The Indian population was to be pushed back into dependence on agriculture, and the Indian economy made into a source of raw materials and a market for British industries.

Tariffs were erected against Indian produce in the British market at the same time as British goods were given almost free entry into India.

The results were drastic. Between 1815 and 1832, Indian cotton exports to Britain fell in value by twelve-thirteenths while British cotton exports to India grew 16 times over. The same happened with silks, woolsens, iron, pottery, glass and paper.

In England, when in the same period hand-loom weavers were reduced to beggary, new machine industry developed alongside. But in India no new industries were developed. The population of the towns fell as low as a half or even a fifth of what it had been.

But at the same time, more and more of the land was given over to producing raw materials for export, grown on plantations under near-slavery conditions. From the early 19th century to 1914, Indian raw cotton exports grew 30 times over, and jute exports 126 times over.

Predictable

These raw materials were crucial to the industrial revolution in Britain. They took up scarce land at a time when more than ever were forced to depend on agriculture for their livelihood. And at the same time, the export of food from India, mainly rice and wheat, grew 22 times over.

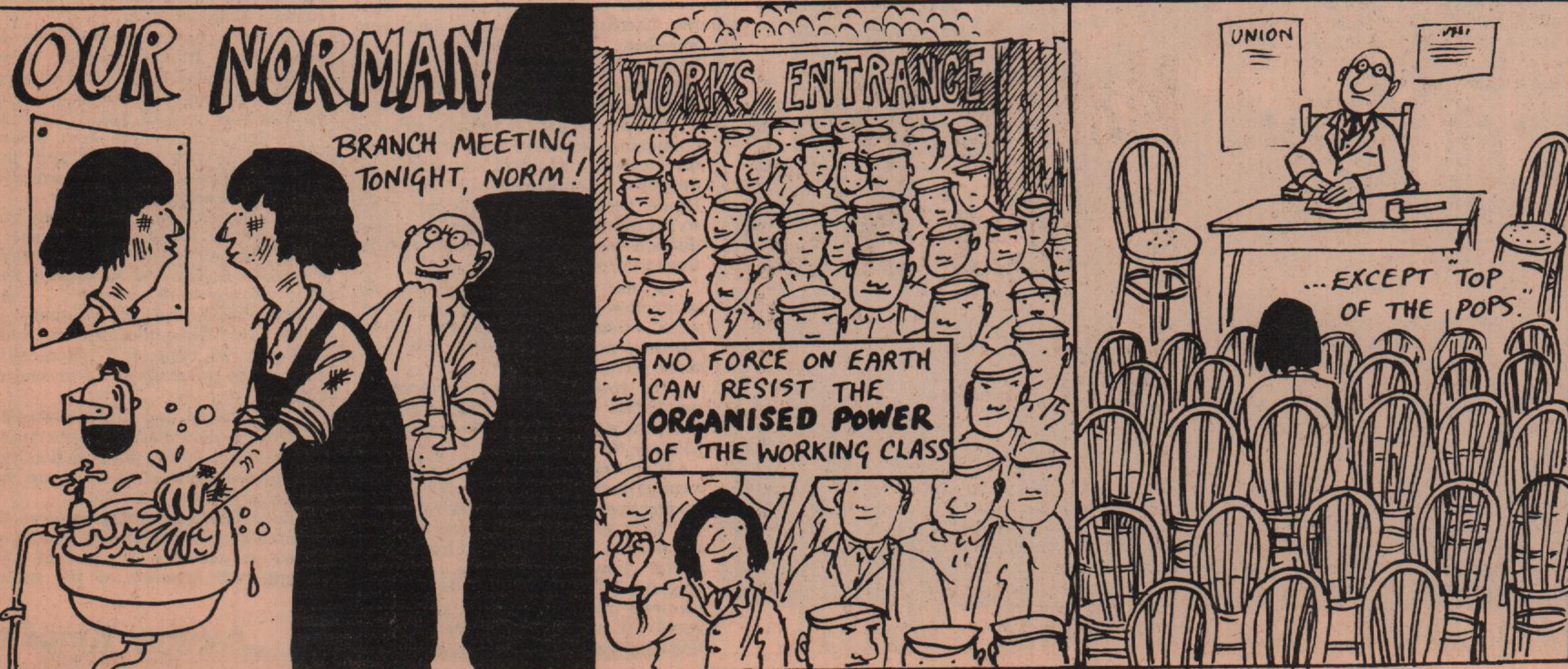
The results were as grimly predictable as before: famine. In the first half of the 19th century there were seven famines, claiming 1½ million casualties. In the second half of the century, 30 famines killed over 20 millions.

Writing in 1901, the author of a book with the ghoulish title 'Prosperous British India' wrote: 'Stated roughly, famines and scarcities have been four times as numerous in the last 30 years of the 19th century as they were 100 years earlier, and four times more widespread.'

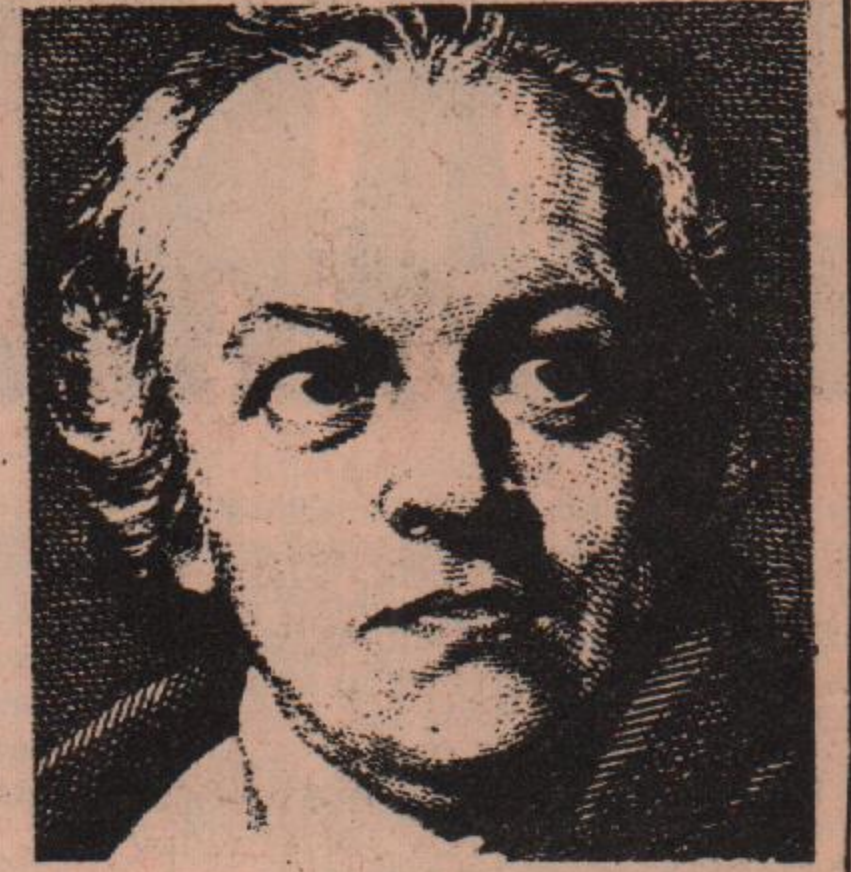
By the beginning of the century the long slow work of devastation was almost complete. In 1901, the British Viceroy, Lord Curzon, estimated the annual income per head at £2. Between the wars it was estimated that the money officially allowed for the upkeep and diet of a prisoner in an Indian jail was 2½ times the average income of an Indian peasant. And the average life expectancy was 25.

It has been estimated that throughout this period the British ruling class stole each year, in one form or another, some 10 per cent of the national product of India, a sum which if kept in India and invested in industry could have modernised and enriched the country.

This is the truth behind the 'heritage of backwardness' which we are told is the background to the current struggle in the sub-continent.



AT LAST, A GOOD REASON FOR GOING 'UP WEST'



Last week David Widgery discussed the contribution of William Blake to the British revolutionary tradition. This week he deals specifically with Adrian Mitchell's *Tyger*, a National Theatre production at the New Theatre. The text of the play is published by Cape, 75p paper, £1.95 hardback. The Tate Gallery is showing an exhibition of Blake's paintings.

LONDON THEATRE remains an entirely undemocratic art. Despite the odd sixth-form outing and cut-price excursion, the bulk of the audience are the old after-dinner middle class, lately reinforced by a summer season of American businessmen and traveller-chequed hippies ingesting Culture.

The nationalised theatres, The Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theatre, do manage to slip the occasional slice of the avant-garde or the political between their immaculate revivals. But Adrian Mitchell's National Theatre commission, *Tyger*, a celebration based on the life and work of William Blake, is about the best reason for five years to risk going to the theatre.

HATRED

It is a 'celebration', full of energy, light and sound. Mitchell refuses to mourn or pay homage to the poet, instead he asserts the power of imagination and revolution and the hatred he and Blake share for those who seek to crush it.

I hope Mitchell has taken the bitter attacks on the play made by the posh Sundays as the compliment they are. His play has kicked those artistic experts of Printing House Square and the Arts Council right in their aesthetic genitals.

For Blake's own life has in it the struggle of every artist who has really set his work against society as it is and who has refused to be patronised into obedience by critics, publishers and literary impresarios.

Blake clearly saw himself as a revolu-



Adrian Mitchell: kicking the critics in the crutch

tionary artist, setting his London republicanism against the genteel culture of the society artists like Reynolds and Gainsborough. His artistic methods are revolutionary. He broke down the barriers which divided word from image in his illustrated poems, revived unconventional use of intaglio etching plates and pioneered deep etching in his own studio. And he led the agitation by artists for public support, demanding, 'a fair price and a General Demand for Art'.

'Where any view of money exists,' he wrote, 'Art cannot be carried on but war only'. He saw art, as the expression of desire, put against trade which is its alienation. 'The whole business of man is

the Arts and all things common'.

Adrian Mitchell is a worthy follower in this tradition, insisting on a public and a political poetry and arguing, to the elitists' horror, 'That most people ignore poetry because poetry ignores them'. His own pioneering poetry reading with Horowitz and Brown began the recovery of the oral tradition of English poetry in the early sixties.

His stark political poems, like 'Tell Me Lies About Vietnam', found words for the almost inexpressible horror and helplessness over the Vietnam war and helped to build the movement against it. With Christopher Logue his work for the paper *Black Dwarf* may not have pleased

the poetry coterie but showed a determination to do something active beyond the safe and purely verbal re-revolutionism.

His picture of Blake reflects his own preoccupations: the corruption and cowardice of the Tory artistic establishment, the horror of war and armies, the hatred of racialism, the sympathy with those in revolt, the confidence in the creativity and joy in the heart of the 'ordinary' people.

In Mitchell's play, Blake has a series of adventures rather than a life. He finds himself rocketed by an Arts Council deliberation overseen by Klopstock, 'a cultural middleman', who complains of Blake that 'he will insist on biting the hand that has no intention of feeding him' and Lady Twat who thinks that 'if there is one thing worse than dumb insolence, it's eloquent insolence'.

EMOTIONS

Blake is subsequently pursued by the Media Police (the same people who turned Auden religious and punctured Shelley's water wings) and later appears fighting a soldier in a saloon bar, rescuing a chromium fish-creature in a supermarket, putting excreta through Enoch Powell's front door and landing a British moon rocket on Jerusalem.

It is not written with PhDs and scholars in mind but rather is a successful attempt to capture Blake's emotions in theatrical images and upright prose. John Dexter and Michael Blakemore have repeatedly found remarkably powerful settings for Blake's own emotions.

The mercenary soldier sings 'Poison Tree' while disguising himself in a 1943 Harlem spiv suit. 'What is the Price of Experience' is sung against the writhing and tormented dance of slaves arising from their manacles and the show opens with a Mike Westbrook arrangement of the poem 'London' breathtakingly sung by Isabelle Lucas.

And Mitchell's own songs with Westbrook's swirling jazz really create the joy and sense of vision that Blake is

all about and enables us to open for a moment our half-shut and gummed-up eyes.

Two complaints. The final scene which attempts to find an image for Jerusalem in the building of a hill town didn't really satisfy the echoing images that the word Jerusalem now has to English socialists. And although Mitchell touches on Blake's sexual radicalism and his belief in 'happy copulation' outside of 'Matrimonie's Golden Cage', it's only a touch.

Mrs Blake consults Gray's *Anatomy* to confirm the whereabouts of her clitoris ('the starter button' she calls it) but Kate is still the stereotyped protective and maternal poet's wife fending off the stereotyped randy women. In fact Blake was personally involved with a whole group of advanced thinkers of London middle-class dissent like Tom Paine, William Godwin and Mary Wolstencroft, the feminist author of 'The Vindication', as well as radical scientists and writers. His ideas about equality in bed are perhaps his most modern.

It's not a play to visit if, like The Times, you like your poets dead and buried in libraries and exam syllabuses. And it's unsuitable for those of a historically rigid disposition.

It takes diabolical historical liberties: Robert Southey is a junkie, Shakespeare a gunslinger, Milton has a track suit on and Coleridge is smashed on Xanadu Zoom Zoom.

Blake fights with a giant ant, reads Melody Maker, watches BBC2. The characters talk of CS gas, Salvador Dali, india rubber grand pianos and a semi-detached igloo on Mars. It's the world of the Goon Show as well as the Old Testament.

But there is not a word, a song or a joke in this production which has anything to offer the status quo. That's why The Times Literary Supplement and Harold Hobson can't stand it. That's why their 18th century equivalents in St James and The Examiner hated Blake. And that's a good reason to see this play.

DAVID WIDGERY

HERR HOHOFF TO THE RESCUE OF MIXED-UP JAMES CONNOLLY

Connolly: The Mind of an Activist: Owen Dudley Edwards: Gill & MacMillan, £1 paperback.

I WAS ONCE in a ring of a three-ring circus. Bowes Egan and Bernadette Devlin completed the troupe. We went on a tour around Scotland and the North of England speaking about Ireland to university audiences.

We had a marvellously successful meeting in Edinburgh, so big it had to be split in two, with Miss Devlin, Mr Egan and myself scuttling from one half to the other to deliver our speeches.

Heady with the success of the venture we repaired afterwards to the home of the chairman, Owen Dudley Edwards, who plied us with (Irish) whiskey until five o'clock in the morning. At 5.15 some altercation developed between Mr Egan and Mr Edwards, as a result of which Mr Edwards read a poem by W B Yeats in the front garden.

Mr Edwards was a hospitable, entertaining and very nice man. I liked him a lot. But it could not be gainsaid that he was a bit eccentric.

His book is like that. It is based on a lecture arranged by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in 1968 to mark the centenary of James Connolly's birth. It must have been some lecture. Very long apart from anything else, and, like a Christmas pudding, shot through with little curiosities; Wilhelm Hohoff for example.

I had never heard of William Hohoff (he was from Prussia). I checked up

with a few dialecticians at Cottons Gardens in case he was a well-known master of marxism, ignorance of whom formed yet one more gap in my knowledge of socialist history. No one else had ever heard of him either.

It appears that Herr Hohoff spent his life trying to reconcile marxism and Catholicism. Mr Edwards deals with him in great detail while making the point that Connolly too, spent much of his life engaged in this task.

At another point Mr Edwards comes close to opining that Connolly was, at heart, a pacifist. On page 87 he says that Connolly's views were very similar to those of Sir Thomas More.

The truth of the matter is that Mr Edwards believes that he understands and represents Connolly's thought better than anyone else alive. Mr Edwards is not alone in this presumption.

After all Eamonn De Valera, the old Fagin of the political pickpockets, is on record as saying that 'If I was asked what statement of Irish policy was most in accord with my view of what human beings should struggle for, I would stand side by side with James Connolly.'

Believing that Connolly and himself are soul-mates, Mr Edwards tells us, in Connolly's name, what he (Mr Edwards) thinks of Sir Thomas More, Wilhelm Hohoff, Sheehy-Skeffington, socialism, Catholicism, etc. If you want to know what Mr Edwards thinks about these things you can buy the book. It is very

expensive though. £1 for 114 pages in paperback.

For a useful and relevant study of Connolly we shall have to wait for Jimmy Greely's essay in the forthcoming issue of *International Socialism*.

EAMONN McCANN

Making use of Wesker's folly...

ONCE UPON a time Arnold Wesker, playwright, had an idea. He decided to set up a socialist arts centre in the Roundhouse—a Victorian engine shed in Camden Town, London.

His illusion, shared at the time by many well-meaning people, was that if he could get a resolution passed at the

TUC conference accepting that the 'Arts' were a good thing, and that something should be done about it, something would happen. At one such conference, a resolution was passed and his idea, and the TUC's guilty good intentions produced a sickly infant, suckled by militants like Mrs Wilson and Lord Goodman of Rhodesia.

Arnold wrote a play about what had gone wrong and went home, leaving the Roundhouse to the serious business of putting on Jesus-Freak musicals and Oh Calcutta!

Memories of the dream and the virtues of the Roundhouse still drive socialists to meet there. Last Sunday one such event was a success, a benefit for the Irish internees' families, organised by a London-based group of radical film makers. More than 2000 people came, and £500 was raised.

The benefit mixed politics with 'entertainment': rock bands, political theatre groups, interned families, the IRA, the Irish Solidarity Campaign and the Irish Actors' Workshop.

The Roundhouse administration went out of their way to stress their impartiality by closing the bar (the Irish are all drunks anyway) and suggesting that £50 could be knocked off the bill for the hall (around £300) if the organisers would make a donation to the Army Benevolent Fund. Charity they stressed 'has many guises'.

Marc Karlin, one of the organisers points out that the event wasn't a 'charitable' day, but an act of political solidarity. The representatives from Belfast, said Karlin, 'were really overjoyed that something was being done here, that the Roundhouse was full'.

Most of the audience were the usual hippy stage army that trudges around

London in the illusory search for an enjoyable night out, but at stages during the day a political alliance was formed between the committed elements and the rest. The Roundhouse became a place where the Irish struggle began to have some reality.

What killed the event was Roy Harper singing for 80 minutes about peace and love. 'We don't want this mystical crap here' shouted the audience—and they were right, but Harper anaesthetised the proceedings and by the time the Irish Actors Workshop came on, the audience had gone off.

Which was a pity. Using testimonials from victims and Hansard the group depicted the war better than acres of newspaper lies and doctored TV film. It was their first performance, one hopes it is repeated.

The money raised will give about £2 for each internee's family—money for a couple of days. What is needed are regular contributions from the working-class movement. IS branches could consider 'adopting' a family each and sending regular payments to the North.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN

THE FLOATING RICH

they drift idly on the waves of the poor buoyed up by the sweat of angry workers thinking they can buy the sun the rich float on their flabby backs and never notice stealing in storm clouds in the summer sky sharks in warm and peaceful waters surf riders now tomorrow's drowned the rich bathe on regardless

Keith Armstrong

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

Against anti-trade union laws and any

curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

Against unemployment redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Stirling
St Andrews

NORTH EAST
Durham
Newcastle upon Tyne
Spennymoor
Sunderland
Teesside (Middlesbrough & Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley
Bradford
Doncaster
Grimsby
Halifax
Huddersfield
Hull
Leeds
Mid-Derbyshire
Ossett
Scarborough
Selby
Sheffield
York

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Oldham
Potteries
Preston
St Helens
Wigan
Wrexham

MIDLANDS
Birmingham
Coventry
Leamington
Leicester
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Redditch
Rugby
Telford
Wolverhampton

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

Plymouth
Swansea

SOUTH
Ashford
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Folkestone
Gurdford
Portsmouth
Southampton

EAST
Basildon
Beccles
Cambridge
Colchester
Harlow

Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton
Camden
Chertsey
Croydon

Dagenham
East London
Enfield
Erith
Fulham
Greenford
Hackney & Islington
Havering
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
Hornsey
Hounslow
Ilford
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Merton
Newham
Paddington
Reading
St Albans
Slough
South Ealing
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

Hot air boost for poor old Droopy

IF HOT AIR can get the tremendously expensive Concorde project off the ground she is as good as saved from the mire of commercial uncertainty which was threatening to engulf her.

The gaggle of newspaper air correspondents have once again done their public relations duty for the 'super', 'fabulous', 'go-go', 'magnificent' flying white elephant.

Superlatives were polished up for a special bull session from air aces after Trade Minister John Davies, the greatest aviation expert since Icarus, flew in the plane last week.

The massive confidence trick that it is desirable to go on developing the plane regardless of cost was most greasily perpetrated by the Daily Mirror, which began its front page lead beneath a Peter Harris by-line: 'Don't worry about Britain scrapping the Concorde.'

Salvation

Thus it was neatly implanted in millions of minds that we have more to fear from the abandonment of Concorde that we have from its salvation.

Similarly the Daily Express brooked no argument on this score. As befitting a newspaper controlled by an ex-wartime pilot, the Express thought the Concorde story very important; so important, in fact, that despite the pressures of space from a vital six-column picture of Princess Anne, Sir Max Aitken, and others at the Express sporting lunch, space was found on the front page for it.

The Express story quoted Davies as saying: 'It is all speed—and that is what one wants in air travel.' And in



its opinion column the Express urged: 'So let's get the Concorde production line rolling.'

The Times, which could well lose its 'Thunderer' reputation to the Concorde, also weighed in with encouragement for the plane. 'Any British businessman who has left a subsonic airliner in Australia after a 24-hour journey from London will now look forward to the moment when he can cover the same ground in half the time...' its leader stated on behalf of those air-travelling millions of us who pop off to Australia once a week to sew up business deals.

It was left to The Guardian to point out that Concorde would never have advanced beyond the drawing board stage if it had been realised at the outset that research and development costs would amount to £900 million. Sanely The Guardian's leader concluded that 'the claims of civilised living are more important than getting from one city to another in a desperate hurry.'

All the papers carried quotes from Davies pledging continued government backing for the project. Those, like me, who feel that the shell of Concorde should be displayed in a museum of modern art and the rest of her thrown away, can only hope that this Ministerial promise will turn out to be as trustworthy as others we have had over the past 18 months.

Prize for the most nauseating treatment of a story over the past two weeks, however, must go to our old friends the Daily Express for the way they handled the royal pay rise.

The Express, which seems to have abandoned headlines for arguments, headed its royal pay story: KEEPING UP WITH THE WORKERS!

Sordid

Its intro said the Queen would 'catch up with Mr Rising Price and the trades unions' when her pay was doubled. The story went on to speak of 'the rate for the job', before it reached its most sordid depths with the following paragraph:

'Every worker and wife knows how the cost of living has gone up against wages and housekeeping allowances: Add a few noughts to your budget and put a capital H on household and you have the Queen's problem.'

The Express went on to sidle through the usual maze of statistics in an effort to head off the inevitable indignant reaction of working people.

Ironically the Ulster Defence Regiment appears unable to defend even itself. This fact prompted my favourite headline of the past few weeks which appeared in The Guardian on Saturday: NEW MOVE TO PROTECT ULSTER DEFENCE FORCE'

IS NEWS

WALTHAMSTOW—80 people filled the Trades Hall last week for a debate on 'Can the Labour Party bring Socialism?' between Paul Foot of IS and local Tribune MP Eric Deakins.

Foot recounted the Labour Party's bad record on prescription charges, school meals and welfare in general, and went on to show how the parliamentary road to socialism was a blind alley. Deakins, on the other hand, had faith in the Labour Party and the parliamentary system in general.

He doubted the effectiveness of political action outside of parliament or the local council, and merely proposed 'subversion of the education system', the abolition of the public schools and the outlawing of any inheritance worth more than a certain amount. This was his prescription for socialism.

Paul Foot's proposals for building a revolutionary socialist party showed the way forward and contrasted with Deakins'

empty reformism.

The meeting, organised by Walthamstow IS, was also addressed by Tommy Baron, AUEW convenor at the London Rubber Company's local factory, where 70 engineers are on unofficial strike followed a pay claim. A collection raised £11.50 for the strike fund.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the International Socialists adopted the following two resolutions at its meeting last weekend:

The National Committee reaffirms its unconditional support for those fighting for the national independence of Bangladesh. The military intervention of Indian forces in East Bengal, however, gravely jeopardises the serious possibility of an independent Bangladesh. Only through the overthrow of both the Pakistan and Indian regimes can the struggle for Bangladeshi national independence be victorious. Therefore the NC declares its solidarity

with those seeking the revolutionary overthrow of both these regimes.

Proposed by Birmingham branch: Birmingham branch salutes the courage of the Spanish miners shown in their strike against the full might of the fascist regime of General Franco. We call upon all trade unionists to act to prevent strategic supplies of coal from reaching Spain.

To this end we ask all IS members to exert their influence to get resolutions through their various trade union branches, calling upon their national executives to take steps to support any such action. We ask all IS members to sponsor resolutions through their trade union branches to their respective trades councils and, through their trades councils, to the TUC, calling for trade union solidarity throughout Europe to halt supplies of coal to this discredited regime.

We call upon the IS national executive to do all in its power to publicise and forward these efforts.

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive or be phoned first post Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line, six words per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy or, if phoned, by first post Tuesday. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

PRESTON IS
Public meeting
The Struggle for Bangladesh
Speaker Nasim Bajwa
8pm Thursday 23 December
Lamb Hotel Church Street

MEETINGS

KINGSTON IS public meeting: Lionel Sims on the Great Housing Swindle, 8pm Thursday 16 December, Congregational Church Hall, Eden Street, Kingston.

BLACKBURN IS public meeting: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Speaker Nasim Bajwa, 8pm, Duke of York, Darwen St Bridge, Blackburn.

MEETING of London Rebel supporters and IS members engaged in youth work. 6pm Sunday 19 December at 6 Cottons Gardens E2.

IMPORTANT: London meeting for all IS members involved in tenants work and the future campaign against the Tory 'Fair Rents' proposals—on Saturday 18 December 6 Cottons Gardens—2.30pm.

HOUNSLOW IS public meeting: John Palmer on 'The Crisis of Capitalism' 8pm Wednesday 22 December Co-op Hall, Bath Road, Hounslow.

WANDSWORTH IS Christmas Social. 8pm onwards Thurs 23 December, Upstairs Bar Spotted Dog pub 72 Garratt Lane near Wandsworth Town Hall.

IS PAMPHLETS available from IS Books: The Struggle for Socialism 2nd edition, 5p; Meaning of Marxism, 20p; How the Revolution was Lost, 9p; Rosa Luxemburg, 25p; Postal Workers and the Tory Offensive, 5p; How to Fight the Tories, 1p; Unemployment and How to Fight it, 5p. Add 3p postage for all titles, orders of 12 or more post free. IS Books 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN.

When writing to Socialist Worker please mark your envelope clearly Business or Editorial. Urgent copy should be addressed to the News Editor.

NOTICES

IS BOOKS will be closed on Friday 24 December and will re-open Mon 3 January.

PUT YOUR MEETING IN
SOCIALIST WORKER—BOUGHT
BY OVER 20,000 A WEEK



Teachers' leaders shuffle into line

by Leni Solinger

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Teachers has decided to recommend non-registration under the Industrial Relations Act to the annual conference of the union next April. As the second largest white collar union, this is an important decision that will influence other unions.

One of the most important arguments raised to defend the recommendation was that 'One of the glories of the union is the relative autonomy of the local branches. If we register, that must go'.

Even more perceptive were the comments of an executive member who voted for registration. He argued that the union 'would become centralised and autocratic, on the model of the worst industrial unions'. But

he went on to say that the Act would help those officials who 'cannot command their own members who are on unofficial strike and where the executive of a union is not in control'.

On the whole, the majority decision against registration was based not on political opposition to the Act as such. It was reached only after a careful weighing up of the 'strong arguments for both sides' as they affect the 'particular aims and interests of the NUT.

The argument was that for this union the disadvan-

tages slightly outweighed the advantages—the same blinkered approach that has led other unions into the trap of registration.

An amendment was carried to insert the words 'at this time' to the decision not to register. Ben Johnson, an ex-president, moving the amendment, pointed out that 'developments would be taking place before conference making it wise to keep the options open'.

Many of the executive were hoping for a retreat in the future. It was even pointed out in the union journal *The Teacher* that conference might *overturn* the executive recommendation, a possibility that is not usually dreamed of by executive members. So the fight in the union is far from over.

Pressmen refuse to sign 'pledge'

SW Reporter

SIGN an anti-strike pledge or be sacked—this is the fear tactic being used by the big provincial newspaper owners. They are trying to break moves by the National Union of Journalists for strike action in pursuit of a pay, holidays, hours and house agreements claim.

The employers—the same giants who dominate the national press—have resorted to intimidation early. The National Union of Journalists' strike notice does not expire until 29 December.

The purpose of the operation is to recruit a force of the most frightened and backward journalists in a bid to convince the union executive that any strike is doomed to failure.

Some journalists will oblige their employers by signing a pledge to break with the union's democratic strike decision (taken by meetings at every newspaper office), for fear of losing their underpaid jobs and losing favour with their editors. But many more are ready for a fight with the bully boys of the Newspaper Society who want to crush the NUJ.

And provincial journalists are beginning to realise that this fight is not just about a £7 a week increase and better conditions. It is about the union's survival and its ability to operate from a position of strength.

If the union is successfully bashed in the provinces, it will take years to build enough new muscle for a fresh attack. And if the employers get away with it in one section of the union, they will soon turn their attention elsewhere.

Journalists on the *Folkestone Herald* in Kent have already outlined one way to deal with management intimidation. When their managing director told them that they could either sign a no-strike pledge or lose their Christmas bonus, the journalists held a union meeting in working hours and the threat was suddenly withdrawn.

They like many other chapels are refusing to sign the 'pledge' and are preparing to fight.

Express slows down

JOURNALISTS on the *Daily Express* are 'working to rule' and refusing to stay beyond normal working hours in protest at the breach of a pledge by Express boss Sir Max Aitken that he would pay the pressmen the same merit award given to their colleagues at the *Mirror*. The Express journalists are £300 a year worse off than the *Mirror* staff.

The decision was taken by 182 to 21 last Thursday. A spokesman said: 'We had to devise a formula which would damage the management and keep the union out.' Production of the paper has been badly held up by the ban.

Steelmen ban overtime

WITH UNEMPLOYMENT on Teesside over the 15,000 mark, and with thousands of steelworkers throughout the country facing redundancy, workers at the British Steel Corporation's Lakenby works have set a fine example in the fight for jobs. The militant No 2 branch of BISAKTA, the main steel union, have imposed a complete overtime ban in their section of the works following the failure of long negotiations with the management aimed at increasing manning.

The ban has been rigidly adhered to and management can now no longer fall back on making men work double shifts at its convenience. The result has been that within a single week 14 more men have been taken on in the Primary Mill area of Lakenby.

THREAT OF 'STRINGS' IN TALKS ON KEY R-R STRIKE

Postmen kick out 'prod deal' move by leaders

by Steve Mann

THE UNION of Post Office Workers held a special conference in Bourne-mouth last week to discuss the present avalanche of cuts in service and conditions.

The executive council presented a report that recommended the introduction of Work and Staff Measurement, a form of work study. But an amendment from the Blackpool branch was carried which rejected WSM 'in its entirety'.

But many delegates remained confused on the question of productivity, and several other recommendations on it were accepted by the conference.

A number of speakers got to the rostrum to speak out against productivity dealing. Sylvester McGovern, from London overseas telephonists no 2 branch, explained how productivity deals had been used to the detriment of workers.

And Paddington branch secretary, Jack Cowan attacked union leaders who could both march for the unemployed and, at the same time, urge that Post Office jobs that fall vacant should be covered by speed-up and not recruitment.

The longest debate was on a special report on postal restructuring, which was eventually carried with a few additions. But branches did attack it for lacking constructiveness and being too vague.

General secretary Tom Jackson was forced to say that he would not allow one man to become redundant due to postal cuts and had to commit himself to fight for a wage increase above the government's level of 7 per cent.

The annual conference in May will consider the executive's success in negotiating against the cuts in service. The rank and file must organise before then to ensure that there is no compromise and that a real fight back against the Tory-employer offensive begins.

Victory at ICI

DONCASTER.—Engineering union workers at ICI returned to work on Monday united and with their heads high after six weeks on strike. They had forced the management to concede that changes in the shift and manpower arrangements could not be introduced without full mutual agreement. This victory was due not only to the efforts of the Doncaster men, who manned picket lines 24 hours a day for the whole period, but also to the support they received from other ICI workers at Wilton, Huddersfield and Billingham.

Support for Prescott

THE London central branch of the AUEW's technicians and supervisory section passed a resolution at its annual meeting last week condemning the vicious prison sentence passed on Jake Prescott. It demanded his release and the granting of bail to his fellow prisoner, Ian Purdie.

UNITED ACTION TO BEAT BOSSES' SACKING MOVES

by Dave Walsh

DRIVERS, garage mechanics and clerical workers threatened with redundancy by Bowaters Transport, Northfleet, Kent, voted on Tuesday to fight for their jobs by every available means.

Their stand was supported by drivers in the Sittingbourne Bowater depot who are not directly affected. Clerical workers in the two depots directly affected have joined with the other three unions in the fight.

The meeting accepted that industrial action would probably be involved and decided to seek active support from

by Sheila Melot

BRISTOL, Tuesday.—The strike by 6000 Rolls-Royce manual workers, made official last week, goes into its seventh week with union officials and bosses negotiating without the shop stew-

ards. The officials have offered to accept £1.50 a week and to discuss 'strings' when the men are back at work.

Management have not yet accepted this in writing. Someone high up is stalling. The bosses' demands include

full co-operation on productivity.

They also insist that they will not grant more than the £1.50 a week already offered. This will include 50p to be deducted from any increase granted as a result of the engineering unions' national claim.

What this means was made clear in a leaflet put out by the shop stewards' committee:

BUTCHERY

'The real platform of the company is for an agreement which leaves every worker open to all methods of work control, with no chance to negotiate terms that are realistic', while the management will have 'a complete 12 months free to perform the necessary butchery'.

The leaflet points out that there is no other possible explanation for the management being prepared to lose production worth a million pounds a month, with the plant and machinery risking deterioration.

The strikers are hitting back with a 24-hour picket that is stopping oil tankers from getting in. The management is having to send clerical workers home because of the cold after paying them a full day's wages.

POSTPONED

Concorde is blacked, since Rolls-Royce technicians do fitters' work on it. The proposed flight of its second prototype, due on Tuesday, had to be postponed because the engine was not ready.

Shop stewards are touring the country to spread information about the strike.

The government is using Rolls-Royce as a knuckleduster to rough up shop-floor organisation in the engineering industry generally and massive united action is needed to defeat it.

Financial support is already pouring into the strike, with £100 from the local UPW, £74 from the neighbouring BAC works, £50 from DATA, and even £5 from the Salvation Army.

Support and messages of solidarity are necessary, and should be sent to: The secretary, Strike Committee, Patchway Labour Club, Patchway, Gloucestershire.



Local government workers' demands ignored

Pay deal lags behind price jump

by Joe Clark

THERE MUST BE considerable satisfaction in Downing Street over the pay settlement accepted by the local government manual workers' unions.

These low paid workers are to get a mere 7½ per cent pay rise, although prices have gone up by 11 per cent in the last 12 months. And the same settlement is likely to be accepted for manual workers in the health service later this week.

What this means can be seen by taking the example of a man on the basic wage of £18 with two children. His increase is £1.40 gross. But if you take account of the increased tax, national insurance contributions and superannuation he pays, plus what he loses in terms of entitlement to Family Income Supplement, then the in-

crease is reduced to just 27p.

Nor is that all. The settlement is biased against the lowest paid. They will get a mere £1.20 while the highest grade get £1.50.

One feature of the agreement might seem to involve a concession to the workers. There is a minimum earnings guarantee of £19 a week.

But given its low level this can be used to divide the workers in future. The unions could find themselves fighting for an increase of no benefit to most workers.

And the minimum will not apply to women who can expect to see equal pay put off for an even longer period. They are not even getting an increase equal to that of the men's.

Finally, the agreement includes a 'lead-in' payment of £1. But this only applies to groups of workers for whom productivity deals are thought appropriate. And should the men object to a particular prod deal—and to denying jobs to their fellow workers—then the employers can refuse the £1.

It is no good just complaining about the government's actions, as do the union leaders. In this case, the Tories hardly needed to bother to apply pressure to the local authorities because the unions certainly were not applying any pressure themselves. After initially rejecting 7 per cent outright, they are now recommending it.

The problem is to fight. And that means that thousands of trade unionists in local government, the health service and other public services have got to begin to organise at the rank and file level.



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Socialist Worker

UNIONS BACK STUDENT SIT-IN

SW Reporter

SWANSEA:- The sit-in at the College of Education is now in its fourth week. The students are determined to win despite threats of writs and injunctions from the college authorities.

The sit-in began when Mike Pany, a third-year student and a member of the Socialist Society was expelled for 'academic failure'. This is blatantly untrue, since at least 30 other students have as bad or worse academic records, and the governing board will not set up an independent enquiry—the students' demand.

Support for the sit-in has come from all the Swansea colleges, universities and colleges elsewhere, Swansea Trades Council, two trade union branches (AUEW and ETU) and the joint shop stewards' committee at the Baglan Bay construction site.

Stewards at Baglan Bay have organised shop collections for the College and have lobbied the governors and Labour councillors.

Every possible support should be given to the sit-in. Colleges of Education have never been involved in militant action before.

The situation is changing and this fight is being used as an example. And it occurs as the Tories set out to smash Students' Unions.

Students should organise collections in their colleges, send messages of support, and ask all students living in Swansea to actively back the sit-in during the vacation.

Pressure must also be put on the NUS executive to increase its already inadequate support. It was only after threats to disaffiliate, that Digby Jacks, NUS president, came to Swansea

Messages and donations to:- Steering Committee, Swansea College of Education, Town Hill Road, Swansea.

Irish militant arrested

TWO LEADING MEMBERS of the Irish republican organisation in Britain, the Clann na hEireann, were imprisoned two years ago for three years and five years respectively, after a frame-up by the police. One of them, Gerry Doherty is due out before Christmas. But another Clann member, the chairman of the Birmingham branch, Joe Farrington, now faces a similar ordeal.

Joe, who is aged 20, was arrested on 24 November after police claimed that they had found 54 electrical detonators at his home. The court refused him bail after the police had claimed that he was connected with 'extremist political organisations.'

All those struggling for an end to British control over Ireland and for socialism in Britain should do their best to aid Joe by sending money to aid his defence.

Donations should go to: G O'Donoghue, 18 Constance Road, Birmingham 5.

Docks bosses get tough

THE CHICKENS of productivity bargaining are coming home to roost with a vengeance in the docks. The major employers let it be known last Friday that they intend to return all their 'restricted workers' to the unattached register, where they receive only the national minimum of £20 per week.

These restricted men are dockers who cannot do the heaviest sorts of work, usually because they have been injured while working to make a nice profit for the employers in the past. Having crippled them, the employers now want to dispose

of them.

Already in London there are 460 men languishing on the unattached register, a sort of no-mans-land between regular employment and redundancy. With the latest wave of sackings, the figures will probably top 1500. All that stands between these men and the dole queue is the National Dock Labour Scheme.

The employers have been trying to get rid of the scheme for 20 years. Now with the Tories in power it looks as if they are going to open a frontal attack. There

have been at least two secret meetings between the employers and Robert Carr. The biggest dock union, the Transport Workers, has twice rejected suggestions from the employers that the scheme be ended.

The fight against the employers' manoeuvres in London affects every docker in the country. If the employers can return men to the unattached register at will, then registration is no longer of any value. This is one battle that dockers cannot afford to lose.

INDIA IS POISED TO SEAL FATE OF E BENGAL

by John Ashdown

IT LOOKS as if the fate of East Bengal is sealed. The speed of the Indian army has brought it to Dacca and the Pakistani authorities have resigned.

Demoralised Pakistan troops have abandoned the towns along the way without a fight, fleeing to their last refuge, Dacca.

Their predicament wins few tears in the High Command in West Pakistan. The generals there need the slaughter of their best troops in a last ditch stand in the East to conceal the fact that it was their own catastrophic policies which made defeat inevitable, not simply the intervention of India.

The Pakistan rulers put all their faith in being able to win some military victory on the Western front. This was supposed to console the nationalists of the West for the loss of a majority of the Pakistani population in the East.

The lightning air attack which started the war was to have done to the Indian air force what the Israelis did to the Egyptians in 1967. Then the Pakistanis would overrun Kashmir. Kashmir for East Bengal is not much of a bargain, but it would have lightened the darkness of complete defeat.

BITTER

They failed. As a result, the war in the West ground into a bitter slugging match across the Kashmir border with neither side making much advance. The only hope for the generals now must be a demonstration of desperate heroism in Bengal.

Meanwhile, riding in the baggage train of the Indian army in Bengal is the new government of Bangladesh. It is so top heavy with politicians and diplomats of the old order that only Indian bayonets could lever it into power.

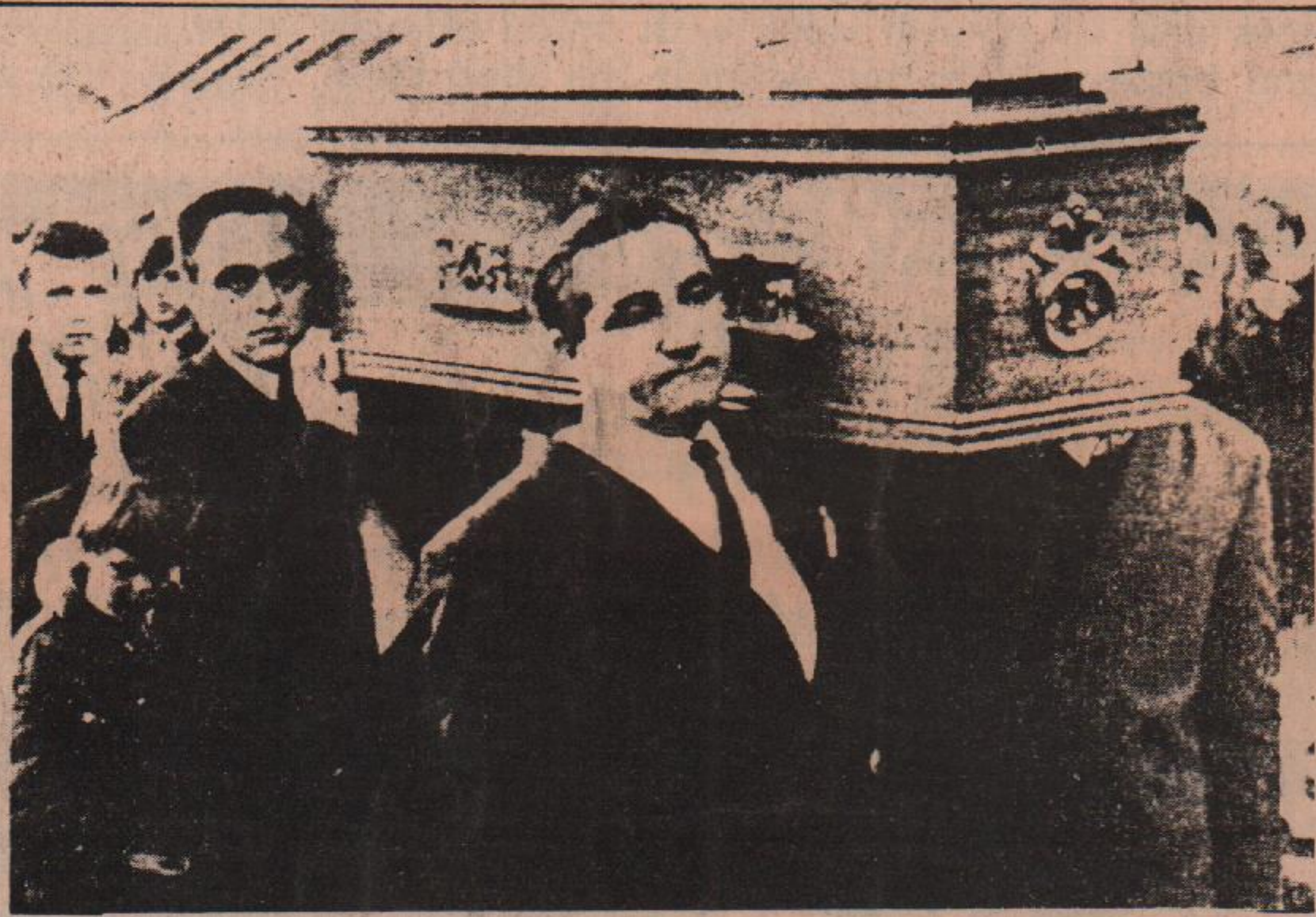
But what is the 'power' into which it is levered? For it has no soldiers. The fighting men of Bangladesh are the guerrillas. And they are not at all likely to share in the spoils of the new regime, let alone the politics of an Indian puppet government.

The only power the new regime has is the Indian army. Without it, the government would be likely to be overturned before it has even warmed the seats of high office. The Indian government has enough troubles without taking on 78 million Bengalis as well, some of whom will clearly fight Delhi.

Yet it has no option. Having put the new 'independent' government into power, it has to keep it there. Just as the Americans have had to keep propping up their Saigon puppets.

The one hope are the guerrillas inside East Bengal. The preparation they have made to fight the Pakistan army must now be put to good use against the Indian army. Otherwise, the independence of Bangladesh will be no more than a cruel joke.

After all the long effort, the unbelievable sacrifices, East Bengal will have done no more than reverse the Partition of 1947, exchanging domination by a Hindu ruling class for that of the Punjabi ruling class.



The man at the front of the coffin is Joseph Parker, an internee at the Long Kesh camp. He was allowed out to attend the funeral of his son, shot dead by the army in Belfast on Friday.

Army defeat boosts morale of besieged Derry

by Eamonn McCann

DERRY, Tuesday:- 600 soldiers and 32 Saracen armoured cars were beaten out of the Creggan estate last Friday morning. It was the biggest battle here, and the most significant victory for the people, since 1969.

The army moved in at 1am. Vigilantes on the barricades sounded the traditional dustbin-lid alarm and within minutes an estimated 3000 people were on the streets fighting, men and women, from sub-teenagers to old-age pensioners.

The battle, on three fronts, lasted until after 3.30 when the army pulled out. An unprecedented amount of CS gas was used. After dawn 369 canisters were picked up in one street.

Many canisters were shot straight through windows into kitchens and bedrooms. Two people were shot and wounded, a 57-year old non-combatant, Mr John Ward, and three-year old Carmel McLaughlin. She was in bed when a soldier fired into her room.

At least one soldier was killed, although the British Army continues steadfastly to deny this. Two were seriously wounded. The army did not succeed in detaining any of the men they had come for.

As a result of the battle, morale in the area has soared. People are now bracing themselves for another assault, perhaps on an even bigger scale.

While assaults like this are launched on thousands of working-class homes, the press babble of outrage/horror/revulsion about attacks on the suburban homes of prominent personages continues. And

Maudling sleepwalks his way from the army HQ to the Cabinet Office, giving dozy sanction to further repression.

The official Republicans in Derry who were prominently involved in Friday's battle are still at odds with the national leadership on the question of attitudes towards the Civil Rights Association. The CRA, dominated by the tiny Communist Party of Ireland, persist in demands for 'democratisation', refusing to see what every Bogside teenager can see—that reforms are not going to be coaxed out of the Tories and that Northern Ireland can not operate democratically.

Transformed

The Derry branch of the Officials is moving, somewhat incoherently, towards a revolutionary working-class position. The question of whether the Officials can be transformed into the revolutionary organisation is one which the Derry comrades and others will have to face soon if the admirable militancy of the people is to be channelled in a revolutionary direction.

SEVERAL HUNDRED men face the prospect of Christmas locked up in Britain's concentration camp at Long Kesh. Many of them are trade unionists, without any reserves of money available to keep their children clothed or fed, let alone to give them a decent Christmas.

The Anti-Internment League in London is urging socialists and trade unionists to send Christmas parcels of food, cigarettes and books to the prisoners. Parcels should be sent recorded delivery c/o D O'Hagan, Compound 4, Long Kesh Camp, Lisburn, Co Antrim.

Strikes may follow end of York talks

by Roger Rosewell

NEXT MONDAY—20 December—will see the end of the national procedure agreement in the engineering industry. Without it there is no official method of discussing problems that occur within a factory and so a wave of strikes could result.

The agreement has been terminated by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions because it was heavily biased in favour of the employers and a number of attempts to try and change it had been rejected by them.

The agreement was originally imposed on the unions in 1922 after they had been defeated in a lock-out. The agreement laid down that grievances should be dealt with by a lengthy and drawn-out process.

If factory and area conferences were unable to solve a problem a meeting was held in York between the national union officials and members of the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Unsuitable

The procedure normally took 13 weeks to be completed and was clearly unsuitable for dealing with urgent issues such as sackings and changes in conditions. It was also rarely successful from the unions' viewpoint. In 1963 of 296 cases that went to York only 42 were settled.

But the worst feature of the agreement was its arrogant declaration of managerial power. It specifically said that 'The employers have the right to manage their establishment' and that 'work shall proceed under current conditions until procedure has been carried through'.

The result was that a worker had to put up with changes that had worsened his conditions for three months before he and the union had the 'constitutional' right to take strike action.

The unions have been attempting to change the agreement by reducing the number of stages of discussions and the length of time involved. More important, they have also been fighting for the introduction of a 'status quo' clause which would prevent an employer from introducing changes that were objected to until the procedure had been exhausted. This has been bitterly resisted by the bosses.

Difficulties

The unions have now instructed their members to negotiate new procedure agreements at factory level which must include the 'status quo' clause and not be legally binding.

But there will be difficulties with this. Factories dominated by right-wing union officials will be less successful than more militant ones, while others will be intimidated from organising a real fight by the heavy unemployment situation.

Some employers might be prepared to concede some form of 'status quo' clause in return for alterations in pay systems or conditions.

It is believed that the recent request of British Leyland to meet national union officials to discuss a new procedure is connected with their desire to obtain union approval for the introduction of Measured Day Work.

The battle for a new procedure agreement is also connected with the current pay claim of two million engineering workers.

Militants must fight on all of these issues and demand that every strike be made official and that full support be given to those workers whose employers refuse to agree to the 'status quo' clause.

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IS INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE will now be held on **SUNDAY 30 JANUARY, 1972**, in Birmingham. (Venue to be announced later). All trade union sympathisers of the International Socialists are strongly urged to attend. Write NOW for credentials and further details to:- The Industrial Sub-Committee (Conference) 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.