

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 245 6 NOVEMBER 1971 2½p

Withdraw troops, end internment say 20,000



TWENTY THOUSAND people demonstrated their opposition to repression in Ireland last Sunday. They marched through London to Whitehall calling for the release of all internees in Northern Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops.

The demonstration—the result of many weeks of work by the Anti-Internment League and its supporters—was the biggest seen for many years in support of the Irish struggle. 4000 marched behind the banners of the International Socialists and formed the biggest single contingent.

It was a demonstration of the anger felt by many Irish people in Britain at the attitude of politicians and press to the Irish struggle. And it was a declaration by British socialists and trade unionists that they recognise that a defeat for British imperialism in Ireland would be a positive gain for the working-class battles in this country.

As the fall of the Orange regime at Stormont draws nearer it becomes even more vital for pressure to be kept up in Britain, particularly through the unions, for the release of all political prisoners and the withdrawal of troops.

Socialist Worker has heard with deep regret of the death of Peter Graham, founder member of the Irish Young Socialists, who was found dead in Dublin last week. Peter was a revolutionary socialist, a member of the Fourth International and a militant fighter for an Irish Workers' Republic. The Irish and international movement has been deprived of a valuable comrade.

Airport men stay out

[See back page]

Wednesday's mass meeting at Heathrow Airport decisively rejected a climb-down formula put by Mark Young, EPTU national officer. He recommended a return to work and a recognition of the GAS contract while talks got underway.

He also offered an empty guarantee that the BAA would do everything to ensure that no jobs were lost.

The shop stewards' committee recommendation that a formula should be put to the BAA requiring the suspension of the GAS contract during discussions was carried by an overwhelming majority of the 16,000 workers at the meeting. Russell Kerr MP spoke on behalf of the Heathrow area-Labour MPs' group and said that they supported the unofficial strikers in their fight.

Above: Part of the 4000-strong IS section on Sunday's march
Below: The tricolour flies from scaffolding in Whitehall. Pictures: Jeff Pick



Bigger, better, brighter paper

JUST ONE WEEK to go to the bigger, brighter and—we hope—better Socialist Worker. With our circulation breaking all records, we move to a regular 12-page paper next week.

The growing crisis of the big business system, the attacks by the Tories on working people and their determination to resist those attacks demands a paper that can report and analyse the struggle and argue the case for real socialist politics and organisation as the only long-term solution.

Socialist Worker will have more NEWS—industrial news, tenants' news, the fight of the jobless and those combating the vicious attacks on the welfare services.

It will have a better INTERNATIONAL coverage—at least one page every week devoted to the worldwide struggle for freedom.

There will be expanded REVIEWS section with coverage of books, films, television and theatre.

And more room for your LETTERS—so start writing now—and more space for the activities of the International Socialists, the organisation committed to the struggle for workers' control and socialism.

We think you will like the bigger paper. Will you help us to spread the socialist case by taking more copies to sell and encouraging your workmates and neighbours to become regular

readers? Ring 01-739 2639 to order extra copies NOW.

The cost of the new paper will be 4p. We regret the increase but we get no hidden subsidy from advertising and we have been badly hit by rising post, phone and newsprint costs.

Compared to other papers, page for page, we offer real value for money. With an ever bigger circulation, the 12-page paper will provide a real four-penny one for the Tories.

NOTE to all correspondents: final copy date from next week will be MONDAY for letters and reports. If you have a late story to file by phone, let the newsroom (01-739 9043) know in good time.

STRIKE ON 24 NOV TO BACK JOBLESS

Socialist Worker Industrial Reporter

MEETINGS of trade unionists in Liverpool and Glasgow have put out a call for a national one-day work stoppage on 24 November as part of the struggle against rising unemployment. It is a call that must be echoed by every trade union branch and shop stewards' committee in Britain.

The TUC is currently organising demonstrations against unemployment in major cities. It has also called for a national lobby of parliament on 24 November.

But token demonstrations alone are not going to turn the Tory government from the path of deliberately encouraging redundancies. Only the use of the strength of the trade union movement will do that.

People like Vic Feather are making speeches in which they argue that 'trade unionists are out to establish a society where unemployment is banished'. But they themselves are doing nothing to build up the militant force alone capable of bringing that society into being.

EXPRESSION OF ANGER

That is why the demand must be taken up for a one-day stoppage of work on 24 November. Liverpool Trades Council, at a demonstration of 20,000 against unemployment last Saturday, and several hundred Scottish shop stewards meeting on Monday to discuss the UCS situation, have already pledged support for such action. 24 November could be turned into the biggest expression of working-class disgust and anger since the war.

But the struggle against unemployment cannot be restricted to one-day actions, however militant. There is a battle to be fought day in and day out in the factories and the unions if the toll of sackings is to be resisted and the level of unemployment forced downwards.

It must centre around the following demands:

No redundancies: Stop the bosses sacking workers and then increasing production with a smaller work force. Stop the movement of work and machinery from plants where redundancies are announced. Occupations with strikes where necessary to achieve this. Blacking of such work and machinery by other workers. Combine committees and unions to enforce the blacking. **Overtime ban in any firm that declares redundancies in any of its factories. No more productivity deals, these allow the employers to reduce still further the number of workers with jobs.**

Cut the working week to 35 hours without loss of pay: This would create jobs for all those at present on the dole queue. Any union that does not push for this demand at present is ignoring the interests of its unemployed members.

A minimum wage of £25 a week so that millions of workers are not compelled to work overtime to get a living wage, and do work that could be done by the unemployed.

Work or full pay. Nationalisation under workers' control of any firm declaring redundancies.

If the present owners of industry cannot guarantee a minimum livelihood to workers, force them to get out of the way and let industry be run by those whose labour actually creates the wealth.

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E28DN
Tel: 01 739 9043 (editorial) 2639 (business)

JENKINS THE RENEGADE AND WILSON THE HYPOCRITE

THERE is a short, sharp and simple definition for those who cross picket lines in an attempt to weaken strikers' solidarity. The word is scab. The same word sums up the Labour MPs who voted last week with the Tories on the Common Market issue.

They are the heroes of the Tory press. The Sunday Times paid tribute to 'the constancy of those Labour members who defied the party whip'. Here is an interesting glimpse of the real attitude to democracy of the press lords, an important section of the tiny minority who rule our society: democracy is all right only as long as it suits their purposes.

The Labour Party conference, made up of delegates from local parties and trade unions, debated the issue and came to an overwhelming decision to oppose entry into the Common Market. Roy Jenkins and his fellow renegades openly flouted that decision in parliament—and they are praised by the press for their refusal to carry out majority decisions.

They voted with a ruthless and reactionary government, the most viciously anti-working class administration since the war.

It is a government that has set out to cripple the freedom of ordinary workers

through the Industrial Relations Act. It has cynically boosted unemployment to more than a million to cow those with jobs into accepting lower wages in order to boost profits.

It is a government that has unleashed a reign of terror in Northern Ireland through trigger-happy troops, internment without trial and concentration camps, in a desperate bid to crush the magnificent struggle of the nationalist population.

Expel them

It is a government that is wrecking what is left of the welfare state, with the certain result of boosting the already high levels of poverty and malnutrition. Schoolchildren have been deprived of free school milk at a time when diseases such as rickets are on the increase again.

It was for these policies that Jenkins and company voted last Thursday, not just the Common Market. At a time when working-class anger and militancy is mounting against the Tories, 69 Labour MPs gave Heath the go-ahead to continue with his offensive on wages, living standards and democratic rights.

Comparing Roy Jenkins with that other arch Labour traitor, Ramsay MacDonald, is an insult to MacDonald's memory. At least

he had the decency to leave the Labour Party and join his spiritual home, the Tories.

The Jenkins' group should be expelled. Voting with the Tories—the class enemy—cannot be tolerated. But unlike other socialist papers, we do not stop there and approve the position of Wilson and the rest of the Labour MPs. True, they voted against the government but that does not make them a 'left-wing' alternative to the Tories.

When Wilson was in power he campaigned for entry into the Common Market, an organisation of European big business designed to boost profits at the expense of wages. Now, because he thinks it will win him electoral advantage, he has done a somersault to oppose the Market. His hypocrisy is almost as nauseating as Jenkins' entry into the Tory lobby.

In fact, when Labour was in power, it carried out policies almost identical to the Tories in driving down wages, pushing up prices, attacking welfare services and the unions and appeasing racials. Wilson's programme opened the door for the even more reactionary policies of the Tories.

The lying, deceit, double-dealing and opportunism of the Labour Party on the Common Market is further evidence that it has nothing in common with a genuine

socialist party. Such a party would be based on total opposition to the capitalist system—a party that fights to build a mass workers' movement instead of shadow boxing in the House of Commons.

The job of building that party has never been more vital as the capitalist crisis mounts and the attack on working people intensifies.

Oppose it

A final word on the Common Market.

When the press screams 'We're in' they mean big business, not us. The Common Market, a vast organisation of powerful monopolies, has nothing to do with the interests of working people. We are opposed to it—but, unlike the Communist Party and the Labour 'left', we do not counterpose to the Common Market a 'sovereign' Britain, for that is a capitalist Britain.

We need a new socialist party to end capitalism in Britain. But not in isolation from the rest of Europe.

One of the many urgent tasks facing socialists and trade unionists is the building of an independent, united movement throughout Europe to fight—and defeat—the monopolies that dominate our lives and threaten our future.

EXCLUSIVE

How Mirror's Mrs Britain competition helps Tory propagandanda for women voters...

INFORMATION on the 'social and political attitudes' of contestants in the Daily Mirror's 'Mrs Britain' competition has been provided free of charge to the headquarters of the Conservative Party.

The information will be used to help frame further Party propaganda stunts like the 'promise' made to housewives just before the last Gen-

eral Election that a Tory government would reduce prices 'at a stroke'.

It is understood that this is not being done with the express permission of the Daily Mirror management, though it is unlikely they would be highly concerned even if they were fully in the picture.

This is because the information obtained in such competitions as 'Mrs Britain' is

regularly sold off as market research data to firms interested in finding out how effective their advertising is.

The research done by the Mirror into the private lives and habits of the contenders for these great titles is very thorough. A team of hand-picked lady journalists was sent out to look into the many aspects of entrants' private lives.

This involves taking a meal with their families, a thorough look into the running

of the household and asking probing questions about relatives and friends.

These investigations have their sinister side. Before anyone can be shortlisted the Mirror makes sure that no candidate is secretly tainted in their private lives or associations.

It would ruin the whole purpose of this vast public relations exercise if a rival newspaper were able to show that 'Mrs Britain' was the daughter of one of the most hated men in Britain, a militant power worker.

In this year's competition—the winner was announced in the Mirror on Monday with great self-congratulation—one contestant was eliminated because she had a very indirect connection with a 'baby-bashing' case, reported privately to the Mirror promotions department.

The questions put to the women in the competition are most revealing in their concern to get a portrait of Mrs Average. For instance one woman protested when she was asked if she would put her 13-year-old daughter on the pill.

Key question

She may or may not have realised that her protest would give her a very high score on 'the general social attitudes scale', later to be reported to Conservative Central Office.

Another key question was 'what would you do with the prize money if you won?' An answer along the lines that there was a poor relation in dire need of a kidney machine was guaranteed to yield good results. Later, it would make such a lovely story in the Mirror.

Alongside this prying into private lives, much information is yielded on the spending habits of Mrs Average and it is this which is available for selling off as market research data.

Firms pay the Mirror large sums of money to get these profiles and see which

of their rivals have more successful marketing campaigns.

The Mirror is also quick to conclude an agreement with the would-be Mr Britains—the husbands in the competition—that they will not become sponsors of any products unless the arrangement is concluded through the newspaper. Those companies which are intent on the 'Mum in a Million' pushing their products then pay the Mirror a hefty commission for the privilege.

Judges in the competition ranged across the whole social spectrum. They included well-known classical musician, Jimmy Young, psychiatrist and part-time journalist, Marjorie Proops, and Mrs Alice Feather, wife of a leading militant trade unionist.

THEIR WEEK IN INDIA

WAR FEVER on this side of the Indo-Pakistan border is less pronounced than on the other, and the pressures for war are different in kind. But they are at least as urgent.

There are now very nearly 10 million refugees from Bangla Desh. Penned into camps or, if they are lucky, strung out on road ribbons above the monsoon floods, they are an awful threat to the Indian government's continued stability. If they stay where they are, they will be used by every opposition party in the country to tear the government down.

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS are already breaking the implicit party-political truce to talk about a forced 'population exchange' of ten million Muslims from the border areas in Bengal or Assam for the 10 million refugees in India. Since the Right is extremely weak in the area, it can only mean that they are edging towards communal rioting in their heartlands further west.

THE LEFT has been less pressing, partly because its real loyalty to China still

clouds the issue, partly because of the weakness of its counterpart in the Bangla Desh national movement, and partly because it is being hunted down relentlessly by the ruling party's police and armed 'Resistance Groups'. Nonetheless, it is still the only authentic mass political force in the area. It is bound to recover and ultimately utilise the refugee issue and the refugees themselves against the central government.

THE REFUGEES are staying where they are for the moment. But they might not. They might, in desperation, break out of the worst, most crowded and disease-ridden camps during the coming winter. If the government meets them with troops the firing might go on for long and not only in West Bengal.

They can't stay where they are for ever. There's little food, little warmth and no work. Nor can they recross the border without being shot by the Pakistan Army, or, if that doesn't happen, without facing real starvation on the edge of the property that has been stolen from them and occupied by the castles and the less scrup-

ulous of their Muslim neighbours. No Indian government could survive an attempt to make them go back.

WHAT REMAINS is resettlement in Bangla Desh. But that means war: either to create a 'liberated area' in which to instal a Bangla Desh government and the refugee population (preferably in the sensitive area of North Bengal); or to force a total military defeat on Pakistan with the same results.

India is in no hurry to launch a war. She can still wait for the Pakistan Army to strike first, as it well might. It is also useful for her to clarify her war aims in foreign capitals, as Mrs Gandhi has been doing this week, so that the war will be halted from outside before it becomes too damaging. But the war party is strong here, at least as strong as it is in Pakistan.

IT WILL BE DIFFICULT for either side to edge away from the brink, given the other's interest in fighting. It will be even more difficult for both to win. For the desperately poor people on either side to gain anything out of it except further misery is more than difficult. It is impossible.

Monday's Mirror: good for circulation, good for Heath

Huggable Mrs Britain...

MUM IN A MILLION

Story: MARJORIE PROOPS
Pictures: DOREEN SPOONER and RON HARDING

MEET Mrs. Britain: Mary Miller, a super wife and mother—the woman in a million who was chosen this weekend as the one who typifies all that is best in a British wife and mother.

She is 36, lives in Cardiff, is married to an aircraft fitter, has seven marvellous children—and looks hardly more than a teenager herself. Not that her looks had anything to do with the judges' choice. For in our search for Mrs. Britain, who collects a £2,000 prize, we were not looking for a beauty queen.

The Judges—Miss Marjorie Anderson, of Woman's Hour fame, Mrs. Alice Feather, wife of the TUC General Secretary, Mrs. Lucie Sulch, now ex-Mrs. Britain, Jimmy Young and I—spent nearly eight hours on Saturday interviewing the twenty finalists in London.

THE PRESS AND N.IRELAND

by Eamonn McCann

A brilliant exposure of the twists, distortions and lies of the British press and their cover-up role for the Tory regimes of Stormont and Belfast

15p post free from IS BOOKS
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Union leaders speak of 'national interest' as wages decline

Last week the council workers were offered a seven per cent wage increase, a figure the Tory government wants as the 'norm' for all workers. The unions turned down the offer and described it as 'a calculated insult'. Yet the unions' own £2 claim is not enough even to maintain the living standards their members 'enjoyed' a year ago. A NUPE militant reports on the real background to the claim—desperately low pay, an awakening membership and a union leadership which sees productivity deals as an easy solution to pay demands.

LEADERS of the Public Employees, the Transport Workers and the General and Municipal have declared that 'a substantial increase in basic pay' is their first priority. But in the introduction to their current claim they say they are 'aware that the employers' interests and the nation's depend on restricting as far as possible the impact of the kind of settlement . . . on unit wage costs.'

They regret the employers' slowness in introducing productivity deals which 'offer the employers the opportunity to offer our members a decent standard of living without putting an excessive burden on the ratepayers.'

In fact the three unions have been backing the 'pay and productivity' solution since 1967 and apart from lengthening the dole queue made no contribution to closing the wide gap between public sector employees' earnings and the average industrial wage.

Between 1963 and 1970 the gap very nearly doubled, according to statistics published in the pay claim itself.

	Difference between council employees' earnings and the average industrial wage.
1963	£3.19. 6
1964	£4. 5. 8
1965	£4.10. 6
1967	£4. 7. 6
1968	£5. 8.11
1969	£6. 5. 6
1970	£7. 1. 7

So in spite of the fact that one-third of council workers are now under productivity deals and more are getting bonus payments there has been a five-year slide down the poverty slope.

And yet the union leaders are still singing the praises of the 'pay and productivity' solution. They will have to come up with a really remarkable settlement this time if they are to close a £7 earnings gap while 'restricting as far as possible the impact on unit wage costs'.

The ground being lost by local authority workers makes General Secretary Alan Fisher's statement in the foreword to the NUPE version of the claim, utterly fantastic.

Pathetically small

'In recent years the union has demonstrated its determination to end the scandal of low pay in local government and has made substantial progress in that direction,' he writes.

But that scandal is due to years of cap-in-hand pay claims. Far from showing determination, union leaders have failed to mobilise the union membership.

Wage increases agreed by union officials behind closed doors have always been pathetically small. Often a claim would be lodged that stated no figure.

This friendly set-up was badly shaken in 1969 by a wave of unofficial strikes, mainly in London.

As a result, the leaders were forced to lodge a much more sizeable claim last year (still only £2.75) backing it with the threat of strike action for the first time in history.

Equally important, the leaders were forced to enter into consultations with their members. In the magnificent strike that followed, thousands of members gained invaluable experience.

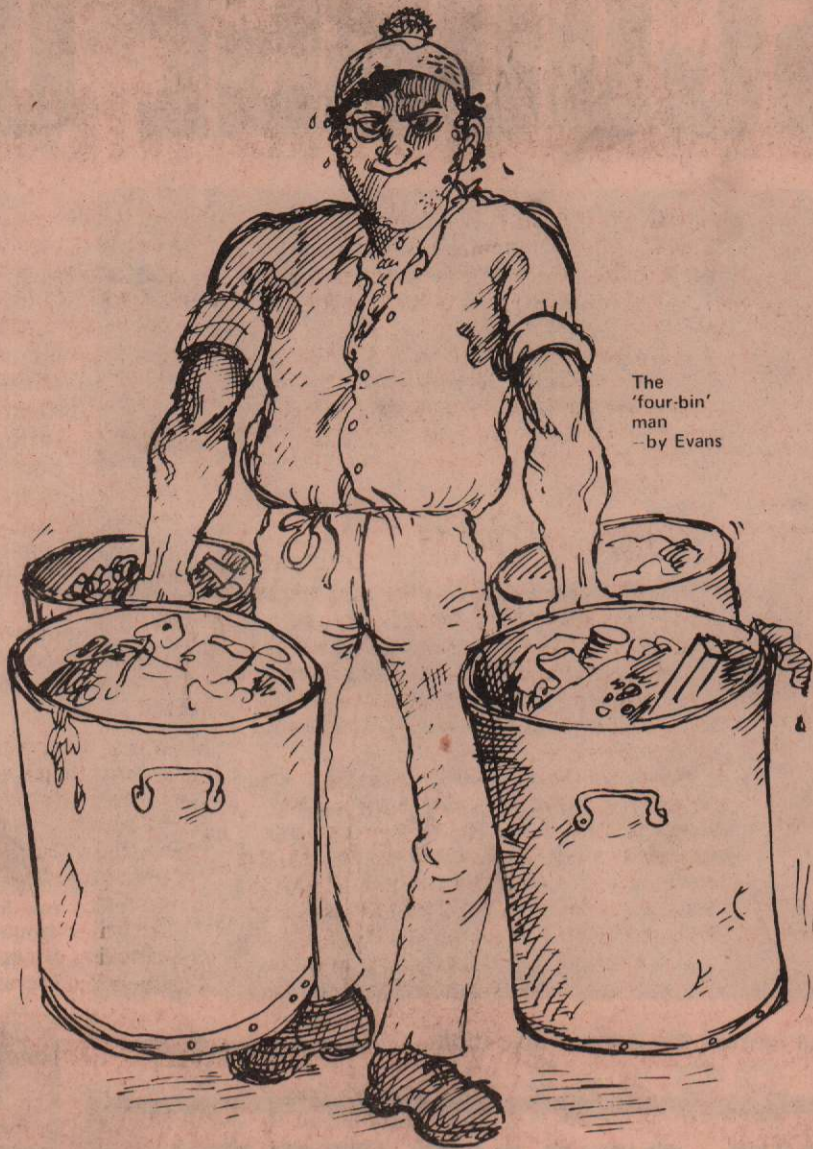
This year, the leaders have well and truly reverted to their old disregard of the rank and file. The claim was made in July.

Since then there has been complete silence. The employers have been allowed to get away without even making an offer until 10 days before the present agreement ran out. Nor is there any sign of an attempt to consult the members over what action should be taken in the event of an unsatisfactory offer.

But this time, by publishing the supp-

Slow slide into poverty by town hall workers

by Joe Clark



orting arguments for the claim, the leaders have supplied the rank and file with a whole catalogue of really frightening facts about low wages, backing up what they knew already from bitter experience:

- In April 1970, 31 per cent of all male workers in the country earned less than 45p an hour.
- No less than 70 per cent of male local government workers got less than this.
- At the same time 15 per cent of all male workers got less than 40p an hour—while in local government 40 per cent were below this figure.

Worse paid

● Despite the fact that local government wages are actually negotiated by unions, the workers are, on average, worse paid than workers covered by the notorious Wages Councils.

● Between 1963 and 1971, local government workers got smaller increases in earnings, in cash as well as percentages, than the average for the country as a whole. They got smaller increases in each of those years even than workers in other public services (gas, water, electricity, nationalised industries) except in 1964 when they were a fraction ahead of power station workers when the latter had an eight hour cut in overtime.

● 21 per cent of male local government workers in England and Wales (29.7 per cent in Scotland) with two children would be better off on Supplementary Benefit.

● 38.9 per cent of male local government workers in England and Wales (51.2 per cent in Scotland) with three children would be better off on Supplementary Benefit. In other words they are below the

official poverty line.

● Prices have gone up so rapidly in the past 12 months that, for example, a dustman would need at least £2 on the basic just to get back where he was a year ago.

In the face of a situation which the claim rightly describes as poverty, what is the 'substantial increase in basic pay' being demanded? Just £2 per week. After a lot of arrogant banter about a brilliantly argued claim, we find that this is the very figure mentioned as being necessary just to combat price increases.

If it were met in full it would put council workers back to square one and do nothing whatever about low pay. So now where's all the 'determination'?

And what have the union negotiators to offer? Only the same old 'pay and productivity' formula—with the usual mixture of graft, redeployment, so-called 'voluntary severance' and even then, as the figures show, a continuing decline in relative wages. And does the request for 'deliberate employment creation' mean that after five years the leadership is just beginning to realise that there are one or two snags after all?

Apparently their commitment to productivity schemes is as firm as ever. In what they call 'the thinking behind this part of our claim' they explain why they are asking for a lead-in payment:

'The combination of low earnings and a frustratingly slow rate of change might combine to cause a reaction against the whole idea of incentive working, unless some form of bridging payment is made.'

If this part of the claim is met, top

union officials will have committed tens of thousands of workers to productivity deals, in advance, and undermined their bargaining strength in fighting the deals locally. But then they will have relieved themselves of some of the drudgery of getting their members to 'accept the schemes by persuasion.'

The vital lesson of this and every other claim in local government is that they cannot be left to top union officials. The mealy-mouthed nonsense about the 'nation' quoted at the outset, amounts to a statement of why the negotiators would never, on their own initiative, put in a really substantial claim.

Direct action

The fight back can only come from the membership. They must take the initiative nationally in fighting for full, democratic control over wage claims and locally in fighting productivity deals and opening up a new front on wages.

Wage claims must be pressed by direct action inside the local authorities instead of leaving it to the cosy isolation of national negotiations. The divisions between local councils must be exploited—some Labour councils were openly sympathetic to strikers last year.

Council workers must forge links with their white-collar colleagues and teachers.

And, as in other industries where the rank and file has made the running, the national negotiators must be made the servants of the members and not their masters. It can be done only by making local government a new area of militant trade unionism.

Why the bin men run on the job...

IT IS 7.35am in the corporation yard in Canterbury. One of the dustbinmen hasn't turned up for work. The big lorry is waiting, its engine running.

The foreman goes over to the 'pool' of labourers waiting to be told where they are working today, and picks one of them. All the other labourers look relieved.

The unlucky victim asks the dustcart driver what area they are covering today. It's the big London Road council estate. 'Cheerio!' says the labourer and walks out of the gates...

Three years ago, before the productivity deal, dustmen in Kent could take their time. If they wanted to hurry they could finish by one or two o'clock.

The pay was very low, but better than wages in agriculture. Even a heavy round was broken up by frequent visits to the rubbish tip, which meant a rest for the crew. In a town such as Canterbury there were five dustcarts and extra men for the unusually heavy rounds.

All this has changed with the coming of the productivity deal and Incentive Bonus scheme. Now there are only three dustcarts for the whole of Canterbury. They have automatic crushers which pack in tons more rubbish, meaning fewer trips to empty out.

The crusher

The way the deals have worked has varied from place to place. One of the reasons some workers haven't suffered so much is because Time and Motion study is so unscientific. The work study people couldn't figure out the quickest ways of working. But in general the new schemes have meant a tremendous speedup.

'Look at the dustmen,' said a hospital cleaner, speaking against a work study plan for the Kent and Canterbury Hospital. 'Before they had Time and Motion and productivity you never saw them run!'

It is quite true. Some Kent dustmen run for the bins now. They carry four bins at once, two in each hand. They carry six empty bins and throw the lids like beer-mats.

If a household is unwise enough to put out anything containing rubbish which isn't strictly a bin (like a bucket perhaps) the dustmen throw it into the crusher. It saves a walk. Time is money. Nobody wants to lose Bonus.

Money is very important to dustmen, because they earn so little. The extra fiver offered with a bonus scheme can mean the difference between owning a car or walking, getting married or having to wait a bit longer.

Most council workers are in favour of these productivity schemes. The extra cash can mean life rather than just existence. This is why most men see it as a choice between conditions at work and conditions at home. They accept the speed-up because there appears to be no other way to push up earnings.

The miserable £2 claim by the public service unions has confirmed the belief that bonus schemes are the way to raise earnings. All council workers were hoping that the unions' talk of a 'substantial increase' meant that they were going to ask for £5 on the basic.

Bosses' waffle

If a Time and Motion man can get you a fiver, and a union man can ask for only £2, it is only natural that you co-operate with the work study. Particularly when the union man keeps saying what a good thing Bonus Incentive Schemes are...

Nearly all local authority workers in Kent who are now covered by productivity schemes know perfectly well what the side effects are: fewer jobs in the area, and harder work for those covered by the schemes. The employers' waffle about 'natural wastage' and 'increased efficiency' doesn't fool anybody, even those who are looking for jobs in the expanding area of work study.

The trouble is that there is no alternative to acceptance at the moment. Unionism is weak, and the local officials are usually in favour of the schemes. In fact the strongest criticism of the role of the unions involved is that some of the men don't join because they can't afford the 10p weekly subs.

Socialists who have produced leaflets and held meetings to explain the problem of facing up to productivity schemes have been well received in this area. After almost two years of progressive introduction of the schemes, the workers have learnt all the drawbacks.

With a good leadership among the men it would be no time at all before the work-study officials and the Tory aldermen found themselves on the local refuse-tip.

Phil Evans

Some crimes don't make the charts

VIOLENT CRIME is on the increase—and the Express, Guardian and Telegraph recorded the fact and the figures on Friday in the little bits of space left after all the Common Market copy had been used.

The Express even ran one of their great analytical leaders on the subject, summing it all up in three masterly paragraphs of law and order logic.

In their news story on the opposite page, beneath the headline THUGS HIT NEW CRIME PEAK, they mentioned Sir Gerald Nabarro and Reginald Maudling.

Sir Gerald, the fat and famous racist upholder of social morality, had been asking Maudling in the Commons about his moves to combat crime. A front page paragraph in the same paper recorded that Sir Gerald, owner of

several expensive cars, had been accused of dangerous driving.

Dangerous driving, like starving pensioners to death, driving distracted workers to suicide, taking away milk supplies to children, is not compiled in the violent crime statistics.

For those who bothered to read to the end of the crime figures stories in the Express and Telegraph was the news that sexual crimes had diminished. Whatever happened to the permissive society?

Fleet Street could have had a field day if only there had been an OZ trial running, if only Lord Longford and his pornbrokers had not lost their sex drive, if only the sexual crime rate had increased.

An increase in sex crimes would, of course, prove just how rotten and in

need of correction we all were. A decrease, however, draws no comment.

Never mind, Fleet Street can wait six months for the next set of figures which, hopefully, will show what a lustful lot we are.

THE WRIT-SERVING industry is still alive and well and keeping the Guardian's Miscellany column occupied.

Sir Joseph Kagan is threatening to sue Private Eye, we learned from Miscellany on Thursday. And on the following day the column opened with an item about Mrs Mary Whitehouse's threat to bring a libel action against the magazine Ink for their cartoon that showed her being screwed by Rupert Bear as the Pope looks on.

Watch Miscellany for further possible news that Rupert and His Holiness have joined the queue of litigants.

SPIKE RON KNOWLES' press column

THE SCOURGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Militant action



Coventry toolroom workers on the march: the banner says it all

OF ALL THE EVILS with which this society blesses its people, being unemployed, on the dole, out on the coals, must create the greatest misery and bitterness. For the first time in 30 years there can be hardly a worker in Britain who does not face either the reality or possibility of the sack.

Redundancies and factory closures are now so common that they hardly make the news. In the once prosperous Midland cities of Coventry and Birmingham one man in 20 has no job, while in the 'depressed areas' the situation goes from bad to worse.

In Dundee one man in 10 is now on the dole. Nationally the official figures for those out of work, presently pushing the million mark, seriously understate the true position—they ignore hundreds of thousands of housewives, old age pensioners, students and school leavers who need to work but are denied the chance.

No longer need the older generation of workers talk of the bad old days, for, as a recent banner on a demonstration in Coventry put it: **CRAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN.**

Unemployment is a child of capitalism. However much our rulers wring their hands and pretend it's a natural disaster, nothing can hide the fact that in a world dominated by poverty and need, it is a monumental crime to have men idle and unproductive.

In Britain today millions of people are desperate for decent housing. The land is there—often left derelict in the cause of profit. The raw materials are there yet instead of building the homes we have more building workers out of a job than for many years past.

AGGRAVATED

Here is the root cause of unemployment—it lies in the simple fact that in capitalist society goods are produced to make a profit and not because people need them.

In every industrial country, in the search for profits, employers have demanded increased productivity and greater efforts from their workers. Yet the vast majority of mankind, however badly they may need these products, are so desperately poor that they cannot possibly buy them.

That is why tractor plants in Britain and America are facing short time and redundancy when if they were in full production their efforts would do vastly more to feed the starving millions than the charities. That is why food is dumped in the sea and farmers paid not to produce. That is the reason for unemployment.

In Britain these causes have been aggravated by the policies of the ruling class. The collapse of UCS, while the shipyards of Germany, Sweden and the USA are still in production, has nothing to do with the workers who are now expected to carry the can.

It is the result of past years when the owners took their profits and invested as little as they could manage. Right across industry, profits that could have modernised British industry have been exported to make higher profits abroad, speculated in property or wasted on arms.

DESTRUCTION

The present growth of unemployment is due to the Tories' insistence that industrialists should rationalise and 'shake out' surplus labour. This task has been made much easier by the policies of the last Labour government—their Industrial Reorganisation Corporation used millions of pounds of taxpayers' money to finance mergers in industry that resulted in the destruction of jobs.

Governments use the threat of redundancy and the fact that men are waiting outside the factory gate for a job to force down real wages and redistribute wealth to the rich. The 7 per cent of the population who own 84 per cent of the wealth in this country are to get even more.

To pay for this, workers' standards will be cut, old-age pensioners will suffer further, social services are axed and means tests increasingly become part of working people's lives.

These are the economic policies adopted by the ruling class. We cannot fight back against rising unemployment and their other attacks unless we totally reject these policies and the ideology of profit, greed and competition they are based upon.

Because unemployment is a living condemnation of the society we live in, the role of the press and television is crucial. Obstinately reporting the politicians' lies, they have tried to convince workers that they are to

Special feature by

blame for unemployment.

'The major cause of the increase in unemployment', shrieks Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'is the absurdly high level of many of the pay settlements'.

The gutter press waded in with their attacks on the Ford and power workers, talk of scroungers on social security and of strikers living in the lap of luxury.

The present Tory plans to cut off the welfare rights of strikers and their families comes at the end of a lengthy press campaign attacking workers who try to defend their standards. Nowhere are we told that British wages, including fringe benefits, are among the lowest in Western Europe. British workers get fewer holidays and worse welfare services than in the countries against which British capitalism competes.

WEAKNESS

The importance of this propaganda is that it is aimed at undermining workers' belief in the justice of fighting back against redundancy. It is aimed at isolating workers in struggle and heading off possible solidarity action.

It is here that the TUC and right-wing union leaders, for all their verbal vitriol against government policies, do a great disservice to the working class because of their practical weakness. Vic Feather begs for a policy of 'growth'. Surely he knows that the government desperately wants to see the economy grow.

Growth is above all what profits depend upon—but the economic crisis of capitalism makes this impossible.

Even worse, by their commitment to 'incomes policy' and their desire to be brought into talks with the government, the TUC leaders strengthen the employers' claims that Britain's economic ills are due to 'inflationary wage claims'.

We must base our fight back against unemployment on a clear and total rejection of these lies and distortions. When employers demand greater profits for investment we point to the already massive inequalities in wealth in society.

When they talk of 'our' economic problems we point to the £356 million

WHAT WE STAND FOR



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

out the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

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Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/
Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/
Northampton/Redditch/Telford | GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
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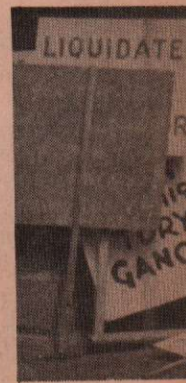
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To



After the march w

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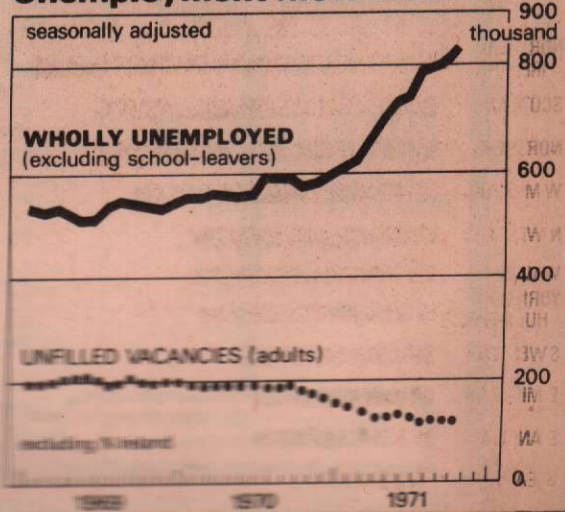
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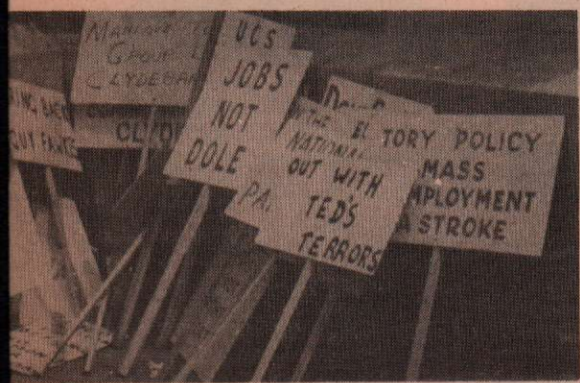
UNEMPLOYMENT

vital to beat back Tory attack on jobs

CHRIS DAVISON



UCS men on the march—with Wedgwood Benn, architect of the Fairfield 'experiment' that cost 3000 jobs. Workers have to abandon faith in such 'leaders' if they are to successfully defeat unemployment.



Over: UCS banners at Westminster

British Petroleum last year about the cost of the answer with the last year out of the mechanisms.

but the idea that responsibility for the list society we can consistent demands

working men and entitled to a decent in work or out—and work or full hour week without immediate solution to has been estimated the working week employers to take on on extra workers. might say, it would 'at a stroke'.

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far more sophisti-ears ago—and far etical way to show

physically prevent you.' 'Unity is strength' has to come down off the union banners and go into action on the shop floor.

An immediate ban on overtime and on sub-contract work makes it clear to the boss that we reject redundancy. This should be combined with a refusal by shop stewards to discuss anything but 'job retention'.

Every possible step should be taken to prevent management issuing redundancy notices. This is essential for unity in any factory in the face of the Redundancy Payments Act.

In these ways the difficulties and costs to management of making workers redundant can be made so high that he may be 'persuaded' that there are simpler ways of cutting costs. Even if the boss persists with redundancy, the trade union will be far better placed to get the best possible terms for redundancy pay and pension rights.

INVOLVE

The work-in at UCS has succeeded in demonstrating to the government and the employing class that they can no longer declare men redundant without a terrific battle.

The example of UCS is being taken up elsewhere—at Plessey and the River Don steelworks. To be successful, such actions must be militant occupations rather than token work-ins. They must actively involve every worker in a bid to deny the employer his machinery and plant as bargaining weapons to force him to come to a satisfactory agreement on 'job retention'.

However successful we may be in fighting back against sackings and productivity deals, we can only find a lasting solution to the curse of unemployment by taking political action against the system that creates it—the capitalist system based on production for profit.

The Labour Party claims to be the party representing the interests of working people. The former Minister of Technology, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, was quick to try and get on to the bandwagon of the UCS work-in. Unfortunately for him too many workers remembered that this was the same Wedgwood Benn who had engineered the Fairfields productivity deal in 1966 with the loss of 3000 jobs.

DEPRESS

He was part of a Labour government that had managed from 1964 to 1970 to raise the basic level of unemployment from around 300,000 to more than 600,000.

Anyone who believes that unemployment will be solved by the return of a Labour government in 1975 is living in cloud cuckoo land.

There is only one other way. That is to reject the 'national interest' which seeks to depress our wages and conditions to the level of the most oppressed countries of the world and instead to face up to the international companies and find common cause with the workers of all countries.

This means that when we fight against redundancy in the motor industry in Britain we are standing together with the workers of Pirelli now on a three-day week in Italy.

And to make this community of interest into a fighting unity we have to build urgently an international socialist movement that will end the scourge of poverty and unemployment for all time.

No love on the dole queue for SS officials

SW Correspondent

THEY MAKE you work hard for your dole if you are unemployed. So pernicious is the apparatus of the Department of Employment and Social Security that at least a quarter of unemployed men give up, get no benefits and are not counted as unemployed at all.

The system is deliberately made complicated to fox you. The experience and collective action of the Claimants' Unions make them the best means of fighting it, together with your own union. Here we can offer only very general advice on the system. Join your local Claimants' Union to fight it.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT is available as a right on the basis of your National Insurance contributions. But you must be signed on. You should now be getting £6 (single) and £9.70 (married couple) as flat rate benefit, if you are fully paid up. Benefit may be denied you for six weeks if the DEP decide that you left your job voluntarily without just cause or were dismissed for misconduct or refused 'suitable' employment or training.

To discipline you effectively for the first two crimes, they also cut any supplementary benefit you might get (by up to £2 under the proposed Tory Bill) and may cut you off supplementary benefit altogether for the third crime.

GRIEVANCE

These decisions can be fought through the National Insurance Tribunal or the National Insurance Commissioner.

The tribunal is no more 'independent' than any other (two bosses and one tame trade unionist) but 40 per cent of appeals have been won in the past and it is a more useful tribunal than the Supplementary Benefit Tribunal, where there is no case law at all.

Get a good union official or shop steward to support you. If you registered a grievance at work which was not dealt with, that can count as 'just cause' for leaving. A 'suitable job' has to be in your normal occupation at your accustomed earnings and conditions. Don't be intimidated into accepting less by the threat of cut-off.

SUPPLEMENTARY BENEFIT: You are entitled to supplementary benefit when unemployed, if your National Insurance benefits and other allowances do not exceed the Supplementary Allowance (£5.80 single, £9.45 married couple) plus your rent.

Half the unemployed are forced to seek Supplementary Benefit too. This is done by claiming on form B1 from your Labour Exchange or Youth Employment Office.

Youth Employment Officers are not particularly forthcoming with claim forms. Don't believe any of their tales about it being more difficult to get a job if you are claiming benefit. Check the Supplementary Benefit you get against a current S1 leaflet—supposedly obtainable at post offices and the Department of Health and Social Security.

If you have any doubts about your money, ask for a written assessment on form A 124A. If your allowance is delayed, continue to sign on and send in a B 1c form from your Labour Exchange.

If you were relatively low paid, or have a large family, you may be penalised by the wage stop and get less than the full Supplementary Allowance. Always appeal to the Supplementary Benefits Appeals Tribunal against this.

This can be done on any old bit of paper and sent to the office. You can have someone to represent you at appeal.

Before applying the wage stop the Social Security office is supposed to take account of the income you would now be getting if working—ie your grading, overtime earnings, the prevailing wage rate and possible Family Income Supplement benefit, but they often don't. Check this and appeal.

The SS can cut off your benefit as well as the DEP suspending unemployment benefit if they think you are not 'genuinely seeking work'. With agitation by the Claimants' Union and a million unemployed there is now less systematic application of the 'four week rule'—suspension of Supplementary Allowance after four weeks for single, unskilled men—but you may well be suspended, despite unemployment in your area.

If you are suspended, put in an appeal immediately—they must make a provisional payment pend-

ing appeal—and keep signing on. Remember you don't have to accept any downgrading, whatever they tell you.

If you are unemployed, you should get free prescriptions and health charges. Now's the time to get all that expensive dental treatment done. You should also get free school meals for kids.

In addition to your regular benefit, if you qualify for Supplementary Allowance you can claim for a large variety of incidental expenses: travelling expenses while looking for a job; clothes or tools needed for a job; essential clothing and furniture that you don't have; your mortgage interest payments (and sometimes the full payments) if you have your own house.

Fought

You can claim for rent arrears and fuel bill arrears. Do this in good time, before your supply is cut off.

The SS don't pay out for these things easily—most of them do not tell you about them at all. But Claimants' Unions have successfully fought to get such benefits for their members from Social Security. The Tories shouldn't be allowed to get away with high unemployment levels on the cheap.

There are some 70 Claimants' Unions now in the country. The following are some of those affiliated to the National Federation, and will put you in touch with your nearest group: EDINBURGH: 26 Drummond Place. MANCHESTER: 40 Crosscliffe St E15. BIRMINGHAM/Newtown: 19 Rea Tower, Mosborough Cresc., B193AU. BRISTOL: Flat 9, York House, Clifton Rd, Br.8. NORWICH: 124 Lincoln St. NOR51F. LONDON/CAMDEN: Hole in the Wall, Rochester Rd., Kentish Town NW1. N IRELAND: enquire via any affiliated group temporarily.

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... and where



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by JAMES WALKER

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Tanks shatter the workers' triumph...

BUDAPEST was a city in an elated and festive mood on Saturday 3 November 1956. The fighting was finished, the old police-dominated system had been crushed. The Russians were meeting the leaders of the Hungarian forces to negotiate troop withdrawals. It seemed that, against all odds, the revolution had triumphed.

The next day those hopes lay shattered. The population of Budapest were roused from their beds in the morning by the rumble of Russian tanks through the streets. The leaders of the Hungarian forces had been seized by the Russian secret police during their meeting with the Russian military command.

The Hungarian government had fled to the Yugoslav embassy, while Budapest's buildings were being reduced to rubble by Russian shelling.

The speed and fury of the Russian onslaught gave them control of most of the city by the end of the day. But it did not and could not destroy the spirit of resistance among Hungary's workers.

Fighting continued in many parts of the city and the industrial regions of the provinces for a week and more. The Russians had to kill an estimated 20,000 people before armed resistance was crushed.

Whole areas of the city were wiped out. Significantly, it was the working-class districts, the 8th, 9th, 20th and 21st, which were most damaged, while the smart middle-class district, the 12th, was hardly affected.

The armed struggle was accompanied by a complete shutdown of industry. In the massive industrial centre of the Csepel, posters poured scorn on the lies issuing from Moscow's mouthpieces: 'The 40,000 aristocrats and fascists of the Csepel works-strike on'.

For a few days local radio stations managed to hold out, continuing to broadcast messages of resistance. But they could not survive for long against the massive number of Russian troops and tanks. In desperation they appealed for help—from Yugoslavia, from the United Nations, even, in some cases, from the Western powers. But they appealed in vain.

Bargain

The Western rulers were ready to make fine propaganda out of the insurrection. But they were not prepared to give it a single jot of help.

In 1945 they had divided Europe with the Russians. They were determined to keep to that bargain. In the early days of the insurrection the US state department sent messages to the Russian leaders, via President Tito, assuring that they would not 'exploit the conflict against Soviet interests'. Eisenhower, then the US president, made it clear in a speech that 'we have never urged or argued for any kind of armed revolt'.

While Hungary's workers fought and died, the western rulers cried crocodile tears.

In the wake of the Russian military forces came a new puppet government with which the Kremlin wanted to rule Hungary. Its leader was Janos Kadar, who only three days before had been in Nagy's government and had praised the revolution as a 'glorious uprising'. Now he completely betrayed it, referring to it as a 'fascist counter-revolution'.

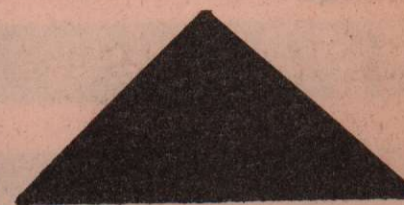
But his words did not fool the Hungarian working class. Despite the Russian occupying army of 200,000 and continual threats from Kadar, they continued their general strike even after military resistance had been completely crushed.

Already, before the Russian intervention, workers' councils had sprouted up in most factories. In provincial centres like Miskolc and Győr representatives from the various workers' councils had taken over all effective power. They were run-



HUNGARY '56

Second of two articles by CHRIS HARMAN



A giant statue of Russian dictator Stalin is toppled by Budapest workers. But Stalin's heirs took their revenge...

ing the radio stations, keeping order in the streets.

They made it clear that they recognised only the central government insofar as it carried through their demands.

In Budapest the councils were not yet united in this way. Nevertheless, governmental authority really depended on satisfying their demands.

A situation prevailed similar to that in Petrograd and Moscow in the spring and summer of 1917. Officially a government ruled that was dedicated to maintaining the old system in a reformed version. Real power in the factories and streets was held by workers' councils. But they lacked any centralised focus of their own.

The reforming rulers saw this 'dual power' situation as a growing threat to their own aim of an 'improved' version of bureaucratic rule. That is why Kadar and a few other ministers broke suddenly with Nagy. They saw that their own ambitions could be achieved only with Russian tanks. They pioneered a road of betrayal that was to be travelled by many similar reforming bureaucrats, such as Svoboda and Husak in Czechoslovakia in 1968-9.

Confusion

The initial effect of the Russian intervention was not to destroy the workers' councils, but to strengthen them. The new central government was completely discredited. Nobody would do anything for it unless forced to.

Yet certain essential tasks had to be done if life was to go on. And the strikes in different factories had to be co-ordinated. A leading workers' council delegate has described the general feeling among workers:

'The workers saw that there was complete confusion, production had stopped completely and even maintenance work forgotten, and therefore the workers of the large industrial plants attempted to work out regional co-operation. When we heard that the workers' councils of the neighbouring district had met, we, too, organised a meeting and this is how the District Workers' Councils were formed. 'Co-operation made things easier, we



KADAR: political somersault

could exchange information and harmonise our resolutions... The workers felt something had to be done; the country had no responsible leaders. True there were about 200,000 Russian troops in the country and there was the Kadar government, but Kadar was master only of the parliament building... It became from hour to hour more urgent that the representatives of all Budapest industrial plants should get together.'

A week after the Russian invasion, on 12 November, the first meeting of workers' councils from all the districts and all the plants took place. The Budapest Central Workers' Council was formed.

For four further weeks that body was to be the effective government of Budapest, a government of a quite peculiar sort, in which the direct representatives of workers themselves, accountable to factory meetings and recallable by them, met together to discuss how things were to be organised.

Weaken

The workers could not remove Kadar's government, because of the troops. But as a delegate to the council has written: 'The population had great confidence in us. They sought our help in the solution of all their problems and worries. The government was simply ignored; everyone who had a problem to settle came to us.'

Such a state of affairs could not last for ever. The presence of a shield of Russian troops meant that Kadar could gradually weaken the resistance of the population.

He was able slowly to reconstruct a secret police apparatus. He could organise the kidnapping and deportation to Siberia of tens of thousands of people. He could starve out workers who continued resistance for any great length of time.

The only way the Central Council could have stopped all this would have been successful insurrection—impossible, given the Russian army. Yet, even so, Kadar himself was forced at first to recognise the power of the Central Workers' Council. He had to negotiate with it. He

tried to buy off its leaders with promises of ministerial posts. He even debated openly with them on the Russian-run state radio, so desperate was he to get the country moving.

The council, however, was the sort of institution that Kadar had never before come across, one controlled directly by the workers below. It could not be contained or corrupted.

The council used the breathing space provided by Kadar's difficulties to extend its organisation. It tried, on 21 November, to organise a meeting of workers' councils from all over Hungary.

Russian tanks, however, were used to stop this meeting taking place. Neither Kadar nor the Kremlin could tolerate the true representatives of the Hungarian working class meeting together.

The Budapest Council, in response, called a highly successful 48 hour stoppage throughout the city. No number of Russian tanks could keep the factories open.

Pressure

The Central Workers' Council was a counter-contradiction. It was in reality a counter-government to that of Kadar, representing the workers, while he represented the bureaucrats and the Russians.

But few of the Council members saw things like that. They did not see themselves as making up a completely new way of running society, in a manner completely different to either Western society or Eastern society, comparable only to the Soviets of 1917.

Instead, most of the delegates saw the Council only as a temporary pressure group, necessary because no freely-elected parliament existed, with restricted economic powers in the long term.

Only the development of something like a revolutionary party within the councils, arguing that they were themselves, as the direct expression of the working class, the most advanced way to run society, politically, as well as economically, could have resolved this contradiction.

But the Hungarian working class was not given time for such a differentiation to occur. In the second week of December 1956, all the leaders of the workers' councils were arrested by Kadar's government. It recognised what some of the council's own leaders did not, that the council represented a 'new power opposed to that of the executive organs of the state.'

But even this was not the end of the workers' resistance. With the elected working class leaders in jail, their organisations illegal, with Russian troops patrolling the streets and even trying to force workers in to the factories at gun point, it was able to mount yet another general strike. The Yugoslav Communist Daily, Borba, reported on 12 December: 'Anyone who went onto the streets of Budapest could see that the underground was not running and that there were no buses.'

From 'glorious rising' to 'counter revolution'



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NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



It's sad when sex isn't fun...

DIRECTOR Mike Nichols first came to fame with *The Graduate*, a sensitive and perceptive view of the problems and prospects facing an American student when he leaves college and has to face up to the realities of the world. The film was essentially good natured and, as in all such love-parables, the student gets his girl in the end.

After *Catch 22* Nichols has now returned to the same territory as *The Graduate*. Indeed, *Carnal Knowledge* (Leicester Square Theatre) can very easily be seen as the development of the same tale over the years. This time there are two protagonists and again we meet them first in university—as room mates and very close friends. One is shy and painfully inept with girls (Arthur Garfunkel) while the other is brash and cynical and supposedly very experienced sexually (Jack Nicholson).

The rest of the film follows the progress of the two friends through their varying romantic and sexual relationships. And in contrast to *The Graduate*, the story is an unremittingly bleak one.

Both men marry and inevitably both marriages fail. Neither finds anything like happiness and the film leaves them each deep in his own personal despair. One now requires an elaborate ritual to even consummate sex and the other is desperately seeking to regain his lost youth by becoming the youngest 40 year old hippie.

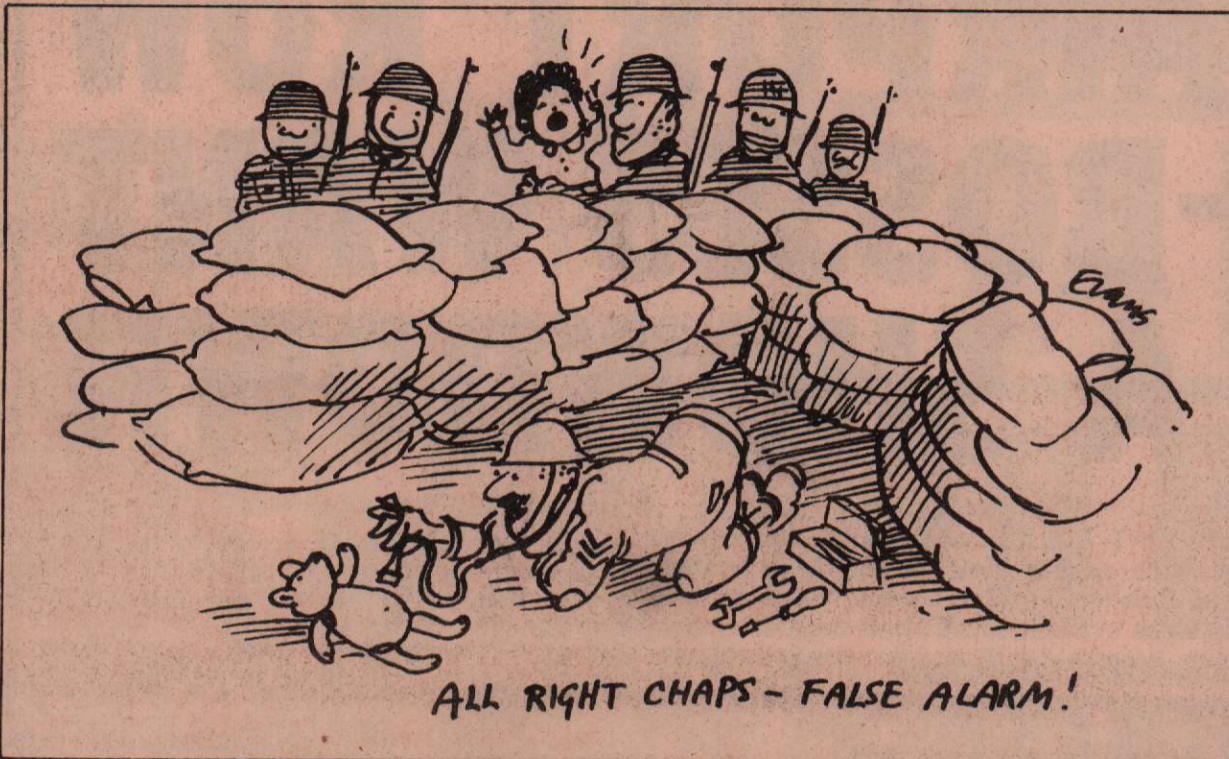
Nichols' message therefore is quite clear—the graduate has grown old and disillusioned. Sexual happiness in the bleak desert of American middle-class life is impossible. As one might expect with the screenplay written by cartoonist Jules Feiffer, the dialogue is sharp and unsparring of human frailty almost to the point of cruelty.

Moreover Nichols has chosen to play off the two sides of this black comedy very subtly against each other. Garfunkel's bumbling idealism over his women is no more than the reverse side of Nicholson's cynicism—each is equally irrelevant. These are the two most frequent male attitudes towards women and Nichols mercilessly exposes both.

My only criticism of *Carnal Knowledge* is that like so many similar offerings it is almost wholly descriptive. Regularly every year now for a decade we have been getting seven or eight major films about the breakdown of marriage as an institution in middle-class America. Unfortunately, the films do not seem to have increased in depth and scarcely ever provide any analysis of the breakdowns they so faithfully record.

Indeed, few such films even reach the understanding of American novels and plays of 10 and 15 years ago such as Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* or Norman Mailer's *An American Dream*. As good a film as it is, *Carnal Knowledge* is no exception to this gloomy rule and one can only hope that in his next film, Mike Nichols will try to offer some deeper analysis of the situation he so accurately mirrors.

Martin Tomkinson



COTTONS COLUMN

SO it's the chop for 3000 workers at BSA's Birmingham motor-bike factory. As they join the lengthening dole queues in the Midlands, the redundant workers can at least reflect that their bosses are coming out of the fiasco with their wallets still fat and healthy.

At an emergency shareholders' meeting on Monday to discuss plans to reorganise the company to stave off bankruptcy, the newly-appointed chairman, Lord Shawcross, said that the catastrophic financial position of the firm was due to bad management—trading loss was £2,100,000, interest charges £2,800,000 and write-offs £5,750,000.

As a bonus for his contribution to this mammoth cock-up, former managing director Lionel Jofeh is to get a £35,000 golden handshake.

And Lord Shawcross, who wept crocodile tears over the plight of the 3000 sacked workers, has celebrated his latest company chairmanship by buying a super-de-luxe £40,000 yacht from Camper and Nicholson of Gosport, Hants.

Christmas on the dole for BSA workers, a winter cruise for the chairman. When Shawcross was a member of the post-war Labour government, he coined the famous phrase 'We are the masters now'. He was wrong then right with a vengeance today.

WHEN Princess Anne arrived for her royal visit to Hong Kong, a military band struck up with the theme tune from the musical 'Charley Girl'. Either they think the Prince of Wales is a transvestite or he has a very unnatural relationship with his sister.

Double vision

WE REPORTED last week on the row in the journalists' union over the Sunday Express pressmen's decision to refuse to publish a cartoon by ultra-right-winger Michael Cummings. The union leaders backed the appalling Cummings and reproached their Glasgow members for an infringement of 'press freedom'.

But Cummings, upholder of this dubious freedom, is not the man of high principle he pretends to be.



Shawcross: very much the master now

Readers of the revolting Express will know that as well as his attacks on blacks and trade unionists, Cummings has also penned some anti-Common Market cartoons of the Britannia-being-raped-by-frogs-and-dirty-dagoes variety.

'So you're against the Market?' a fellow journalist asked the dreadful scribbler. 'Oh, no,' he replied, 'I'm in favour of the Market—I think it's a jolly good idea. But the paper's against it—so I have to be, too.'

Full point

LAST WORD on this question of press freedom from Lance Sheppard, news editor of UK Press Gazette and a good union militant: 'I believe in a free press—but until we get it I demand our share of the censorship.'

A SUSTAINED campaign against Barclays Bank from the anti-apartheid lobby finally wrung from bank chairman John Thomson the declaration that 'I have every sympathy with those who wish to demonstrate their dislike for racial discrimination.'

Perhaps Mr Thomson would care to stage a protest outside his own branch office in Johannesburg. An African teller in the bank, Mr Johannes Noge, who has worked alongside white colleagues for some time, has now been moved away from them, placed in a separate cubicle so that, in the words of the bank, 'he

can serve his own people'.

Silk worm

AT this time of national emergency, with the government urging restraint on the unions, how is Skipper Ted giving a lead by cutting back on his cost of living—paid for by the taxpayers?

Not very well, we sadly report. He has just chosen an 'exotic' new colour scheme for 10 Downing Street in which three rooms will have a £5000 facelift—in silk. Both furniture and walls in the main drawing room will be in gold silk, while pink, coffee and a touch of blue will be used in the other two.

Omelettes

ALL TOLD, our Ted is a lucky fellow. Last Friday citizens of Salford showered him with free school milk and the following day the equally generous Bradfordians donated eggs when he visited them.

With all this free and highly nutritional grub coming his way, the footsome tyrant is unlikely to suffer from the vitamin deficiencies that his policies are bringing to the children of Glasgow and the East End.

SAYS the retiring Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Howard: 'The Lord Mayor is a number of different things but basically, I think, he is an ordinary man, a working chap.'

Other 'working chaps' interested in taking up the position should note that his year's office personally cost Sir Edward about £15,000.

This is Cillie

FANS of the Monty Python telly series will know that an Army officer frequently interrupts sketches with the admonition: 'This is silly—stop the sketch'. And last week's show featured a High Court judge emigrating to South Africa where the hanging, flogging and jailing scene was so much better.

Black comedy and real life seem to merge these days. Name of the Pretoria judge who sentenced the Bishop of Johannesburg on Monday was Mr Justice Cillie . . .



TO UNDERSTAND The Troubleshooters (BBC-1, Monday 9.20), the boardroom heroes of Mogul oil company, we have to look at the original executive-suite drama series. This was *The Planemakers* which started in 1963 on ITV with Patrick Wymark as the demon tycoon, a role he continued in *The Power Game*.

The situation in the early sixties, when *The Planemakers* was created, was in part defined by a widespread and not incorrect feeling in and around ruling circles that British business (and education) was old-fashioned, inefficient and complacent in comparison with rival countries.

Harold Wilson matched just such a mood in 1963 when he urged the capitalists 'to clear the deadwood out of the boardrooms and replace them by vigorous young executives'. Such calls were interpreted by working people as being against the obvious privileges of the 14th Lord Home and his like.

Depicting business ruthlessness favourably then in the name of efficiency (capitalist efficiency, of course) and expansion had, it might seem, a wider justification than mere profit hunger. That a similar economic and political situation has not existed in America may explain why, with TV even more clearly pro-business, there has not been to my knowledge a TV series centred on the big business executive.

Another reason for the great popularity of *The Planemakers* (like the early *Z-Cars*) was in its presentation of the 'heroes' as having faults and therefore being more complex than the usual 'goody'. This is progressive in that it assumes the viewer is capable of appreciating characters with more than one dimension. But it is also reactionary, in that it helps justify the world of capitalist business and its police force in a believable fashion.

In 1965 the BBC moved into the fray with *Mogul*, now called *The Troubleshooters*. The intrigues of *The Planemakers* is continued, yet now the formula is showing signs of wear and people's concerns are no longer about 'vigorous young executives', if they ever really were.

The minute the back-stabbing stops, and we see them as individuals, the boredom becomes oppressive. But they only seem to stab one another and oil companies in the back. This is not seen as part of the life of a company which lives on the exploitation of its work force, which we barely see.

The main dagger-man is Brian Stead, a blustering, ruthless man and unwilling to compromise (which we are led to believe equals being principled). He is a sort of Superintendent Barlow of the business world.

But his loud blustering appears at times very forced. Stead is resisting the trend of turning to Europe which James Langley, the acting chairman, represents. Langley is drawn as being a bit of a liberal with ideals 'beyond satisfying the shareholders'. The Stead-Langley conflict is moreover merely understood as a struggle between personalities, or between the 'old' and the 'new'. To further offset the image of ruthlessness there is the character of Willy Izard who, as financial director, seems to act on only the highest principles.

The programme does not hide the fact that *Mogul* acts on the basis of its self-interest. But it is never thought, by the end of the programme, that this self-interest properly interpreted cannot be harmonised with the rest of humanity. Imperialist domination of the oil producing countries is therefore safely defined out of existence.

Phil Hall

Socialist Worker

Why BSA 'Work-in' collapsed

by Granville Williams

BIRMINGHAM: Eight days after a mass meeting of 4500 BSA workers voted overwhelmingly to fight redundancies the fight collapsed and 870 workers went out of the gate for the last time on Friday.

But for the BSA stewards, the decision took them on an unexpected course of action they were either unwilling or unable to follow. And in the events leading to final retreat, some of their actions were crucial to the success or failure of the struggle.

For example, no mass meetings were held in the eight days after the work-in decision to decide how possible it was, or to discuss more effective forms of action like a sit-in strike. As a result, the BSA workers were kept in the dark and remained unclear on what to do.

Despite newspaper reports that the stewards had nothing to do with the secret ballot which called off the struggle, this was in fact organised at the instigation of Jimmy Green, chairman of the joint shop stewards' committee.

The ballot forms offered three courses of action: an all-out strike, more militant action or acceptance of redundancies.

The call for the option of strike action was a stupid and splitting move. The men have been on short-time since July and simply could not afford a strike.

The 'more militant action' option was simply never explained, and a sit-in strategy which could have allowed a fight, was never discussed.

The idea of the secret ballot came from officials and stewards who know or should know that such procedures always reflect people's uncertainties and the pressures on them.

On the very day when a mass meeting could have decided what to do the stewards abdicated leadership and allowed management to push the first batch of redundant workers through the gates.

But now there are signs of a movement inside BSA developing which views an occupation and sit-in strike as the only way to challenge management's plans to close Small Heath.

The crucial lesson of BSA is that within the factories shop stewards' committees must organise on the basis of policies which can resist the Tory-employer attack

Pressmen call off merger

THE MERGER conference between the National Union of Journalists and the Institute of Journalists broke down on the first day last weekend. NUJ delegates voted overwhelmingly for no change in the union's name, to de-register under the Industrial Relations Act and to reject attempts to split the union into 'trade union' and 'professional' sectors.

IoJ delegates voted against 'union' in the title, for registration and for splitting the organisation in two. It was then agreed that the differences were so wide that further discussion was pointless.

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EPTU may ignore vote on law

SW Reporter

BLACKPOOL: Leaders of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union have stood on their heads several times in the last few days in an attempt to outmanoeuvre left-wing delegates to the union conference.

Last week the EPTU executive decided to oppose any attempt by the delegates to force the union to deregister under the Industrial Relations Act. But on Monday, when the issue was debated, General Secretary Frank Chapple urged support for a left-wing motion demanding deregistration and non-co-operation with the Act.

He had sensed the mood of the dele-

gates and felt that a concession was necessary. But after the overwhelming vote in favour of deregistration, Chapple told pressmen that the EPTU may not yet come off the register. The decision, he said, was binding only on the conference, not on the executive—another interesting interpretation of union democracy.

A few weeks ago, Chapple announced that he intended to lift the ban on Communists standing for office in the union, but

the executive reversed the decision when the rules revision section of the conference started here. This means that although the executive is now prepared to hold elections for the vacant presidency, Communist Party members will not be allowed to stand.

Two serious setbacks for the members came with support for a rule change that will allow the executive to postpone indefinitely any election in which there is 'evidence' of interference and, earlier, support for the leadership's commitment to productivity bargaining.

AIRPORT ROW - BOSSES WANT A SHOWDOWN

by SW Reporter

AIRPORT POLICE who manhandled strikers at Heathrow this week, let dogs loose on them and made more than 50 arrests, were instructed to do so in an attempt to provoke a showdown with baggage handlers over the private sub-

contracting of their jobs.

Picketing of a 'blacked' Spanish Iberian Airlines plane was forbidden under the new clauses of the airport by-laws, inserted to deal with hi-jacking and sabotage. The clashes between strikers and police followed. This move is part of a deliberate attempt by the British Airport Authority to smash resistance to the introduction of 'more competitive' baggage handling, with firms paying lower wages under worse conditions.

In the long term private firms like GAS—General Aviation Services—are being introduced to effect a wholesale reorganisation of baggage operations and hive-off lucrative contracts to private operators.

There is a long history of opposition to GAS at Heathrow. When Iberia originally negotiated its contract with the firm it was immediately blacked. Iberia then decided to put off implementation of its contract from 1 May to 1 November this year.

Later Iberia was again informed that its planes would be blacked and within 24 hours re-negotiated the contract with another recognised firm.

At this point the British Airports Authority stepped in and said there would be no going back on the contract, forcing the dispute to a climax.

As a result of Monday's flare-up the fight has now become one of defending the fundamental right to picket at one's place of work in addition to getting GAS removed.

● The GAS handling contract at Heathrow was granted by the BAA without putting it out to tender. GAS president is a W S Haggett who went out to Canada in 1950 to assist in the expansion of the Bristol Aeroplane Group. He went on to become president of both the Bristol Aeroplane Co of Canada and of Bristol Aero

At that time Peter Masefield was managing director of a firm called Bristol Aircraft, whose parent was the same Bristol Aeroplane Co. Mr Masefield later went on to become chairman of the British Airports Authority which gave his old friend's firm the Heathrow handling contract



Police drag away a Heathrow worker on Monday

Supervisors say No

by Viv Hopkins

LEEDS: Striking supervisors at Doncaster-Monkbridge Forge on Tuesday rejected the first real offer from management in their nine-week battle for a 25 per cent

pay increase.

The offer discriminated against women and men under 25 years. These issues were to be the subject of further talks this week.

But the offer brings nearer the possibility of a successful end to the dispute and has been made possible by the unity of men and women supervisors (members of ASTMS) in the long nine weeks.

Electricians who were locked out last week when they refused to take orders from blackleg supervisors received little support from the rest of the shop floor. Engineers took over their work in spite of a recommendation not to do so from the shop stewards' committee.

NOTICES

PETER GRAHAM: on behalf of Black Box News Service I extend our deepest sympathy to Peter's family, friends and comrades. We only knew him briefly but we are sure that he will not be forgotten. With deepest sympathy, Alan Sinclair.

IS Teachers Meeting: Sunday 7 November, 11am, 2 Albany Terrace, London NW1.

Blackbored 3 out now—for student teachers. 5p plus 4p post and packing for one copy, 5p each plus 10p post and packing for 10 copies. Or sale or return. Write Blackbored, 125 Vantissart Road, Windsor, Berks or phone Windsor 66745.

IS Labour History School, Saturday 13 November 11am to 6pm Warwick Uni-

R-R strike over bonus

BRISTOL: 6000 Rolls-Royce manual workers struck this week over a cost-of-living claim. Last week a work to rule was decided on following an offer described by stewards as insulting.

On Friday management made a slightly increased offer, but still with 'strings', including no further increases for a year. Management also threatened to lay off anyone working to rule for 'breach of contract', and supervisors were put in place of electricians working to rule.

Faced with these provocative moves Monday's mass meeting gave overwhelming support for strike action.

versity. Topic: The revolutionary movement in Britain 1910-1926. For further details write to 187 Leam Terrace, Leamington Spa, Warwick.

LAMBETH IS: public mtg. Wednesday 10 November, 8.15pm Chris Davison (TGWU) on Public Transport and Government Policy. Tulse Hill Tavern, junction of Tulse Hill and Norwood Road.

SWANSEA IS: Members of the Pilkington Rank and File Action Committee talk about their strike and its continuing aftermath. Wednesday 10 November, 7.30pm Red Cow Pub.

CROYDON IS: Public meeting, Duncan Hallas on How to Fight the Tories, Thurs 11 November, Ruskin House 8pm.

KINGSTON IS: public meeting. Thursday

POLICE GET ROUGH ON HEATH MILK PROTEST

by Ross Hill

SALFORD: When Prime Minister Heath opened a primary school here last Friday his car was splashed with milk in protest at the stopping of free milk for the over-sevens.

Dockers, housewives, unemployed, students and children joined a 15-strong crowd organised by Salford International Socialists. Children chanted 'We want our milk back' and the whole crowd thundered Heath OUT—Milk IN.

As Heath's car left the scene, dripping, the police moved in and arrested three IS members and two unemployed men. They roughly handled two IS girls—one of them seven months pregnant—and dragged a young man over a crash barrier.

A man who shouted to cameramen to photograph this brutality was himself kned in the crutch three times and carried off by four defenders of 'law and order'. He was later refused medical attention.

But the authorities realised they had gone too far. All five arrested were released after being held in the cells for an hour, without being charged and having been refused the right to contact a solicitor.

Feather gets Mersey bird

TWENTY-THOUSAND Merseyside trade unionists, with delegations from UCS and the River Don steel works, marched through Liverpool on Saturday, in an official TUC demonstration against unemployment. It was led by Vic Feather, but his smiles to the thousands of onlookers in the city centre soon disappeared when he tried to address the marchers at the pier head.

Faced with massive unemployment on Merseyside, the crowd were in no mood for Feather's platitudes. They knew only too well that four times they had marched that same route against the Industrial Relations Bill only to see that become law.

Time and again the cry of 'Tories out' and 'General Strike' went up from the crowd which included a strong contingent of International Socialists. Feather's claims of giving 'aid' to the fight against unemployment both at UCS and the River Don were met with jeers and boos.

When he started to tell the marchers about his concern for the old age pensioners, slow handclapping forced him to leave the rostrum.

The demand for a real fight against unemployment was made loud and clear by Liverpool workers last weekend. Feather has shown that he cannot provide this: it is up to us to forge the organisation that can do so.

Steelmen fight sackings

IRLAM, Lancs: Workers in the finishing section of the local steel works elected a rank and file committee this week in a bid to stave off massive redundancies, including 100 in their section. They also voted no confidence in their local union officials from BISAKTA.

The workers will fight for: No redundancies, a guaranteed wage, no secret talks and no concessions to management. They will also oppose a management plan to change the continental shift system that would result in loss of bonus payment and severe cuts in wages.

11 November 8pm, Roger Rosewell on The Struggle in Industry, Congregational Church Hall, Kingston.

IMPORTANT London IS students meeting on Wednesday 10 November 7pm at London School of Economics, Room S491-St Clements Building.

'PRINTWORKER' meeting Tuesday 9 Nov 7.30pm at The Metropolitan pub, corner Farringdon Rd and Clerkenwell Rd. Spkr Jim Higgins on 'The Trade Unions and the Struggle for Socialism'. Discussion.

12 PAGE PAPER: starting next week all copy for notices column to arrive or be phoned by MONDAY. Cash with copy (5p per line—6 words per line) or no insertion. Bills cannot be sent. Revenue from notices helps the paper pay its way.