

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Have a great holiday and a good rest, but...

REMEMBER

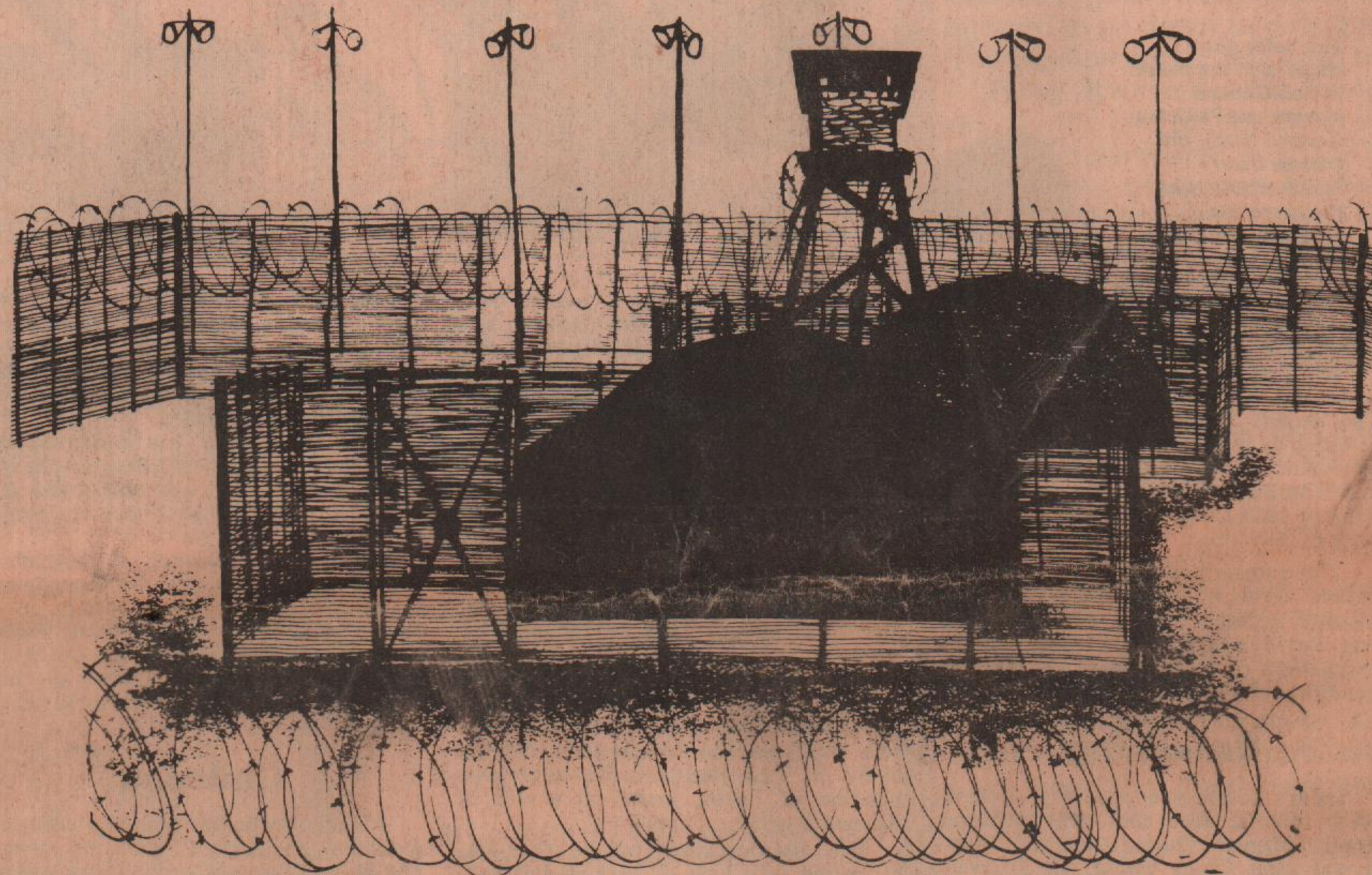
The men in Long Kesh

... the several hundred prisoners of war locked up in Britain's concentration camp at Long Kesh in Northern Ireland.

Their crime is to fight for an Ireland free from British domination. As a result they have been arrested without trial, beaten and tortured and now locked away from their families and friends.

There are no holidays for those fighting against oppression. We should remember them this Christmas and New Year and strengthen our determination to fight in Britain to aid the struggle for a free, united, socialist Ireland.

Parcels of food, cigarettes and books should be sent recorded delivery to c/o D O'Hagan, Compound 4, Long Kesh Camp, Lisburn, Co. Antrim.



Long Kesh—from a Christmas card produced by Peoples Democracy in Northern Ireland

The sit-in strikers in Scotland

... the workers at Plessey's Argyll Works at Alexandria near Glasgow. For 15 weeks the workers have been behind locked gates in a magnificent fight to stop the works being closed, the machines being moved out and men and women thrown on to the lengthening dole queues.

This is not a 'work-in' but a real occupation, a defiance of the employers and the authorities. That is why the Plessey struggle has been ignored by press and television, for it shows to other workers an effective way to fight redundancy and closure.

The trade union movement must break through the press blackout and raise support for the Plessey workers who are in desperate need of financial support.

Remember them this holiday time. Send donations to Eddie McLafferty, Argyll Works, Alexandria, Dunbartonshire.



The gates are locked at Plessey's Alexandria works against closure and sackings

THIS WEEK



THE QUEEN talks to Socialist Worker—about Royal finance, the role of the monarchy and the trouble with Charlie. It's the frankest interview ever given by a reigning monarch. Page 10.

SOMETHING different for your party—the Parliamentary Road to Socialism game, ready to play with dice and counters. If you've ever had ambitions to be a Labour MP or ever had illusions in the parliamentary system—this is the game for you. If, however hard you try, it just won't work out—think about it. Centre pages.

CHILDREN, a special short story for the holiday by Slavomir Mrozek that's not only for children. Page 5.

THE GREAT TV HI-JACK. Paul Foot on the plot by the Tories to hand over the new television channel to the gang of profiteers running ITV, the men responsible for the abysmal standard of most programmes. But the main TV union is fighting back and raising the question of who should control the one-eyed monster. Page 4.

TWO special articles on India, past and present. Continuing his series on imperialism, Stephen Marks traces the development of India towards partition and 'independence'. Page 8. And John Ashdown analyses the background to the just-finished Indo-Pakistan war and says that India's victory is a hollow one for those fighting for a free Bangladesh. Page 2.

REVIEW takes a batch of books on women: Mary Wollstonecraft, the founder of the feminist movement in England; Juliet Mitchell's controversial book on the limits and future of Women's Lib; and the pamphlet on the Miss World exhibition that tore away the tawdry tinsel of the annual 'sell your body' show. Page 9.

A MAJOR EDITORIAL looks back at 1971, at the mounting Tory attack on workers' rights and conditions, the fight back by the rank and file and the craven weakness of the official leaderships. Conclusion: there's more to come next year and the key fight is the one to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class. Page 3.

PLUS a full round-up of the industrial news, including the latest on the miners' pay claim. If they strike from 9 January, 1972 will start with a major confrontation between workers and government. Page 12.

AND THAT'S IT for two weeks. We're taking a break next week and will be back with our issue dated 8 January. From everyone at Socialist Worker, a happy Christmas and every best wish for a militant and successful New Year.

Independence for Bengalis postponed by India victory

by John Ashdown
THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR has decisively shifted the balance of power in South Asia. It has also postponed the achievement of an independent Bangladesh for quite some time.

A central aim of Indian foreign policy since independence in 1947 has been to remove Pakistan as a military threat. The opportunity presented by the repressed civil war in Pakistan's eastern province and the division of its army between East and West was too great to be resisted. From July, India has been preparing for war.

A landmark in India's preparation was the Indo-Soviet treaty last August. This meant that if China intervened to support Pakistan in the event of a war with India, Russia would threaten China with war.

The instrument of Indian aims in the first instance was to be the Mukhti Bahini, the guerrillas fighting the Pakistan army, or at least that part of it located in Indian bases. In practice, the Provisional Government of Bangladesh was largely a creature of the Indian government, and the guerrillas in India were directly under the control of the Indian army.

Indian control was vital. For the Bangladesh movement was a grave threat to India. After all, the principle India was supposed to be supporting for East Bengal—the right of Bengali Muslims to have their own state—was just the principle bloodily suppressed by the Indians in Kashmir and in Nagaland.

Hotbed

In addition, many of the guerrillas fighting in East Bengal were revolutionaries, as likely to turn their guns on India as Pakistan. East Bengal borders on the Indian state of West Bengal, a hotbed of violent opposition to the Indian government. The virus bred in East Bengal could produce an epidemic in India.

It was urgent to nip the danger in the bud.

Supposedly, India was motivated solely by the appalling problem of the refugees. The Indian economy could not stand the impact. Given the failure of the Fourth Indian plan and the current recession (both of which began before the arrival of the refugees), the problem did exist.

But 10 million people do not seem so many in a population of 550 million, particularly if dispersed. After a few brief attempts, the government refused to try dispersal, preferring to keep the refugees concentrated as living proof of India's right to intervene in East Bengal.

Mrs Gandhi quoted obviously nonsense figures on the costs involved. The estimates, if true, would have given each refugee an income slightly above that received by the bottom 50 per cent of the Indian people. Any visit to the refugee camps would have shown not much of the sums quoted actually reached the refugees.

Nevertheless, it gave Mrs Gandhi an ideal opportunity for 'explaining' the failings of her economic policies, for successively raising domestic taxation, and for trying to squeeze more aid out of the capitalist powers. But the wildest estimates for expenditure on the refugees up to March 1972 was £350 million. Indian defence expenditure at that time was running at £700 million.

The issue also gave Mrs Gandhi a heaven sent opportunity to beat her domestic opponents. Last March, the Prime Minister won a massive electoral victory on what was claimed to be a left-wing programme. She pledged herself to achieve a family income of Rs.100 (£5.50) per month by 1975, and create half a million jobs this year.

The 'jolly good chaps' sign the peace: Indian General Aurora and Pakistani General Niazi, old friends from Sandhurst days, at the cease-fire ceremony in Dacca



The refugees, and now the war, give the government a marvellous opportunity to escape all and any promises.

The Pakistan military have been in a weak and defensive position throughout. The Indian 'reprisals' which began in October, by the last week of November had become an open invasion of East Pakistan. Yet West Pakistan's response was slow and hesitant until war pushed it over the brink early in December.

The Indian position was steadily advanced until it demanded of the West Pakistan military either capitulation or war. Mrs Gandhi said that a West Pakistan evacuation of East Bengal was the precondition of any settlement.

Smashing

India's confidence was only strengthened by the fact that—after Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto's visit to Peking—it was clear China would not intervene on Pakistan's side. Mrs Gandhi then talked of the Indian invasion as 'self-defence'.

Unless the West Pakistan military could have made a major gain on the western front—which always seemed unlikely—Yahya Khan's policies lead inevitably to a smashing victory to India. West Pakistan was founded upon opposition to India—and that justified the enormous popular sacrifices required to sustain a massive military machine.

So the catastrophe so far as Pakistan's rulers are concerned means not only the loss of more than half the population in East Bengal but also the powerful prospect of not just a military coup in West Pakistan to oust Yahya Khan but even a revolt to overthrow the military.

The section of India's rulers which gains the glory are the generals. Increasingly they are likely to pose a threat to the civilians now.

For all the opposition parties have passionately supported Mrs Gandhi's war aims—including the much lauded Communist Party of India (Marxist). Strikes have been ended, pay claims withdrawn, part of public pay issued in Defence Bonds, and 'undesirable elements' jailed, all to support the war effort.

Nothing now checks Indian domination of South Asia. Given Indian dependence of Russian arms, that means the Soviet Union has a powerful dominating role in the Indian Ocean. The US relied on the stalemate of India and Pakistan, being able to manipulate each separately. Now it cannot.

For India, the policy of non-alignment is dead, except as propaganda hypocrisy. Dependence upon Russia has now become very great, and the Indian government is likely to find itself in the unenviable position of Egypt, snared in a web of Russian interests.

The situation could not be more embarrassing for China. It backed—but halfheartedly—the loser. It did so at the cost of its support among the guerrillas of Bangladesh and its attempt to re-establish friendly relations with India.

In November, Chou En-lai sent a message to Mrs Gandhi—the first for many years—expressing the hope that the friendship of the Chinese and Indian people would 'grow and develop daily'. As late as 30 November, unofficial warnings to India came from China about not falling into a Russian trap by attacking Pakistan. China also reminded India that it had never publicly condemned Mujibur Rahman—leader of East Pakistan's Awami League—or the struggle for Bangladesh, but only opposed the intervention of outside powers in Pakistani affairs.

The messages, and the failure of China to intervene in military terms, are enough to spell betrayal to the West Pakistanis, without convincing the Bengali guerrillas

of Chinese good faith. Yet in the forthcoming struggle between the Bangladesh guerrillas and Indian troops, China may slip back into virtue by supplying the rebels with arms in pursuit of its policy to destroy Russian influence.

The Indian army has destroyed the hopes for an independent Bangladesh. The Indian government has outflanked the guerrillas, and has not been challenged at home while doing so.

The new government of Bangladesh will have all the symbols of independence, but none of the substance, since it cannot survive without Indian bayonets. Indian troops will be compelled to put down any forms of opposition in defence of their puppet. Their first demand will be to disarm the guerrillas.

Collapse

Already, India has promised economic assistance, and drafted Indian civil servants and police to restore 'order'. They will not be removed without grave risk of the new government collapsing.

In their wake will come thousands of parasites to make what they can out of disaster. As well, the Indian jute moguls will be anxious to secure the source of 80 per cent of the world's jute and destroy East Bengal's jute mills, the main rival.

All this in one of the most poverty stricken areas of the world, still suffering from last December's cyclone (when 200,000 died), military repression and civil war, and now a foreign invasion and occupation. The political force which should have been forged in the independence struggle has been replaced by a foreign army.

The sooner the guerrillas set out to expel the new invader, the sooner will the struggle for independence once more begin. Without it, Bangladesh will be a prison for poverty with Indian jailers.

PRESIDENT BANDA of Malawi is getting military assistance from South Africa in exchange for his bootlicking attitude to the white regime there. Malawi has exchanged ambassadors with South Africa—the first black African country to do so and Banda preaches dialogue and co-operation, opposing boycott and violent overthrow.

The reward comes in the form of Ferret cars and loads of arms and ammunition. Soon it will also be the South African army. Banda certainly needs them. Armed rebellion in Malawi is increasing, particularly in the south, where Malawi borders on an area of Mozambique which is controlled by freedom fighters of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front).

Frelimo is fast liberating Mozambique from Portuguese colonialism. Banda's days are numbered too, and only much more support in arms and men from South Africa can save him.

THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY's recent manifesto has much to say about freedom of speech, and its restriction by the present government. All very true. But the party's alternative has been tested recently at Vierzon, a small industrial town in central France where the CP dominates the local council.

The revolutionary socialists of Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle) wanted the use of a free municipal hall for a public meeting. The council refused—without explanation. A demonstration was called to protest.

The same evening CP general secretary, Marchais, told a telephone questioner on a radio programme that he knew nothing about it and that it was a local matter. In fact he'd been sent a letter weeks before.

Now after a second demonstration and the intervention of all the other left group's (including the CP's coalition partners on the Vierzon council) the council has climbed down. Anyone can book any municipal hall.

The most valuable part of the campaign was that, despite the two months' hold-up of the meeting, the revolutionary socialist message has been got across to lots of traditional CP supporters who make up the majority of workers in Vierzon.

IN OCTOBER voters in Ontario, Canada, returned to office a Tory government that had already been in power for 28 years. The Progressive Conservatives (as they hilariously describe themselves) increased their majority against a declining Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party (NDP), composed of right-wing union bureaucrats and academics.

The propaganda campaign waged by the Tories cost an estimated five million dollars. But this was only the tip of the iceberg. The major reform in the NDP manifesto was the scrapping of the scandalous car insurance system run by private companies, and its replacement by a single plan administered by the provincial government.

In the week before the election a deluge of full-page ads appeared in the papers across the province—inserted by insurance companies as a 'public service' to warn voters of the menace of socialism in general and government-run car insurance in particular. Moreover, letters informing old people that in future most of the services of the government medical insurance scheme would be available without premium charges arrived—by coincidence—the day before polling.

NO TEARS for British 'Petroleum' on having their assets in Libya seized. BP is short of buyers just now. Last March BP chairman Eric Drake said it would suit BP for Libya to close down the terminals for a year. Anyhow, Colonel Gadaffi, the Libyan leader, showed last summer during the left-wing coup in the Sudan that he's really on the side of law and order.

Yugoslavia rent by federal clashes

from Richard Kirkwood

THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS of Yugoslavia came dramatically to the surface last week. The sacking of the majority of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists was followed by 'disturbances' in the Croatian capital, Zagreb.

Behind this lies the continuing problem of the relationships between the different 'federal republics' of Yugoslavia and the central government.

Tito's partisans came to power after the war as the only force that could unite the different parts of Yugoslavia against the Germans. They took over one of the most poverty-stricken countries in Europe, with a background of traditional hostilities.

If Yugoslavia was to develop economically she had to overcome this backwardness. Her industries in the more prosperous North had to catch up with the

world economy.

But the need to keep together a fragmented country meant allowing the federal republics considerable autonomy, especially the Northern ones, Croatia and Slovenia, which had suffered from the pre-war dominance of Serbia.

The result was a complicated system of regional autonomy in economic matters—which meant letting the North and Centre develop faster than the South—with a tax system designed to help the backward regions. The freedom given to individual factories (under the disguise of 'workers' self-management') to compete with each other and the outside world was part of this complex pattern.

Involving the workers was a way of getting them to back 'their' factory or 'their' region in the struggle to industrialise the country. The results are dramatically visible to anyone who has pushed beyond the booming shipyards of Split and Rijeka and the luxury hotels

of Dubrovnik into the barren mountains of Montenegro or the Albanian-speaking Kosmet.

Croatia, the heart of the present troubles, includes the major industrial centre Zagreb, the shipyards and the booming tourist coast of Dalmatia. Its unemployed have a relatively short journey to the work available in France or West Germany. So it gets far more than its share of foreign exchange—and wants to keep it.

Coalition

Added to this is a resentment (as one Croat doctor told me) at 'using our hard-earned money to subsidise those lazy Southern peasants'. Croatia has also been the centre of cultural and political 'liberalisation'.

The result has been a student movement which combines 'left' criticisms of the bureaucracy with Croat nationalism, and a working class whose legitimate wage demands have turned against sub-

sidies to the South.

Those sections of the bureaucracy who control Croat industry and foreign exchange tried to use these movements against the central government. An unofficial coalition developed between the liberal bureaucracy, the traditional Croat nationalists and the student left. The latest purge represents a victory for the advocates of central planning combined with their old enemies, the supporters of the 'opening to the West' and the balance between the regions.

Neither faction can solve Yugoslavia's backwardness. Continued subsidies to the backward regions reduce the efficiency of Northern industry. Increased internal competition strengthens the regional bureaucracy in the North, causes resentment in the South and weakens the unity of the bureaucracy.

Either policy leads to continuing unemployment and an increase in the 300,000 Yugoslavs forced to seek work in the West.

Socialist Worker

For Workers Control and International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN

A tough year of Tory attack and workers' resistance

IT WAS A HARD YEAR, the first full year of the Tory offensive against the welfare state, civil liberties and the working class movement.

Long-term, hard-core unemployment rose steadily. The rate of job destruction climbed to 2000 a day. A total of well over a million out of work this winter became a certainty.

The steady erosion of the post-war welfare services gathered momentum. The government succeeded in depriving junior school children of their milk, school meal charges rose yet again, the pushing through of the family income supplements scheme marked a huge step away from realistic flat rate benefits and towards the means test state.

Heath was determined to force a decision on two key sections of his programme — the anti-union law and Common Market entry. He succeeded in both.

The massive movement against the Industrial Relations Bill was led by the TUC into a blind alley. The postmen were allowed to go down to defeat for lack of solidarity action. The Scanlon-Jones 'left' gave only token help.

These victories for the employing class had important results. In the first 10 months of 1971 the number of strikes fell to 1903 as compared with 3537 in the same period of 1970. The number of workers involved dropped from one and a half million to one million. If the postal strike and the long dispute at Fords are excluded, the total number of days lost through strike action fell very substantially.

Wages declined

As a result the government was at least partly successful in forcing the rate of wage increases down below the level of price increases. Real wages declined for sections of the working class and remained static, at best, for the majority. Meanwhile output per man — productivity — rose steadily. The average increase was 6 per cent over the year. Total production remained unchanged. Inevitably the dole queues lengthened.

The attacks on civil liberties were stepped up. The massive media publicity for the Longford-Whitehouse-Muggeridge circus was designed to cover up a series of moves against free speech and freedom of publication. The trials of OZ and The Little Red Schoolbook were the first steps towards prosecution against the left wing press. The very real and effective censorship of TV came into the open over reporting in Ireland.

In the six counties of British Occupied Northern Ireland all pretence that the army was a 'peacekeeping force' were dropped. The government-inspired hate campaigns against the nationalist population reached new lows. Internment without trial of republicans and socialists, the torture of prisoners and the shooting of civilians are now 'normal' and 'accepted' features of life in Faulkner's Orange police state.

Yet the Tory successes were not decisive victories. The magnificent struggle of the UCS workers marked a new stage in working class resistance, whatever criticisms have to be made of its leadership. Refusal to accept redundancy and defiance of capitalist property rights in the interests of the right to work are now real possibilities for millions of workers.

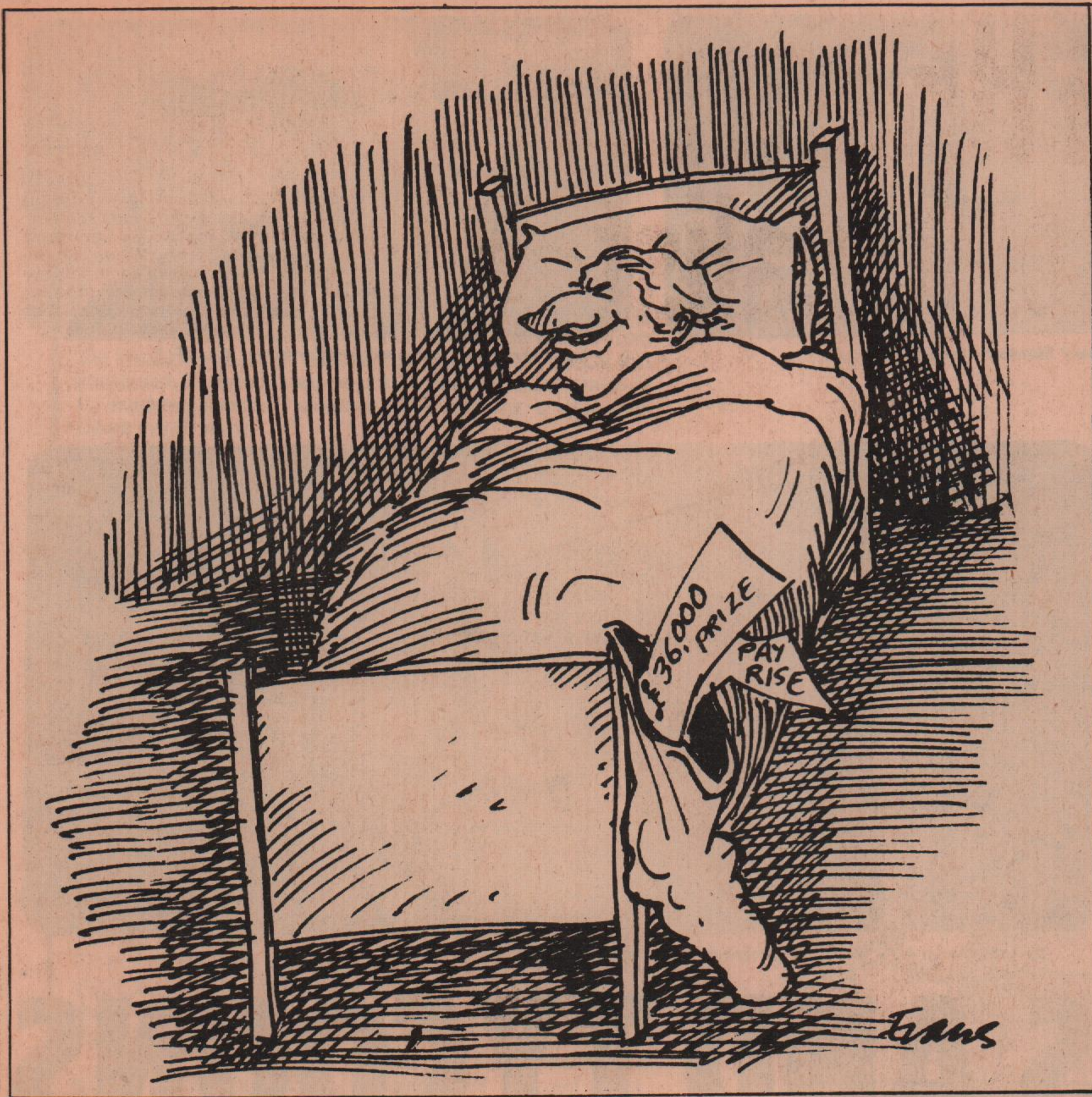
Defeat certain

The Tories and the employers have yet to attempt to operate their anti-union law. The movement is intact and, in spite of cowardly and treacherous leadership, a massive and successful resistance can wreck the law.

In Ireland, Tory policy is at a dead end and its eventual defeat is now certain. Notwithstanding the temporary pause in the industrial struggle, more and more workers are becoming aware of the need to smash the employers' offensive. There is a real striving on the left, reflected in the rapid increase in the circulation of papers like Socialist Worker.

1972 will be another year of conflict. The miners stand now where the postmen stood a year ago. They must not be allowed to be defeated in isolation. A victory for the miners will be a victory for every working man and woman. The infamous 'fair rents' scheme is about to be introduced and will lead to a whole host of new struggles.

The key problem is the development of a fighting socialist organisation that can mobilise the solidarity and determination to break Tory attacks and get the counter-offensive underway. A very heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the revolutionary left. On its fight to secure the policies and leadership that can turn the tide will depend the outcome of the intensified class struggle of 1972.



COTTONS WARMS

Money talks

PETER WALKER, the Minister for the Environment, got a cool reception from the press last week when he admitted that the rigging of Question Time in the Commons was nothing new and was, in fact, revered parliamentary tradition.

Our rule of thumb is that if the millionaire press is against somebody, there must be some good in him somewhere. So let us praise Peter Walker for being that rarity, an honest Tory.

He also provides us with our quote of the year. Walker, now millionaire boss of the Slater-Walker empire, hails from a humble small shopkeeper background.

Busily trying to work his way up the Tory Party, the young Walker received the following advice from Leo Amery, extreme right-wing Tory and father of Julian Amery, now Walker's Housing Minister: 'If you want to make a career in Tory politics, the thing to do is to make some money first.'

THERE are some jobs you wouldn't mind losing. John Crowther, who left John Crowther and Son when the textile group was taken over by Joe Hyman, was paid compensation of £35,750 for loss of office. The firm said they had taken into account Crowther's 15 years as managing director. Just try demanding parity with him at the dole office.

Last thought: if John Crowther and Son has kicked out John



Walker: free advice

Crowther, what is the firm called now? And Son?

Sky scraping

JUST what the Tories mean by a 'fair rent' can be seen in the London borough of Camden. The council's latest housing scheme is likely to produce rents of £20-25 a week.

With the maximum rebate allowed under the government's Housing Bill, this could leave tenants with up to £17 a week to pay, plus rates of about £5. Rent and rates could take up the entire income of some families.

We're still waiting for Ted the Teeth's Better Tomorrow. Meanwhile, today is pretty bloody awful...

BIG breakthrough by the British Army in Belfast: last week they arrested well-known young terrorist Henry Joy McKeown. He and his mother were held by the army for more than 24 hours. 'Don't worry,' said neighbours, 'Henry won't talk.' Not surprising, really. Henry Joy McKeown is 11 months' old.

Tomalin down

WE didn't have to look far for the stupidest remark of the year. In a long piece of unbelievable drivel on the Queen in the latest Sunday Times Colour Magazine, Nicholas Tomalin dredged the following from the murky depths of what is laughingly called his brain: 'The Queen is simultaneously the greatest force for revolutionary change in Britain and a tranquilliser dart fired into the quivering flanks of

the wilder beasts roaming the capitalist jungle. The left has never been sufficiently appreciative of her.'

Sorry about that, Nick. We'll pop round to the palace with a recruiting form for IS. At a quick glance, she would have to pay not a penny less than £10,000 a week in subs.

WILLIE HAMILTON, the Labour MP who is the scourge of the Royal Family and their pay claims, has been challenged to fight for the Queen's honour by Mr Winston Hughes of Northampton, a former amateur boxer. Our money's on Willie, the only heavyweight in the House of Commons.

H is for Humble

NORMAL MARSHALL, Patrick Cavendish and George Amy have quickly become very rich men through their publishing company Marshall Cavendish, which specialises in 'part works', the crafty 'build your own encyclopaedia' racket whereby you buy one magazine a week that builds up into several volumes over the years at 10 times the cost of an ordinary encyclopaedia.

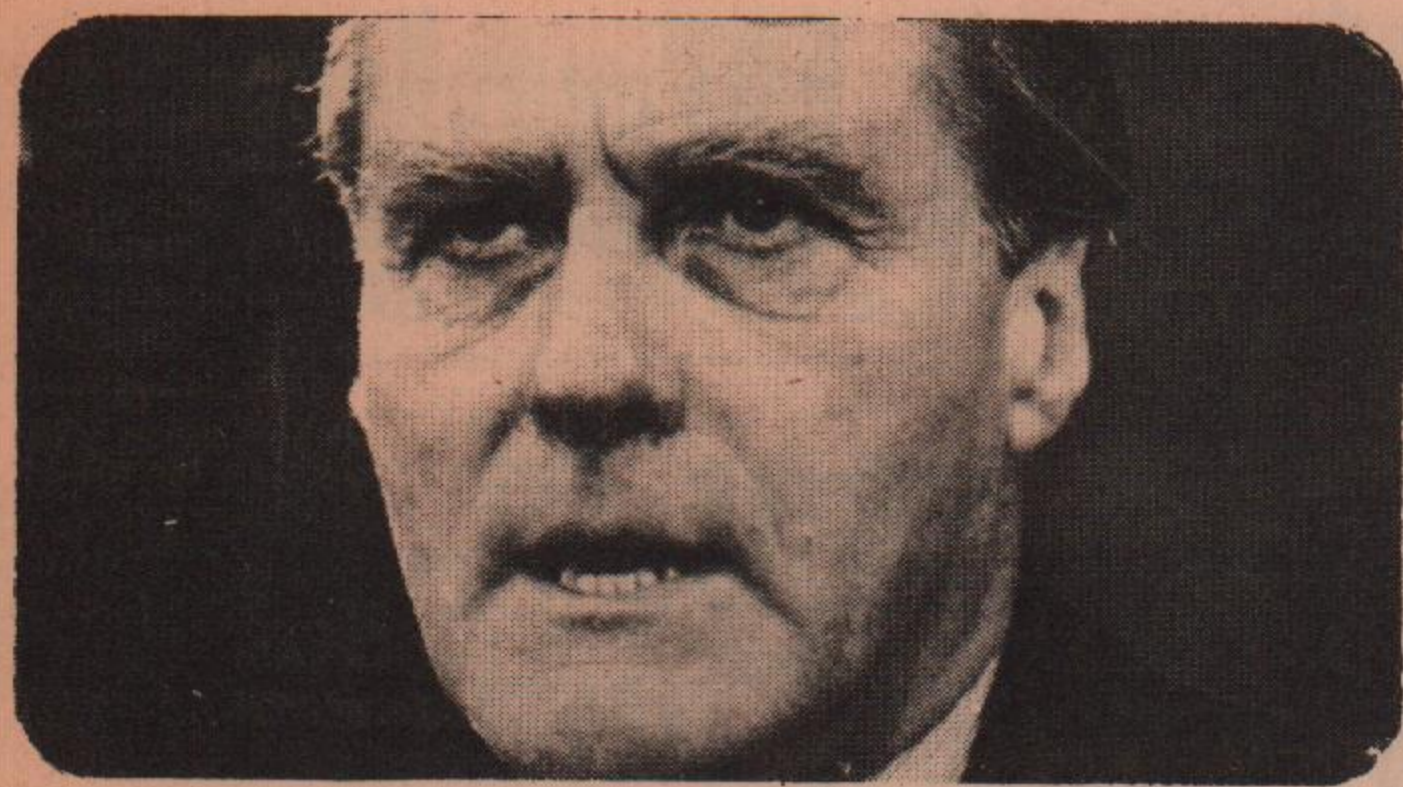
But in spite of their millions, the three remain humble at heart. Says Marshall, currently worth £3½ million, 'There are no personality cults around here. No chauffeurs, no executive dining room. Cars? I have a Mercedes. I've a superstition that the company will go into a sharp decline the day the chairman gets a Rolls-Royce.'

LAST WEEK this column declared, 'Come back, Fred Trueman, all is forgiven.' It was announced on Sunday that Trueman is returning to cricket next season. When Socialist Worker speaks, the world listens... and obeys.

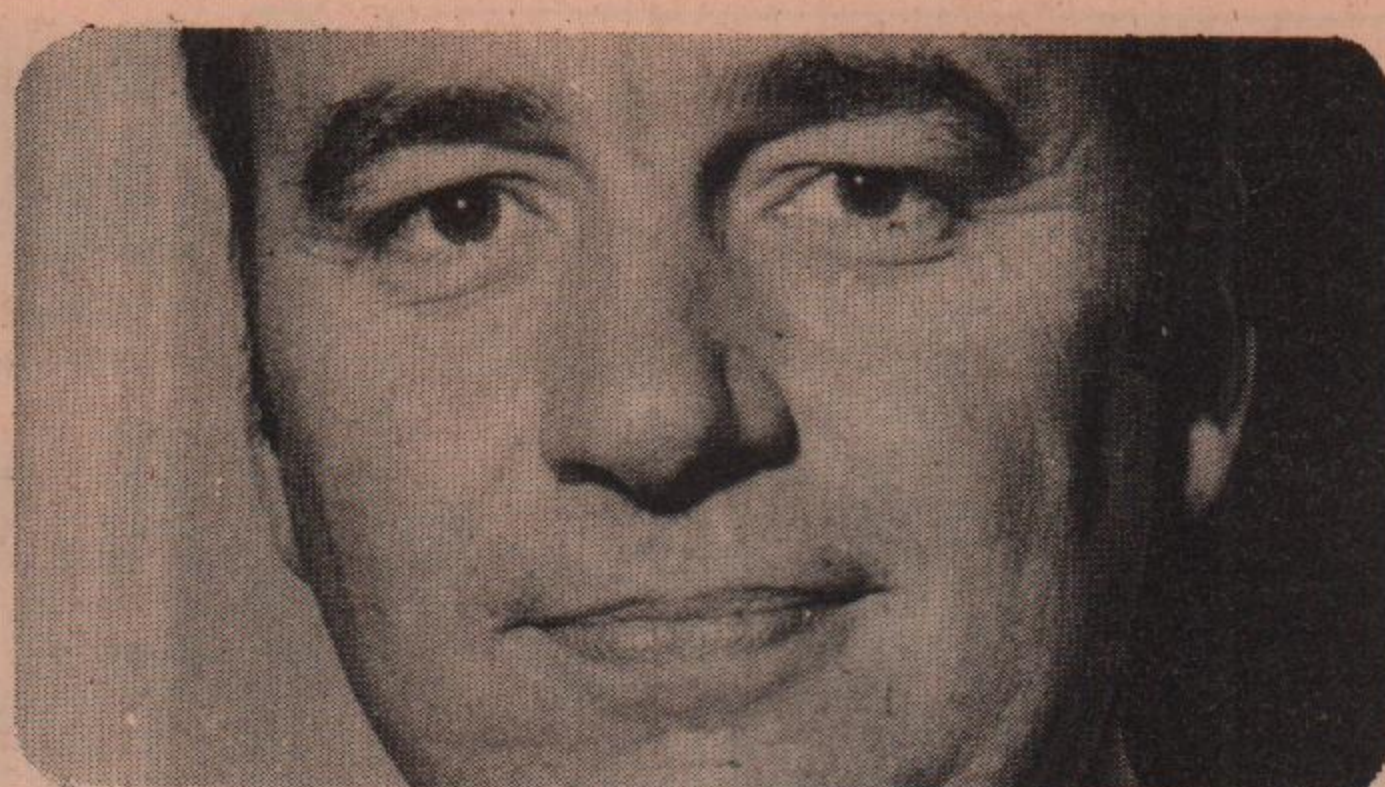
It's a gas

THE miracles of planning: the Ministry of Transport has just opened a new stretch of the M4 West Country motorway with much blowing of trumpets. One small snag if you're heading for Bristol: the 106-mile stretch of M-way does not have a single petrol station.





Aidan 'creepy' Crawley: pushed out by . . .



Rupert 'the bare' Murdoch: the Sun rises . . .



but doesn't melt Frost, still a major power at LWT

A GIGANTIC CHRISTMAS PRESENT is being prepared for the millionaires who own and control the commercial television stations. Christopher Chataway, Minister of Posts, egged on by Brian Young, director general of the Independent Television Authority, is planning to hand over an entire new channel of television to five men: Sir Lew Grade (ATV), Sir Sydney Bernstein (Granada), Howard Thomas (Thames), John Freeman (London Weekend Television) and Donald Baverstock (Yorkshire TV).

This hand-out, which will immediately affect the everyday lives of almost every family in the country, and will shape the priorities in television for the next two or three decades, is to be taken without recourse to public discussion, public inquiry or even parliamentary debate. Such is the vitality of our democracy that Mr Chataway can take the decision without even promoting parliamentary legislation.

The proposed establishment of 'ITV 2' is the logical conclusion to a story of robbery and cheating unrivalled in the history of modern British capitalism.

It all started when a young man called Mark Chapman Walker applied in 1949 for a job at Transport House, headquarters of the Labour Party. He was turned down and in a fit of pique offered his services to Conservative Central Office, where he was instantly taken on.

In the early 1950s, Chapman Walker devoted himself to persuading the newly-elected Conservative government to promote commercial television. Chapman Walker's allies were the 'new; thrusting entrepreneurs' of post-war affluence, though he had to fight against 'fuddy-duddy' Tories who felt that the feudal values of 'Auntie BBC' were being whittled away.

Chapman Walker and his cronies won their battle, and commercial television was established in 1954. Partly as a result of the feudal 'conscience' however and partly because of fierce Labour opposition to the scheme, the companies which were handed the 'franchises' for broadcasting television in the different areas were put under the control of an Independent Television Authority, which had powers to control the companies' programmes, limit advertising and review the licenses every seven years. Despite these alleged 'controls' the people who won the contracts for the television stations, among them Mark Chapman Walker, who became managing director of Television Wales and West, seized on this heaven-sent opportunity for making money.

Nothing could prevent the disgusting orgy which followed. Television was a new and highly popular phenomenon. The commercial stations were all monopolies. Anyone wishing to advertise on television was forced to advertise with one contracting company. And costs were relatively low.

POCKETS

Lord Thomson, who got the contract for television in Scotland, described it as 'a license to print money'. Advertising revenue rose each year by stupendous amounts. Costs remained steady and the money rolled in vast quantities into the pockets of the lucky television shareholders.

In 1960, for instance, Tyne Tees television shareholders received a dividend of 450 per cent. For the next four years the dividend was 'held' at 110 per cent. Chapman Walker's Television Wales and West paid a regular dividend of 110 per cent.

Almost none of the vast profits made went on programming or investment. The figures below tell the story:

	Emillion	
	Post-tax profits	Cash paid out in dividends
ABC Television:		
1963	804,246	802,375
1964	1,229,861	1,218,875
1965	1,106,396	1,336,002
1966	1,180,445	1,208,841
1967	1,195,888	1,195,888
1968	1,225,630	1,177,430
1969	683,290	364,454
The Granada Group:		
1963	2,043,798	1,890,000
1964	2,350,727	2,101,631
1965	2,328,139	2,163,514
1966	2,324,609	2,169,761
1967	2,757,158	2,180,388
1968	3,165,315	2,120,989
1969	2,305,585	1,811,940
1970	2,204,920	1,846,366
Southern Television:		
1963	740,660	649,994
1964	806,441	747,993
1965	784,421	767,492
1966	641,037	599,984
1967	941,940	699,993
1968	986,755	749,993
1969	585,454	449,996
1970	652,762	649,994

High or low, there is one consistent aspect to the profits: almost all of them

were distributed to the shareholders. In the early 1960s in particular hundreds of people were enriched over and over again because they were lucky enough to hold shares in commercial television.

All these riches provided the basis for the TV entrepreneurs to expand, and commercial television became the launching pad for some of the fastest-rising monopolies in modern British business.

ATV and Tyne Tees dabbled in property enterprises in Birmingham and Teesside. Granada bought up publishing houses. Sir Lew Grade of ATV, with his brothers Leslie and Bernard (Delfont) came to control the British theatre and record business largely through their control of ATV, the most profitable and long-lasting of all the companies. The ticket agency business was wrapped up by Peter Cadbury of Keith Prowse, who controls Westward TV.

More sinister still was the gradual buying off of the newspaper industry. Encouraged by successive governments and the ITA, newspapers and magazines have been buying up substantial shareholdings in the commercial television companies.

Thomson's newspapers are compromised through Lord Roy's control of Scottish TV. The Observer and the Telegraph have shares in London Weekend Television, the Guardian in Anglia and so on.

DISGUSTING

Even the 'intellectual' weeklies, the Statesman, the Spectator and the Economist, have shares in one or other of the commercial television stations. Small wonder that the disgusting profiteering at the expense of popular entertainment has gone unremarked in most newspapers' editorials.

In 1964, the Tory government, embarrassed at the profits of the monsters which they had set up, imposed a levy on the advertising revenue of the companies, which did not cut profits (see table) but which unleashed a great squawking of rich man's protest.

In 1967, the contracts came up for renewal and two new stations, Yorkshire and London Weekend were created. The ITA solemnly sat in judgement while various 'consortia' of rich men and trendies outlined their plans for the new franchises. The franchises were duly awarded.

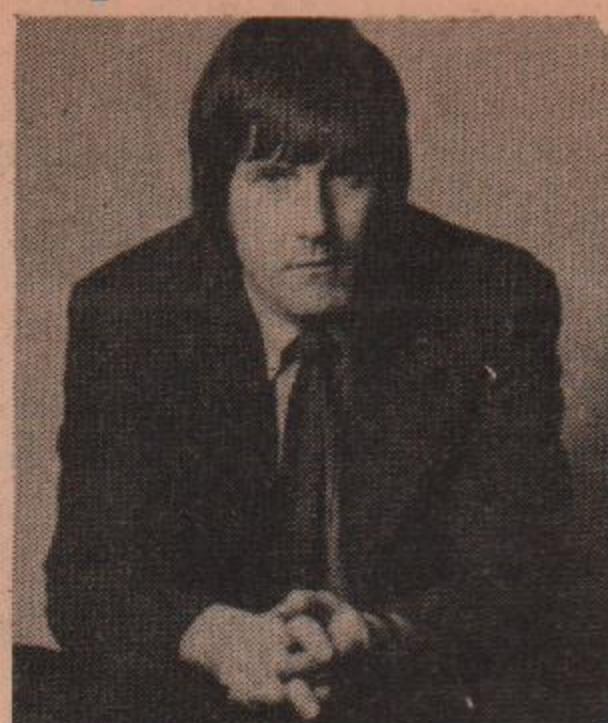
Two former contractors (TWW and Rediffusion) lost their license. The London



Sir Lew Grade: ATV was a springboard into theatres and records

TORIES AND TYCOONS PLAN TV HI-JACK

by



PAUL FOOT

Weekend TV contract went to a consortium led by former Tory MP Aidan Crawley, David Frost and BBC 1 Programme Controller Michael Peacock.

Many of the plans had been drawn up by Clive Irving, a fashionable 'communicator'. He promised a 'public affairs unit' of at least 20 people which would produce regular and meaningful documentaries. No doubt the contract was awarded to LWT on the basis of their fascinating prospectus.

Today not one of the men who put forward that prospectus are running LWT. Irving's Public Affairs Unit produced one full-length programme and was wound up. Crawley has been pushed out, as has Peacock.

In their place is former New Statesman editor, John Freeman, and Rupert Murdoch, proprietor of the Sun, who bought up shares on the side. Every promise ever made to the ITA has been systematically broken, and LWT has reverted to the lowest common denominator already championed by Grade, Bernstein and the rest.

The 'controls' allegedly exercised by the ITA have all been swept aside and now the ITA plays the part of obedient poodle to the Big Five.

The effect of all this lying, cheating and robbing on the general standard of television was, of course catastrophic.

The effect on the BBC was instantaneous. A 'race for the ratings' developed in which the BBC desperately tried to compete in the same market. Standards dropped there too.

But because the BBC has more resources, it gradually started to win back some of the audiences it lost to ITV in those first fruitful years. By 1968, the contractors who had won their franchises the previous year were having to fight for audiences at a time when advertising revenue, in the great deflations brought about by the Labour government, was marginally decreasing.

A sudden panic gripped the contractors. Those who had had the franchise for many years, like Grade, Bernstein and Cadbury, had paid out all their millions to their shareholders. The new contractors had scraped together life savings to buy the golden goose. The prospect of a slow-down in the flow of golden eggs produced something like hysteria in TV boardrooms.

When Roy Jenkins, Labour Chancellor, proposed in 1968 that £3m more should be raised from the levy on commercial TV, there was a howl of fury.

Using every known form of propaganda and pressure they forced the pathetic Telecommunications Minister John Stonehouse in February 1970 to agree not to raise the extra charge and to lower the existing levy by a further £3m.

When the Tories were returned, the pressure and propaganda was increased.

The Tories obliged. Earlier this year they again cut the levy, pouring some £10m more into the pockets of the TV tycoons and their shareholders.

INCREASE

Despite the enormous increase in profits, more has been paid out in dividends over the three years of Thames accounts. And the same is happening all over the country.

No one pointed out that the government's reflationary policies this year have, into the bargain, increased advertising revenue by 14 per cent in the first nine months of this year, and that an increase in advertising rates last September have increased them still further.

The tycoons have not lost their powers of propaganda and pressure. Leaving the question of huge, distributed profits gently on one side, they are now embarked on a new campaign. They point sorrowfully to their 'surplus capacity' of studios and equipment, and beg for more broadcasting time to make more money out of advertising revenue.

Brian Young has done his best to

oblige within the existing channel. He is currently planning to cut out the educational programmes in the afternoons and hand over the time to the commercial companies.

But this is not enough. The tycoons want a whole new channel to exploit. Howard Tomas in the Thames Staff Newsletter of 7 June this year gave voice to the same kind of prospectus which has confused people in television for a decade:

MISERABLE

'The way Thames sees ITV 2 is that if ITV 1 is like the Daily Express, ITV 2 would function like the Daily Telegraph, offering a different range of programmes to a different audience and attracting new kinds of advertising'. But, 'It is essential that ITV 2 should be operated by the existing contractors'.

In similar terms Lord Renwick of ATV, in September, and John Freeman of London Weekend, in October, have outlined plans for a 'dual service'. Brian Young agrees, and so does Chataway. Without a powerful protest, the whole miserable deal will be signed and sealed before the spring.

Fortunately, there is a strong protest movement under way, started by the ACTT, the main television workers' union. Giving the lie once and for all to the argument that workers in the industry do not care what happens to it so long as wages are high, the ACTT has commissioned and published a magnificent report, entitled TV4*, which should be read by every trade unionist in communications.

It demolishes the case of the tycoons, and shows how a fourth channel in their hands is bound to deteriorate into another ITV 1, dragging standards down with it.

The ACTT has given some support to the TV4 campaign, which opened with a big conference in London in October. The campaign calls a halt to the Young/Chataway conspiracy to enrich the tycoons. It calls for a big public debate and a full-scale inquiry.

The TV4 demands rest there and as such should be supported. But among those who attended the October conference there are strong and radical ideas about the accessibility of the new channel to workers' organisations, and the control of the industry by the workers in it.

More and more people in television as in newspapers are coming to resent their enforced role as zombies, whose skills and brains are subordinated to the philistine, reactionary priorities of Sir Lew Grade.

The Grades and the Bernsteins have had their way for far too long. This time it may not prove so easy.

*Available from ACTT, 2 Soho Square, London W1.

Television standards hit by lying, cheating and robbing

by SLAVOMIR MROZEK

There was plenty of snow that winter. In the square the children were making a snowman.

The square was huge. Thousands of people passed through it each day, and it was kept under constant observation from the windows of many offices. The square didn't care, it just continued to stretch away into the distance. In the centre of it, laughing shouting children were building a ridiculous figure out of snow.

First they rolled a large ball, for the trunk. Then a smaller ball, the shoulders. After that, an even smaller ball, for the head. There were little pieces of coal, forming a row of buttons from top to bottom, and a nose made out of a carrot. It was, in short, a perfectly ordinary snowman, just like the thousands of similar figures that appear each year, weather permitting.

The children had a lot of fun, and were very happy. Passers-by stopped for a moment to admire the snowman, and went on their way again. The government offices worked on as if nothing had happened. The children's father was very glad to see his children having plenty of exercise in the fresh air, getting pink cheeks and big appetites.

In the evening, when they were all at home, there was a knock on the door. It was the newsagent with the kiosk in the square. He was sorry to disturb the family so late, but he felt it was his duty to say a few words to the father. He understood, of course, that the children were only young, but that made it still more important they have an eye kept on them. He would never have come but for his concern for the little ones. His visit, you might say, was educational in intention. It was about that snowman's nose made from a carrot. The red nose. Now he, the newsagent, had a red nose, too. From frostbite, not drink, as you know. What earthly reason could there be for making a public reference to his nose like that? He'd be grateful if that sort of thing didn't happen again. He had the children's future at heart.

The father was worried. Naturally, children couldn't go around making fun of people, even those with red noses. They were too young to understand, of course. He called them out, and indicated the newsagent. 'Is it true that you were making fun of this gentleman when you put the red nose on the snowman?' he demanded.

The children were surprised, not seeing the point of the question at first. They finally answered that the thought never crossed their minds. Just in case, they were told to go to bed without supper.

The grateful newsagent made for the door. There he bumped into the Chairman of the Co-operative. The father was delighted to have such a distinguished guest in his house.

When he saw the children, the chairman said, 'Ah, there are the brats! You'll have to keep them under control, you know. They may be young, but they're cheeky. Do you know, when I looked out of my office window, they were, if you like, making a snowman.'

'Ah yes,' said the father, 'if it's about the nose . . .'

'Nose? Nonsense, man. I ask you, they made one ball of snow, then another, and then another. And then what did the brats do? They put one on top of the other, and a third on top of that. It's disgusting!'

The father looked puzzled and the chairman continued with heat: 'Are you thick? It's crystal clear what they meant. They wanted to say that in our Co-operative one thief sits on top of another. And that is libel. Even if you write things like that to the papers you must produce some proof. All the more so if you make a public demonstration in the square.'

The chairman, fortunately, was a considerate and tolerant man. He'd make allowances this time for youthful folly, and would not insist on a public apology. But it musn't happen again.

The children were asked if, by putting one snowball on top of another, they'd wanted to suggest that in the Co-operative one thief was sitting on another. They burst into tears and denied it. Just in case, they were sent to stand in the corner.

And that wasn't the end of the business. Sleigh bells rang outside and two men came to the door. One was a fat stranger in a sheepskin coat, the other was no less a person than the President of the National Council.

'It's about your children,' they announced together at the door.

The father looked pale with worry. He offered both men chairs. The president looked at the stranger, wondering who he might be, and spoke first.

'I'm astonished, really, that you should tolerate subversive activities in your own family. Are you politically ignorant or something? If you are, you'd better admit it immediately.'

The father didn't see why he should be politically ignorant. 'Well, it shows at a glance from your children's behaviour. Who makes fun at the People's authority? Your children! The make a snowman right outside my windows.'

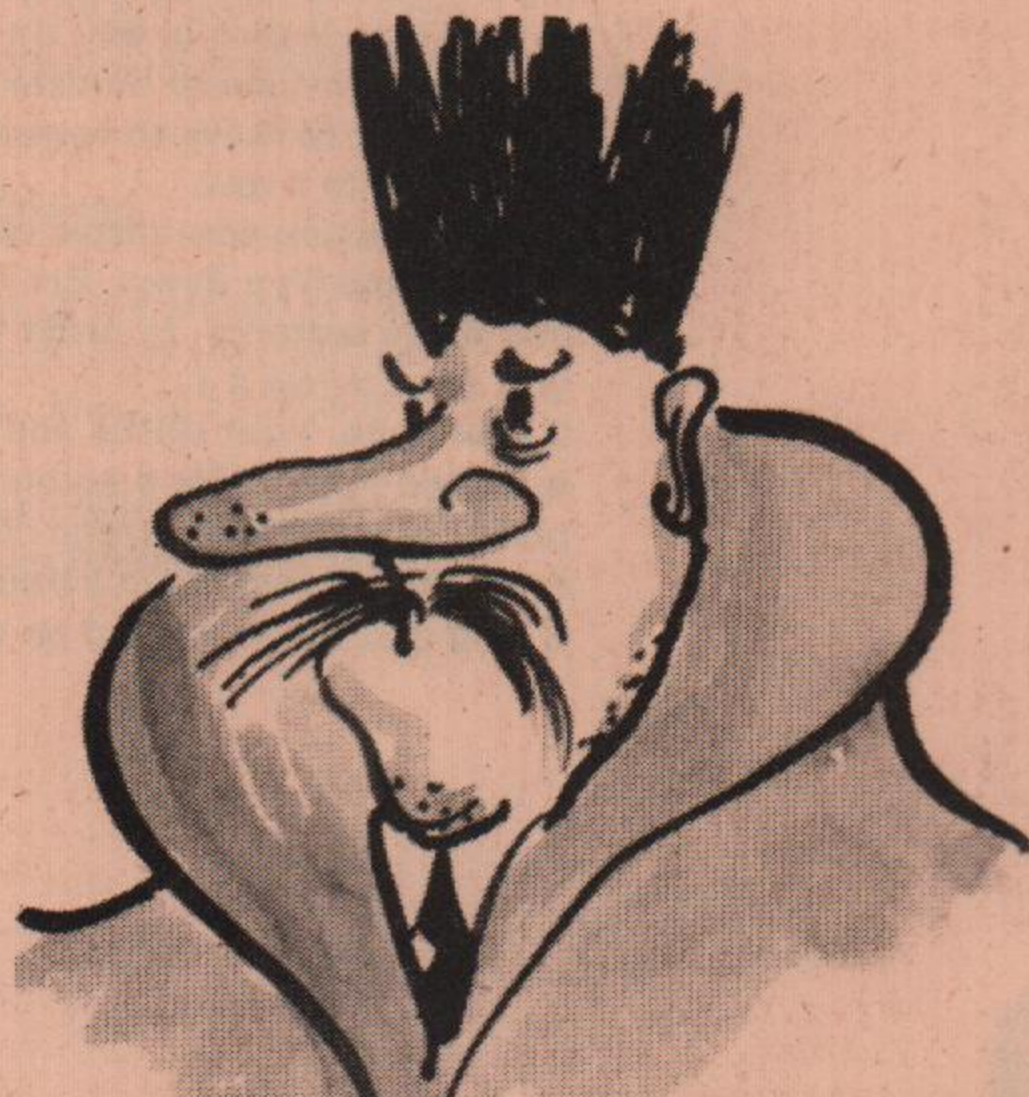
'Oh, I see,' whispered the father, 'you mean that one thief . . .'

'One thief? Don't be stupid. But you know, don't you



Children

Translated by Colin Barker Drawings by Rag



'Frostbite, not drink, you understand'

what that snowman, outside the window of the President of the National Council, means? Don't think I don't know what people are saying about me. Why don't your kids make their snowman outside Adenauer's window, eh? Well? You've no answer, I see. That speaks volumes in itself. You'll have to take the consequences, my friend.'

Hearing the word 'consequences' the fat stranger got up and slipped out of the house. The sleigh bells tinkled and then were gone.

'Yes, my good man,' the president went on, 'you'd better

think very hard. And another thing. It's my business if I walk round the house with my flies undone. Your children have no right to make public fun of it. Those buttons on the snowman, from top to bottom, very clever! Let me tell you this: if I want, I'll walk round my house without any trousers at all, and it's nothing to do with your kids. Just remember that.'

The father called his children from the corner and demanded a confession. Had they made the snowman with the president in mind? Had the buttons been intended as an additional joke about the president walking round his house with his flies undone?

Tearfully the children swore that they'd only made the snowman for fun, without anything else in their minds. But just in case, as well as losing their supper and being sent to the corner, they were made to kneel on the hard floor.

That night several more people knocked on the father's door, but got no reply.

Next morning I was walking past a little garden, where I saw the children.

They had been banned from the square, and were wondering what to do in that confined space.

'Let's make a snowman,' one of them said.

'An ordinary snowman's not much fun,' another objected.

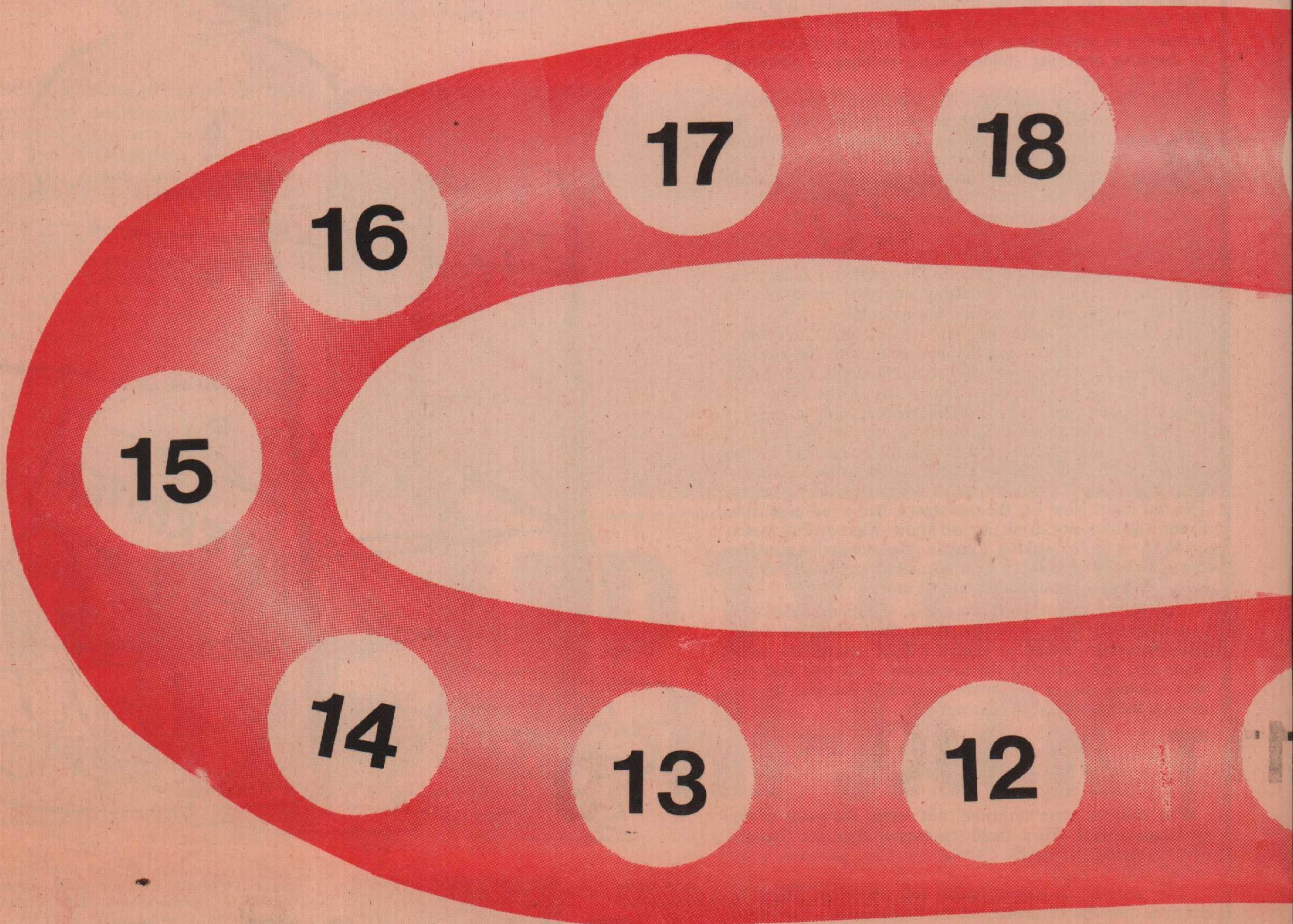
A third said, 'Let's make the newsagent, with a big red nose because he drinks—he said so last night.'

'And I want to make the Co-op.'

'And I want to make the president, the old twit. And we'll give him buttons because he walks round with his flies hanging open.'

They argued but in the end agreed. They would make all of them in turn. The children started work with gusto.

THE PARLIAMENTARY RO



ANYONE, except aristocrats, children and lunatics, can play it. All you need is £150 or 30 pieces of silver. The makers guarantee that under normal conditions the set will remain indefinitely in working order. However, heat or stress may warp the board and lead to certain irregularities in procedure. In that case you should apply at once the Emergency Powers Activating agent supplied with the set. (No guarantee given).

INSTRUCTIONS:
Cut out the four counters and provide with required backing from Constituency Labour Party agent.

Use simple dice or any six-faced object (for instance any senior ex-Labour minister's head).

In order to move to square one, player must throw three sixes in a row.

1 At a selection committee for a Labour-held constituency you confuse Nye Bevan, Ernie Bevin and Reginald Bevins in a single sentence. In order to move out of this square you must throw a 1.

2 Well done. Your skilful and thoughtful speech expressing qualified support for a union/management, prices/incomes policy of co-operation/non co-operation has won you a safe Midland seat. Take a house in Hampshire.

3 You don't have to land on this square as you have a safe

seat, but it represents a General Election.

4 In one week you table 60 completely tedious and unnecessary questions, thereby helping Minister of Fraud and Connivance to cover up great Location of Sausages Bureau scandal. Move forward three places.

5 Your column in 'Labour Weakly' touches on the sore problem of keeping awake all afternoon in the Commons Disapproval. Miss a turn.

6 You are pictured in the Daily Mirror at a strip club in Spennymoor, and give an interview on World at One approving permissive society. Move to square 8.

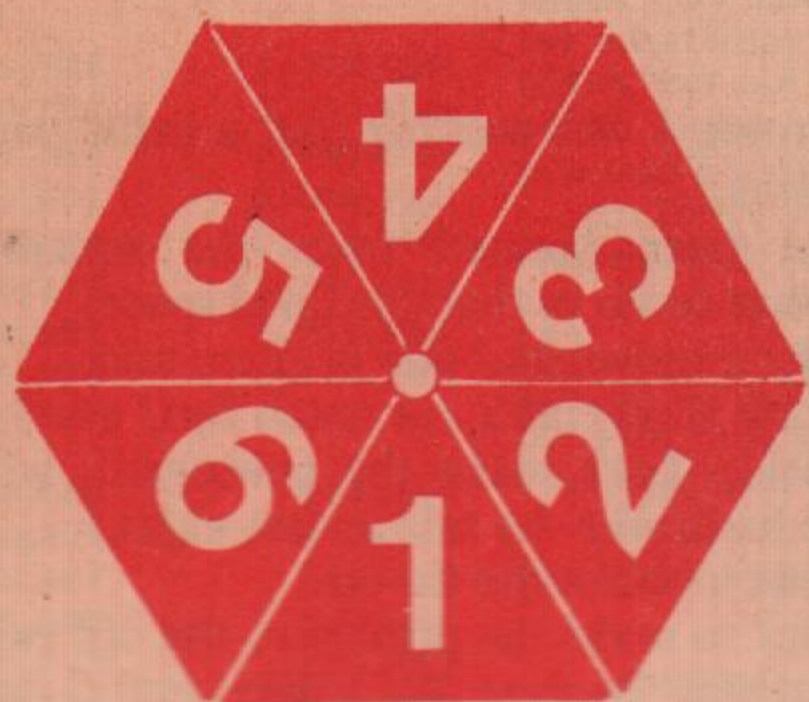
7 You are congratulated by Party Leader on your work in the Select Committee on the unmetalled roads and turn-pikes act. Move back two squares.

8 Your name is mentioned in connection with the 'misuse of whips' scare and you are accused of breaches of privilege. To leave this square you must throw a 3.

9 You return from a trip round the world, during which you have visited Portugal, South Africa, Patagonia, Nicaragua and Broadstairs at the expense of the respective authorities. You make glowing remarks about each in public and move to square 13.

10 You are cut by Gerald Nabarro in St Stephens' Tavern. Move forward two places.

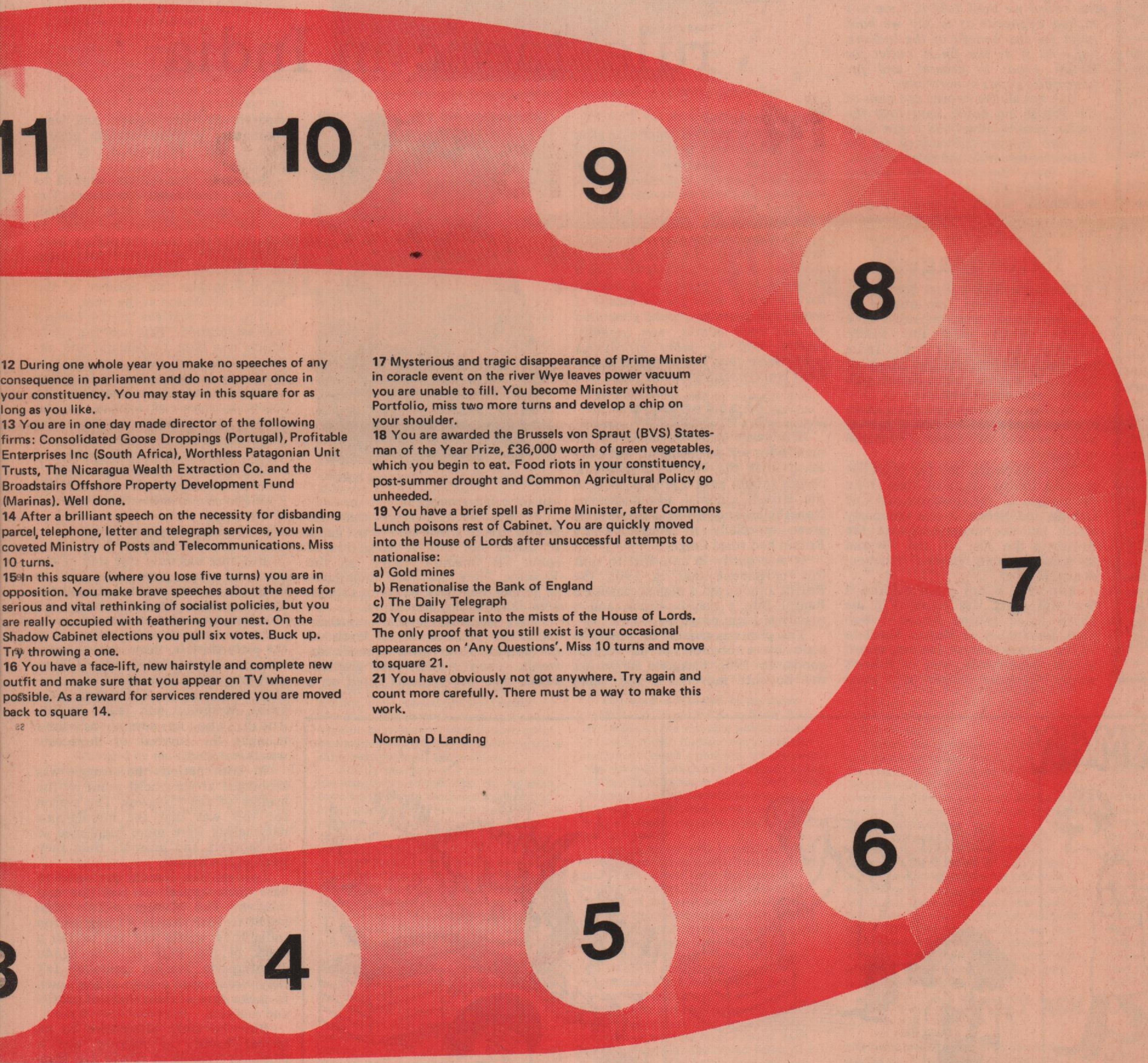
11 Assaulted by Lord Longford in the members' bar. Miss one turn and write short, complacent autobiography.



Make your own dice (copyright London Stock Exchange). Cut out, paste on to stiff card, push match through centre hole and spin. Number you win is one that rests on table when spinning stops.



ROAD TO SOCIALISM GAME



12 During one whole year you make no speeches of any consequence in parliament and do not appear once in your constituency. You may stay in this square for as long as you like.

13 You are in one day made director of the following firms: Consolidated Goose Droppings (Portugal), Profitable Enterprises Inc (South Africa), Worthless Patagonian Unit Trusts, The Nicaragua Wealth Extraction Co. and the Broadstairs Offshore Property Development Fund (Marinas). Well done.

14 After a brilliant speech on the necessity for disbanding parcel, telephone, letter and telegraph services, you win coveted Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. Miss 10 turns.

15 In this square (where you lose five turns) you are in opposition. You make brave speeches about the need for serious and vital rethinking of socialist policies, but you are really occupied with feathering your nest. On the Shadow Cabinet elections you pull six votes. Buck up. Try throwing a one.

16 You have a face-lift, new hairstyle and complete new outfit and make sure that you appear on TV whenever possible. As a reward for services rendered you are moved back to square 14.

17 Mysterious and tragic disappearance of Prime Minister in coracle event on the river Wye leaves power vacuum you are unable to fill. You become Minister without Portfolio, miss two more turns and develop a chip on your shoulder.

18 You are awarded the Brussels von Spraut (BVS) Statesman of the Year Prize, £36,000 worth of green vegetables, which you begin to eat. Food riots in your constituency, post-summer drought and Common Agricultural Policy go unheeded.

19 You have a brief spell as Prime Minister, after Commons Lunch poisons rest of Cabinet. You are quickly moved into the House of Lords after unsuccessful attempts to nationalise:

- a) Gold mines
- b) Renationalise the Bank of England
- c) The Daily Telegraph

20 You disappear into the mists of the House of Lords. The only proof that you still exist is your occasional appearances on 'Any Questions'. Miss 10 turns and move to square 21.

21 You have obviously not got anywhere. Try again and count more carefully. There must be a way to make this work.

Norman D Landing

Power worker says Thanks

I AM WRITING to thank you for the publication of Colin Barker's article on last year's power workers' pay claim (11 December).

It was a very true and accurate assessment of the situation. It is true to point out that it was the union leaders who were defeated and not the workers.

There was great disappointment by the workers at the calling off of the 'work to rule' and there was terrific resolve on their part to achieve a fair wage settlement. The call for £10 per week across the board and other claims was compromised to a claim of '£5 or as near as damn it' in the words of Frank Chapple.

The shop floor fully supported this claim even to the extent, as your article points out, of having a more effective action than in 1964. There are those of us that think if the action had been carried on for longer with effective combat of the Tory press, public sympathy would have swung towards the workers.

Your article was absolutely right in suggesting that the electricity boards acted indiscriminately in cutting off supply. One can only assume this was done intentionally to create animosity between the public and the supply worker.

I thank you also for your assurance of support in our present pay claim, an even more justifiable claim than last year in the light of the decrease in manpower as a result of the Wilberforce recommendations. There are now 35,000 fewer employees than in 1967.

There is perhaps a slight hope that the trade union negotiators in this instance might be prepared to recognise we are not only fighting to maintain our level of living but the level of all workers in the public sector. Tom Crispin has at the four union conference admitted that we are fighting the 'ghosts of Whitehall'.

I trust that all the negotiators appreciate that we are in a parallel with 1926, only instead of being asked to take a cut in wages, the Tory policy is to do it under the guise of 'restraint', in other words 7 per cent as against the rise in cost of living of 11.9 per cent.

Given a real say in the negotiations I am sure the supply workers would show their resolve in achieving a just settlement. **-HUW MAIN, Shop Steward, London Electricity Board.**

PART THREE

In 1910 Lady Minto, wife of the British Viceroy of India, made the following entry in her diary: 'The Aga Khan came to stay with us today. He seems to have had a triumphal progress through India amongst the Muslims.'

'He says that the only real way to appeal to the feelings of the natives is by means of the superstitions of their religion and consequently he has instructed the priests in every mosque to issue a decree that any Mahommedans who incite to rebellion or who go about preaching sedition will be eternally damned.'

This frank statement gives us some insight into how the ruling class of an island on the other side of the world was able for so long to rule a vast sub-continent of 350 to 400 million people, with only one Briton in India to more than 4000 Indians.

Preserve

In India as in Ireland, British imperialism used every possible division among the people, religious or otherwise, to set the 'natives' against each other and thus preserve British rule. The purpose of that rule was frankly admitted by Sir William Joynson Hicks, an unbelievably reactionary Tory Home Secretary, when he stated in the House of Commons in 1926:

'We did not conquer India for the good of the Indians—that is cant. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the benefit of the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire goods in particular.'

But not all the swords and guns of the British raj could have held the Indian people down had it not been for two things: the ability of the British to use divide and rule methods, and, more important, the middle-class leadership of the nationalist movement which opposed British rule. In fact the second was one of the causes of the first.

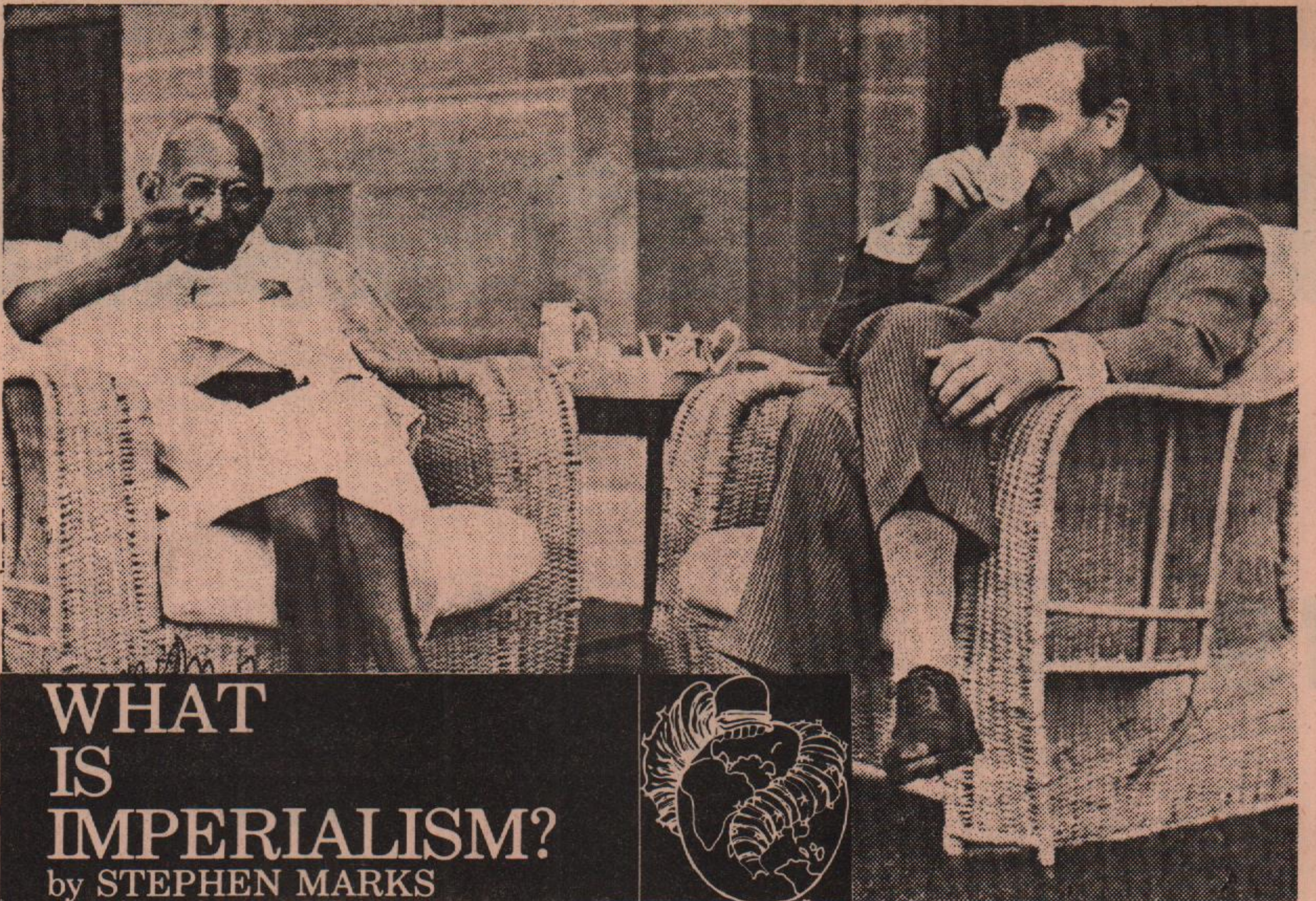
Encouraged

When the British first conquered India, the Muslims, one quarter of the population, were regarded as a greater threat than the Hindu majority. The previous rulers of India had been Muslims and for many of the Hindu middle classes British rule opened new opportunities.

The British encouraged the growth of a new Hindu middle class of professional men and civil servants educated in English.

These elements, plus the small but growing Indian capitalist class, were the leaders of the Congress party of Gandhi and Nehru. It was this party which led the struggle against the British in the 20s, 30s and 40s and to which Britain granted 'independence' in 1947.

But what is not often realised is that this party was founded in the 1880s by a retired British Indian Civil Servant, A O Hume. The late 1870s were a time of famine, unrest in the countryside, and in Hume's words, 'extreme danger of a most



WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?
by STEPHEN MARKS



A cheerful chat over 'tiffin': Gandhi and Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy

Britain whips up religious intolerance in 'divide and rule' tactic in India

terrible revolution'.

Hume reached this conclusion after being shown seven bound volumes of confidential intelligence reports from government agents throughout India, reporting on the mass unrest.

Hume was worried that 'a certain small number of the educated classes... would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion, and direct it as a national revolt'. He therefore decided that 'A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised.'

Partition

The early Congress made no demands for self-government, but only asked that the Indian professional classes should have a greater share in the British colonial administration. Nonetheless opposition to British rule grew, especially in Bengal, where Britain had ruled longest.

It was partly in an effort to split this movement that in 1905 the British announced a plan to partition Bengal into a mainly Hindu and a mainly Moslem province.

The plan was resisted on a massive scale by a boycott of all foreign goods. In 1906 Congress supported the boycott movement, and came



Mrs Gandhi: today's Congress leader

out for self-government.

It was at this stage that the British played a new card in the game of divide and rule. A delegation of some 70 Muslims called on the Viceroy. They described themselves as 'nobles, ministers, of various states, great landowners, merchants'.

They asked for separate representation of Muslims at all levels of government from town councils upwards. Their request was granted. From then on, Muslims voted on a

separate electoral register and were guaranteed a representation greater than their proportion of the population.

Naturally this system worked to increase communal divisions. The British motives were clear. A British official commented at the time, 'It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.' 62 million was the number of the Muslim population at the time.

The same year the Muslim League was established. This was the party which was later to demand and get the partition of India into separate Hindu and Muslim states. Its founding conference stated as its first object 'to foster a sense of loyalty to the British government amongst the Muslims of India'.

No wonder that Lord Curzon, a former Viceroy, described the founding of the League as 'the greatest triumph of British diplomacy in India.'

Struggles

But this was only one side of the story. Of course imperialism tried to use every possible method to split the Indian people. We have also to ask how they were able to succeed.

In the early twenties, and again in the early thirties, there were massive struggles against British rule. Millions were involved in demonstrations, protests and strikes. Thousands were killed, wounded and jailed by the British, who on several occasions thought the survival of their rule was threatened.

In both periods the struggle was sabotaged at its crucial point by the leaders of the Congress. The reason for this was that the middle-class nationalists were more frightened of the workers and peasants than they were of the British.

Leaders like Gandhi preferred to base their appeal on tradition and religion. The Muslim middle class began to fear that in a Congress-run India they would not get as fair a crack of the whip as their Hindu counterparts. Muslim capitalists felt they would need a state of their own to make sure of their share of profits and markets.

But the only alternative to an appeal based on religion was a common struggle of Hindu and Muslim workers and peasants based on their common interests. The Congress leaders were frightened to lead such a struggle as it would have threatened their own class interests.

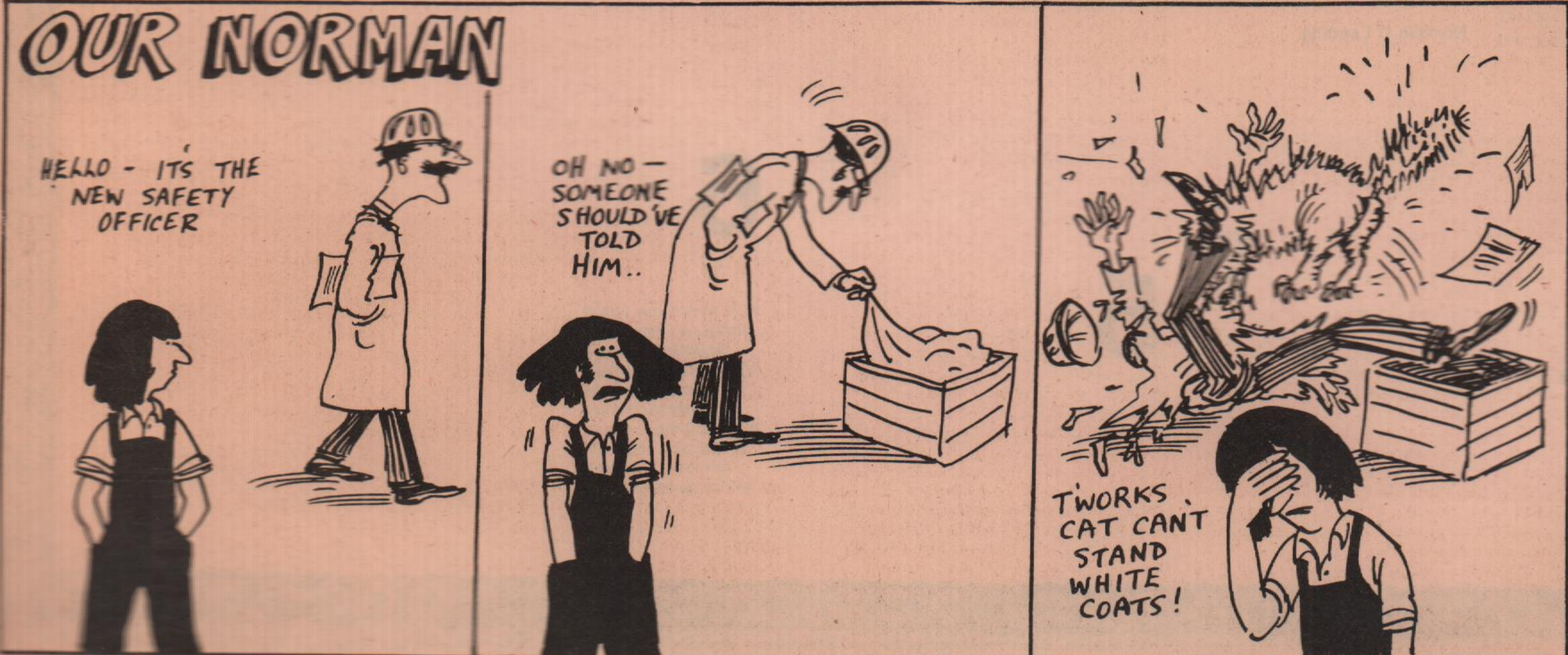
That is what opened the road to partition.

OUR NORMAN

HELLO - IT'S THE NEW SAFETY OFFICER

OH NO - SOMEONE SHOULD'VE TOLD HIM..

TWORKS CAT CANT STAND WHITE COATS!



REVIEW

CASE HISTORIES OF BRUTALITY

'BELFAST: August 1971—A Case to be Answered' Independent Labour Party, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, 30p.

IN SPITE OF the Compton Report, but also to an extent because of the report's perverted re-definition of 'brutality', the stories of the torture by the military and police in Northern Ireland are still seen as 'allegations'.

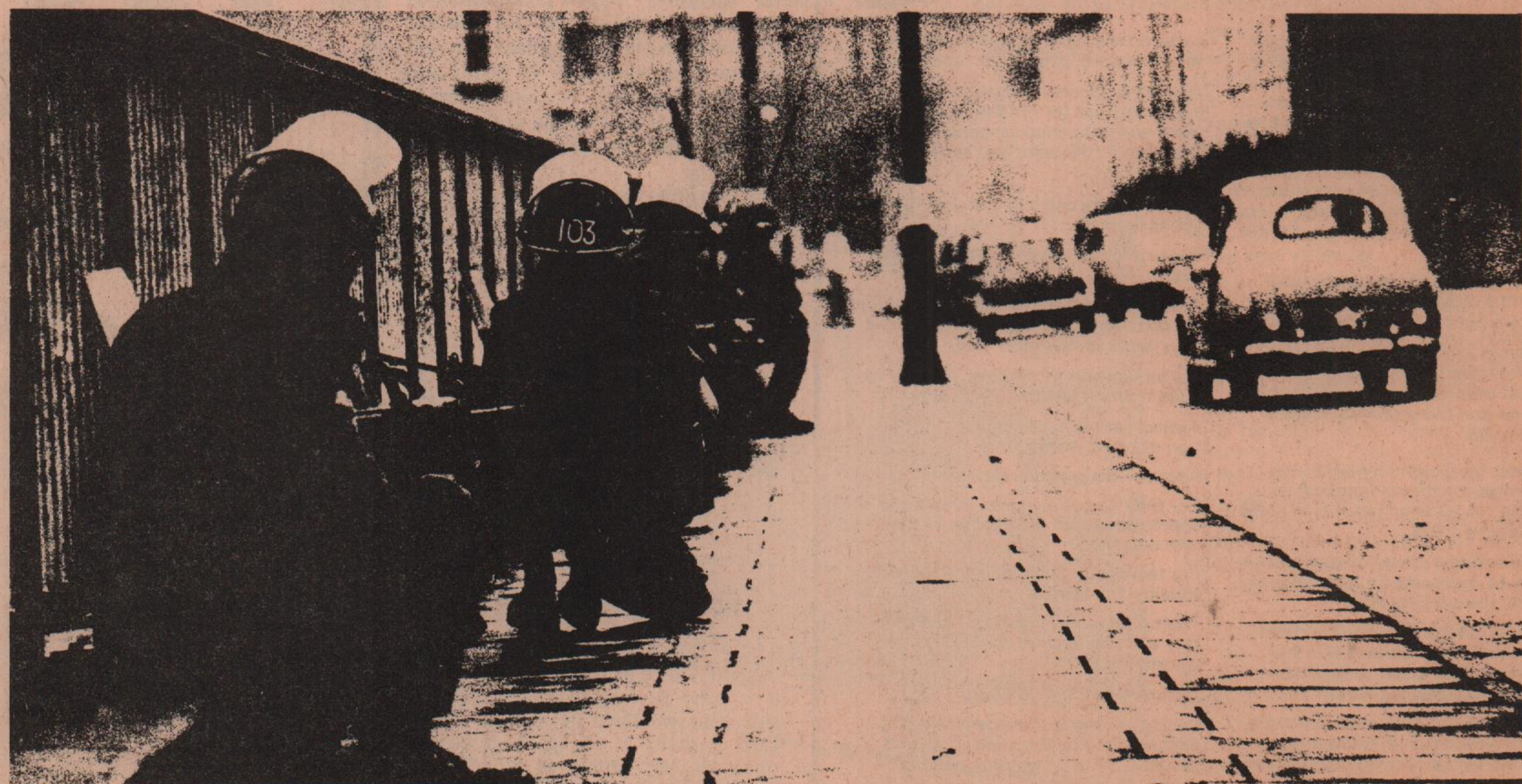
The Independent Labour Party has therefore done the labour movement in Britain a service in making available the statements of prisoners who have been 'ill-treated' by British troops, RUC and Ulster Volunteer Force. The greater part of 'Belfast August 1971' is taken up by statements collected by organisations in Northern Ireland and by representatives of the ILP. They include stories of this kind:

'Mr and Mrs Dempsey, 79 Springfield Park—on 9 August, at about 7pm, windows were smashed by a crowd. The family were evicted by the crowd while the army and police looked on. However they did manage to get furniture out and most of personal belongings'.

This is one of the less violent incidents—alas, outside the scope of Compton. There are many more tragic that took place that day, 9 August, when 400 men were taken into detention by the troops. Is it any wonder that the Catholics have opted out of the system?

Reading some of the accounts of the brutality by the military for a second and third time one of the strongest impressions is of near disbelief that the military machine can so brutalise the soldiers themselves. The reports all indicate the pleasure which the soldiers appear to have taken in causing the maximum physical and psychological discomfort.

By force of noise and numbers they got men to admit they were women, non-activists to admit they were IRA volunteers, and so wrecked their nerves that



The army in Northern Ireland: soldiers take pleasure in inflicting discomfort

they said that 'they had no complaints to make'.

The commentary by two ILP members implies that the military have been mis-used. The fact is that the imperialist military machine is one enormous abuse. It is an abuse of the people against whom

it is used, and those in it.

It is a most damning comment on this society that having made tens of thousands unemployed it leaves those men with no choice but to join the army. It is a most damning comment on this society and the attitude it encourages

that the promise of 'action'—ie killing and brutalising fellow workers—increases the recruitment of the army.

The sub-title to this book is 'a case to be answered'. The authors offer no answer, however, no way out of the situation for Irish workers, Catholics and Protestants

alike. They hardly discuss the method of resistance—the answers which the residents in the Catholic communities have developed.

BRIAN TRENCH

WOMEN: FROM WIFE-BEATING TO MISS WORLD

MARY WOLLSTONCRAFT—Her Life and Times, Edna Nixon, Dent, £3.50. VIRGINIA WOOLF once wrote, 'I went to the shelf where the histories stand, looked up women and found "wife beating"'. The existence of the Women's Liberation movement has changed that and stimulated interest in the history of women.

Publishers, naturally, are busy promoting books about women to capitalise on the current trend, and some excellent books are appearing among the more sensational literature. Until now, histories of the women's movement only briefly mentioned Mary Wollstoncraft, the acknowledged founder of feminism. But a recent book has given us a lively and informative insight into the woman and her ideas.

Eighteenth century England was not kind toward women. Women of all classes were miserably oppressed. Even ardent social reformers often held extremely reactionary views about women.

The philosopher Rousseau had written 'the most important qualification in a woman is a good nature... she ought to learn... to suffer injustice and to bear the insults of a husband without complaint'. Mary Wollstoncraft was the first to speak out and challenge such ideas.

Outraged by the situation of many women, particularly the dreadful lives of her mother and sister, she resolved at an early age never to become hopelessly dependent on a man herself. She had to look after her family, due to her father's drunken incapability, but despite this made time to educate herself at night.

This drive for education was later to become one of her main ideals. She thought that the inferior status of women was largely due to their poor education. Her major work *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1792, is strongly concerned with education for women. She believed that the only way that women could ever become equal companions with men, not their downtrodden servants and playthings, was through education.

The book is not well planned. It rambles from point to point, repeating many ideas. But it was the first demand for women's rights and had a wide influence. It reflects the situation of women like Mary herself, from lower middle class backgrounds. The problems of the mass of women are not really examined, although many of the points concern all women.

Mary Wollstoncraft was not involved with the campaign to get women the vote. In fact the first person to raise the issue, some years later was a man, William Thompson. Mary was concerned with the extensive and terrible dependence of women on men, the intense physical and emotional suffering engendered by many marriages, and the need for women to be educated.

But she was not involved simply with the problems of women. She was a radical critic of many aspects of life at the time, although she felt most passionately about the women's cause. She developed many theories about education which are interesting to look at.

A pioneer of many new ideas she was strongly in favour of co-education and an advocate of early sex instruction in schools. Her ideal was a classless primary school in which children would be taught by stimulating methods (such as are used in modern primary schools). She also held liberal ideas about punishment. Such views outraged the public, but influenced radical thinkers.

Yet, despite her intellectual brilliance and her analysis of the situation of women, her personal life was chaotic. She had a tendency to pursue quite unsuitable men through humiliations quite inconsistent with her ideas about relationships between men and women.

Finally she married a man noted for his antagonism to marriage. He had even once written that 'marriage was nothing more than legalised prostitution'. His marriage to a raving feminist naturally aroused some comment, but they were very happy together.

Mary Wollstoncraft died in childbirth. The ironic circumstance of her death was not lost on her critics who used it to demonstrate how men and women could never be equal. But despite her critics her ideas spread. The *Vindication* was reprinted four times in the first half of the 19th century. This was the time when the feminist and suffrage movements began to take shape, and her ideas undoubtedly had some effect.

This book contains many extracts from letters, diaries and pamphlets. It leaves one with a vividly realistic impression of the world that Mary Wollstoncraft lived in, and of the brave and determined woman who spoke out against the repressive ideas of her time.

It is an excellent book, expensive, but well worth reading.

ANNA PACZUSKA

Women's Estate, Juliet Mitchell, Penguin 40p.

JULIET MITCHELL's book ends with an appropriate metaphor: 'The spider's web is dense as well as intricate... come into my parlour and be a true woman.' The invitation should be seriously considered as a warning to anyone, male or female, who is looking for a clear analysis of the Women's Liberation movement.

She does not profess to be writing the final word on Women's Lib. She considers that a serious analysis of the movement and its aims is long over due and this is what she is attempting to provide. Women, she says, should not be led into the trap set for them by left-wing men.

Combing the works of classic socialist thinkers for relevant quotes about women is, apparently, no proof that the demands for the liberation of women has always been part of the marxist tradition (and, as she points out, with some justification, neglected till very recently by most, if not all, left-wing groups). A new theory of women's oppression must emerge based on the historical materialist method of analysis.

The book is essential to the movement but its major fault—and one that overshadows the valuable points made—is its attempt to include every possible aspect of women's position. As she points out, since its formation in England at the Oxford Conference in March 1969, Women's Lib has made little progress in evolving consolidated perspectives, apart from the basic assumption that all women are oppressed.

Having pretty well damned the book, there are points in it which are important and which should form the basis of wider discussion. Her initial historical analysis of the movement's emergence in the late 1960s and its links with, as well as its divergences from, the groups which at that time began organising around their specific grievances (ie the blacks, the students and the claimants) is of importance if the movement is to be understood in its context.

She then turns her attention to the contradictions and complexity of the position of working class women, both outside and inside the labour force. She refers to the strike-breaking of the telephonists in the 1971 Post Office strike and the media's exploitation of it. She refers to her three days' experience of working in a biscuit factory much as did Polly Toynbee in the Sunday Times: '... women's work isn't work—it's

getting out of the house for a bit and having a good giggle' (so she was told). Except for the one example given of the Ford's women, any incidences of comparative militancy among women (ie the Night Cleaners, Armstrong's women in York in March 1970 and the many minor strikes unreported in the national Press) seem to be ignored. Her final analysis is described in these terms: '... working class women can only move to a class conscious position behind their men. And that is not a class conscious position. Clearly then their entry into the work-force is not enough: They must enter in their own right and with their own independent economic interest'.

As Juliet Mitchell says, the last demand is pretty impossible given the woman's divided loyalty to the family and the cheap labour economy. So her conclusion is, as far as the perspectives of Women's Lib are concerned, is that it's up to women in the home to formulate a tenable theory of revolutionary consciousness. Finally, since it is only members of the leisured classes who have the time to do this, she concludes her book with what seems to be an appeal for understanding rather than for a call for action of any sort:

'Hence the importance of feminist consciousness in any revolution'. Hence, I'm afraid, the limitations of the movement, hence its isolation from any grass roots organisation, hence its almost total incapacity to appeal to women outside of the middle class.

She criticises left-wing women's caucuses for their exclusive concentration on the demand for Equal Pay and related economic issues and their pandering to ready made socialist theories. If this was correct there may have been some justification for her criticism but if she'd known anything about the development in the current debates which have been going on for some time in IS and the IS women's groups she'd realise this was fallacious.

JULIET ASH

Why Miss World, Women's Liberation Workshop, Little Newport Street, WC2 THE WHY MISS WORLD pamphlet is an attempt to describe the 1970 Miss World demonstration and to draw conclusions from its results.

It analyses the Mecca organisation and its exploitation of the female as a

sexual commodity. The glossy array of bodies in the Miss World contest represent potential dream housewives and part of the system's endless search for a new market.

The contest also manages a few beautiful euphemisms about the 'family' of nations. Miss Grenada became Miss World that year and the media and organisers could congratulate each other on how they weren't racists, and how she *did* have a nice face even if she was black. With one hand imperialism drains the West Indies, with the other it doles out tinsel...

Beauty contests are all part of the world of the women's magazine where beauty may be skin deep but helps quite a lot of bank balances. Every year teenagers spend £174 million on cosmetics and the profit they get out of it is uncertain.

The Miss World demonstration was a leap in the dark. Suddenly a few women found themselves facing up to the establishment in a totally unexpected way. If the aim was to gain publicity for the women's movement it was gloriously successful, but the writers of the pamphlet point out that they were not prepared for the spate of headlines that totally misrepresented their actions.

The demonstrators were 'freaks' and 'hippies' and thus precluded from serious discussion. But they wouldn't play it that way, they defended themselves in court, refused to succumb to the intimidating machinery of 'justice'. At first they were treated in a somewhat paternalistic way by 'daddy' (the Judge) but that didn't work and out came the mailed fist.

Later they realised that the 'joy of struggle' wasn't enough. The demonstration was a drop in the ocean, since millions of women doubly oppressed by sex and class can't hope to achieve freedom by such methods. The authors stress that the demonstration was an opening gesture in a long fight. The direction that the fight is going in is still uncertain and I think it is up to us as socialists to participate in it and relate it to the class struggle.

Through it women can learn that the fight for their own liberation is a part of the struggle for the liberation of all society, and that battle is fought on many fronts. As workers, tenants, claimants, mothers, women are being exploited everyday by capitalism. The frustration and rage have got to be channelled.

ANNA PRITCHARD

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 racialism 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.

THE QUEEN talks to Socialist Worker

At this time of the year, the thoughts of us all turn to the family—to the great family of nations that makes up our beloved Commonwealth where black, brown, yellow and white live in peace and equality together, a family made happy by the end of the unfortunate quarrel with our loyal friends in Rhodesia.

We think, too, of the countless millions of smaller families, both humble and great, nestling around the fireplace this jolly Christmastide, full of good cheer, putting aside thoughts of war and deprivation that bedevil us for the rest of the year.

Here at Windsor Castle my family, just like yours, is preparing for the festivities. The Rolls-Royces and the Daimlers are crunching across the gravel to deliver relatives from every corner of the land—the people whom Mr Hamilton describes as 'drones and parasites'. (I shall have a little surprise for him in the New Year's Honours List.)

Forgive and forget

The final Christmas cards are being despatched. Christmas, I always feel, is a time to forgive and forget and this year we have decided to send a card (albeit a cheap Woolworth's one) to the Duke of Windsor in France. He is spending the holiday with his old friend Sir Oswald Mosley—Ossie Mosseltoff, as Philip wittily calls him.

What reminiscences they will have! The Blackshirt marches, Jew-baiting in the East End, red-bashing at Olympia, eagerly awaiting the English edition of *Die Sturmer* each week. England, I feel, would have been a different place if Windsor had stayed on the throne.

How I smile to myself when I think that most people still fondly believe he abdicated because of his marriage to the Simpson woman. What did Mr Lincoln say about 'fooling the people most of the time'?

Warmth and delight

Naturally, we have our little problems in the family today. Some of you will have read about them. But they are tiny compared to the warmth and delight that our lovely daughter brings us.

As I write, I can see her now making her way to the stables for the night with a fresh bale of hay and some sugar lumps. How well she has recovered from that unfortunate operation (so grossly misrepresented in the foreign papers). After her string of triumphs on horseback came the crowning accolade—Sportswoman of the Year.

But not just this year for some of us! As our handsome young butler remarked with a gracious smile, 'For the lads at the palace, ma'am, she is the sport of every year.'

Alas, things are not so well with Charles. He seems strangely discontented these days. We have bought him a life-size Action Man with a change of uniform for every branch of the service, but he seems unimpressed.

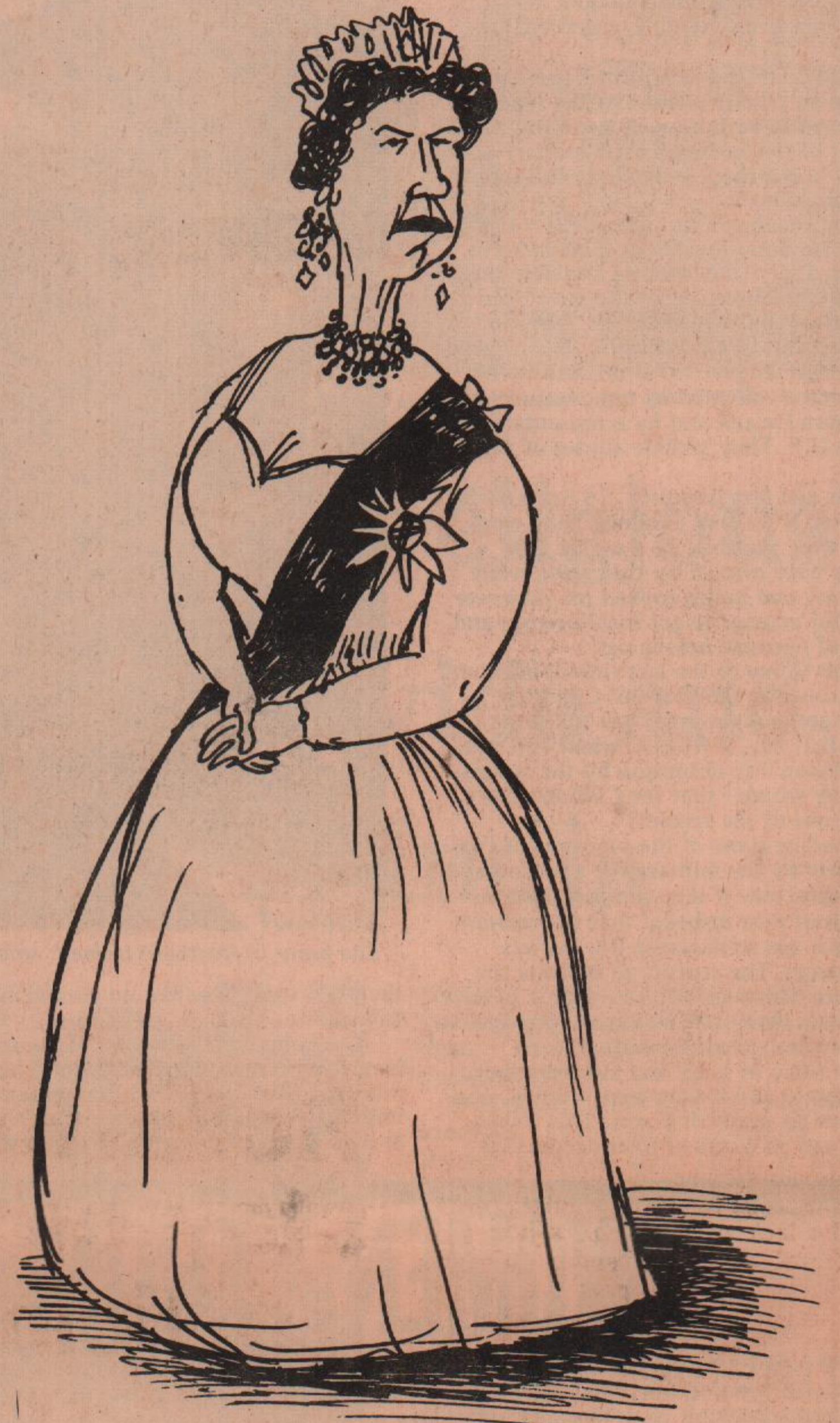
Vital and essential

He has taken to mooning around the palace at night, crying in a strange accent 'I want a sheila who bangs like a shit-house door.' Were we right, I sometimes ask myself, to send him to that Australian school?

But now I must turn to matters of more serious import. Many of you, I know, have been perturbed by recent matters affecting my family, in particular the size of the additional remuneration which my Commons have just agreed to. (I have a list of the 27 who voted against.)

I think the mistake which many of you make is to fail to understand the vital and essential role which the monarchy plays in our society.

As you know, matters of politics and philosophy have not been central to my reading and study over the years



A new portrait by Evannigoni

(Agatha Christie does not dwell upon such matters) but Philip, who is well-versed in these things and has even a passing knowledge of communistic ideas, has explained simply and patiently to me what our role is.

Our society is one that is rent by enormous chasms of wealth and opportunity. While a small minority of my most fervent supporters live lives of untold luxury and splendour, the majority face a life of struggle, hardship, sometimes poverty and unemployment. So obvious are the disparities of wealth that social upheaval might well break out.

Pointless and trivial

That is where I come in. Apparently remote from the daily hurley-burley and unconnected with the men who steer the ship of state, I provide the essential guilt on the gingerbread. My every thought, word and action, however pointless or trivial, are blown up by a sycophantic press and television to daze and bemuse the reading and viewing masses.

By focussing their attention on the exploits of my family, their minds are turned from dangerous occupation with the need to change their own lives, to break out of the vicious circle of exploitation and need.

And so you will appreciate that in spite of lengthening dole queues, proliferating slums, crumbling hospitals, growing malnutrition, it is vitally important for my Commons to get their priorities right and to keep me and my kind in the unbridled luxury which we so richly deserve.

For you must understand that if the Monarchy were to fall into disrepute or, worse, become what the wretched Hamilton calls, 'bicycling royalty', not only would all the sugary and romantic mysticism that surrounds us melt away but many other illusions which ordinary people have in the present social order might also come into question.

And then, I fear, the whole future of the 'English way of life' would be in jeopardy and the dreadful fate that befell my cousins, the Romanovs, would beckon to us.

Three million pounds a year is, I think you will agree, a small price to pay to ward off such a catastrophe.

I trust that these few words will have helped to quell any mischievous thoughts that may have been placed in your minds by anarchistic elements in recent weeks.

Happy and prosperous

And now I must close. Philip has just entered my room, speaking of the need for sleep after an anxious few hours with the accountants deciding whether he can have one or two new Rovers next year. His hands are clamped behind his back in the position that has become so familiar to you all.

Many of you have asked why he holds his hands thus. The reason is simple: that is the position in which they are tied before we retire for the night.

My husband and I wish you a happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

The Queen was talking to David East.

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Stirling
Rugby
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
Pottieries
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

Pay talks collapse may spark action

by Roger Rosewell
SW Industrial Correspondent

PAY TALKS for two million engineering workers broke down last week. The result could be industrial action some time in the new year.

The claim was for an all-round increase of £6 a week, higher minimum rates, a 35 hour week, equal pay for women and improved conditions.

The employers rejected these demands and offered a mere £1.50 on the skilled workers' minimum, with even less for lower grades.

Union leaders, headed by Hugh Scanlon, will be meeting on 9 January to consider their next step.

The employers' tough reply is related to the Tory government's policy of trying to hold wages down while prices shoot up. The policy, responsible for the meagre offers made to miners and power workers as well as the engineers, is being backed up by the rising level of unemployment and the coming into force of the various parts of the Industrial Relations Act.

Scrapping

In engineering the situation has been further complicated by the scrapping of the national procedure agreement from Monday 20 December.

The breakdown occurred because the employers refused to amend the agreement to insert a 'status quo' clause and to shorten the time taken by the disputes procedure. The employers hope that the confusion arising from the ending of the agreement, with the other weapons the Tory government have put in their hands, will allow them to avoid paying a substantial increase or improving conditions.

Their attitude has been strengthened by the lack of clear and militant policy from the union leaders, who have organised no support for the claim and are confused about what to do.

Substantial

One suggestion is that they should organise a national overtime ban, but with the present level of unemployment it is not thought that this would be particularly effective. Another point of view is that local factories—who have already been told to negotiate new and improved procedure agreements—should fight for the substantial rise that was rejected nationally.

Such a policy was adopted by the draughtsmen's union last summer following the collapse of its national talks. In November the employers claimed that the policy had not been successful, and there is little doubt that they would like the engineering unions to follow suit.

SETBACK FOR GEC STRIKE —NO BACKING FROM UNION

RUGBY: 350 members of DATA, the draughtsman's union (the technical and supervisory section of the AUEW) at the GEC-AEI Mill Road site faced an unexpected obstacle in their fight for the reinstatement of their union representative last week.

100 per cent backing for a work to rule and for three one-day strikes was met by a management threat of a lock-out. But after top level talks with GEC, who refused to take back the representative—who is also a deputy executive member for the union division—the DATA executive decided not to give official support to the men.

A mass meeting of all the members was told by Harry Smith from the executive that the union's funds had to be protected to fight disputes that could be won and would not be lengthy.

Speaker after speaker from the shop floor showed their disgust at this backdown, stressing that the

DOCKERS STRIKE OVER THREAT TO SOTON JOBS

SW Reporter

SOUTHAMPTON: Dockers voted last week to reject an offer from the employers and to give 28 days notice of the ending of Phase Two of the Devlin Scheme designed to modernise the docks at the expense of workers' jobs.

Phase Two has been in operation for a year in Southampton and the employers have contrasted its success here to its failure in London. But most of Southampton's 'success' has been paid for by a swelling of the 'unattached register'—those dockers who have to subsist on the national minimum of £20 a week—in London while ships are diverted to other ports.

Devlin Phase Two productivity agreements have split the once national solidarity of dockers so that each isolated port has become easy pickings for the employers. London dockers, frightened by the growing size of the unattached register and the employers increasing use of Southampton, recently accepted a wage offer way below the increase in the cost of living.

LAUGHING

While dockers have been cutting one another's throats, the employers have been laughing all the way to the bank.

In January, the Far East container service will start from Southampton. Eventually this will handle about three million tons a year, which is equal to about a third of the tonnage handled in London and would require 5000 men to handle it conventionally. The new terminal will employ a mere 200.

Southampton employers are proud of the fact that since the start of Phase Two there has not been a single strike. Buying out piece work has yielded handsome dividends for them, while the other productivity strings like mobility and flexibility have given them added advantages.

As one docker told me, 'it has given the employers a good idea of the minimum number of men needed to work a good job and in times of labour surplus will give them a case for putting men on the unattached register.'

In spite of these advantages, the employers have refused to consider the latest modest claim of the Southampton dockers—for a 20 per cent increase in basic pay, higher sick pay, the 35 hour week, a fourth week's holiday and a gratuity on retirement or death. Instead they have offered a mere £2.50 on the basic rate.

UNITED

The employers know that although they could easily afford the men's demands, to make concessions would act as an incentive to dockers elsewhere to push their claims. And the National Association of Port Employers is firmly united in a way the dockers have not been since the introduction of Devlin.

Last week's decision to invoke the termination clause in the Devlin agreement does not mean that Southampton dockers see through Phase Two yet. But some at least now see how thin the ice is.

As a leading steward said: 'The employers can play dockers off against one another. The London of today could easily become the Southampton of tomorrow.'

'The time has come for a national policy for the union to combat unemployment and the run down of certain ports.'



The new Far East container berths: jobs for just 200 men

Rolls-Royce men stay out as union officials dither

by Sheila Melot

BRISTOL: A mass meeting of 6000 Rolls-Royce workers last week voted to reject the company's pay offer and to continue their eight week long strike. This was the outcome of several days of negotiations between management and national officials of the unions.

Negotiations began when the shop stewards offered to settle for an increase of £1.50 and to discuss strings when they were back at work (the original demand had been for £5 a week). Local management accepted this offer, but never said so in writing.

For three days officials waited at the door for the rubber stamp. Finally,

management told them that from the £1.50, 50p would have to be taken off from any award made for engineering nationally.

And then the 'interim holding agreement' would apply—ie there would be immediate implementation of true activity sampling, job grading and work measurement that the stewards have been rejecting for a year.

Full time officials rejected the offer but wanted to put no recommendation to the mass meeting. They would have left the men leaderless. However, a stormy shop stewards meeting forced them to allow the stewards to put a recommendation for rejection to the meeting.

Appease

The officials have been going out of their way to appease management, and even called the mass meeting without consulting the stewards.

Management was hoping that the approach of Christmas would force the men back. But they have been fighting for so long that they are not going to give in without winning something, and time is on the men's side.

The cold is starting to freeze out staff who have been working and oil tankers cannot get past the 24 hour picket line in to the plant. Concorde is blacked and only one spare engine remains.

Deliveries of the Pegasus are already due, and orders are waiting. The bosses will be forced to make a better offer soon.

Shop stewards are touring the country for support and their hard-ship fund is growing. Rolls-Royce Coventry have sent £500 and Rolls-Royce Leavesden £134.

The government is trying to smash shop floor organisation at Bristol. If it is successful, it will try elsewhere.

Messages of support to: The Secretary, Strike Committee, Patchway Labour Club, Patchway, Gloucestershire.

Mass meetings will plan action on 'surplus' jobs

SW Reporter

THE NATIONAL PORT shop stewards committee met in London on Saturday to discuss how to fight the threat from the employers to the system of labour registration, the National Dock Labour Board.

The immediate cause of the meeting was the decision by all the major companies in London to return their 'surplus' labour to the unattached register—a sort of no man's land between regular employment and redundancy. If the employers succeed, they do away with the whole meaning of the Labour Scheme for dockers.

The employers have also met the unions in the last week to try to get them to accept compulsory severance instead of the present voluntary system. The unions have said they will resist this, but remain committed to the productivity deals that have resulted in the present situation.

The stewards agreed to hold mass meetings in the major ports this week and to reconvene on 8 January to make policy decisions. It is widely believed that the committee will not hesitate to call a national strike if the employers carry out their threat to return men to the unattached register.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

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

Socialist Worker

Mangrove —major victory for blacks

by Mike Caffoor

THE ACQUITTAL, on the main charges, by a jury last week of all the defendants in the Mangrove Nine trial represents a considerable victory over the attempts of the police, the Director of Public Prosecutions and the judge to frame them.

The trial arose out of incidents that occurred during a demonstration in Notting Hill in 1969 and carried charges against the defendants including 'conspiracy to riot'. If they had been found guilty severe penalties would have been inflicted.

The Mangrove restaurant in All Saints Road, Notting Hill, has become a favourite meeting place and social centre for the local black community. Inevitably, discussions turn to wider issues—police harassment, racism in Britain and the struggle of black people against imperialism.

The police raided the premises three times in 15 months on the pretext of looking for drugs, although none were ever found. On the third occasion they arrested the proprietor and his wife because he demanded to see their search warrant.

On 9 August a number of demonstrators gathered outside the Mangrove. After listening to speeches they moved off on a route that passed all three police stations in the area.

Arrested

As the demonstration marched along Portnall Road a fight developed between marchers and police, that ended with 17 black people being arrested. Charges ranged from assaulting policemen to carrying offensive weapons. 10 were subsequently found guilty and fined, and seven were acquitted.

But the police were far from satisfied. On 14 October some two months later, Frank Crichtlow, owner of the Mangrove, was arrested and charged with incitement to riot, with inciting members of the public to assault police and with affray. A round up of other militants followed and similar charges were preferred against them.

The magistrate rejected the charge of 'incitement to riot' but sent them for trial at the Old Bailey on the lesser charge of affray.

The police tried another tack. They complained to the Tory Director of Public Prosecutions. In an unprecedented move he re-imposed the riot charges without explanation.

The trial and the eventual victory has given tremendous confidence to the black community. Considerable sympathy has been evoked from black workers for the courageous way the Mangrove Nine conducted themselves. Collections have been held in the black community to pay for the costs incurred as a result of the trial.

In boosting the morale of black people and in showing that aspects of racism can be fought and defeated, the Mangrove Nine have taught us an important lesson.

MINERS FIRST FOR BIG NEW YEAR PAY BATTLES

by Laurie Flynn

STRIKE NOTICES run out for Britain's 200,000 miners at the beginning of January. They will have to wage a long and bitter struggle if they are to break through the circle of Tory attacks on workers' living standards.

The majority on the miners' union executive have been keen to find an escape route away from struggle. This has taken the form of suggesting bigger rises than the £2 now on offer in return for various pledges to improve productivity still more dramatically over the next two years. But the Tory government refuses to allow the Coal Board to accept this way out.

Last week the government's determination was seen by the increase in the Coal Board's offer, from 7.1 to 7.8 per cent. This was unanimously rejected by the NUM executive. But they once again put out feelers for concessions on productivity.

But the government will not sanction any compromise that would get the NUM executive off the hook. It wants the union to submit as a lesson to the rest of the British working class.

Workers invariably have a watertight case. The miners' is double sealed. The claim had to be substantial, £9 for underground and underground face workers, £8 for the surface.

For these are the men who are nowhere near to recovery from 14 years of being mortgaged to the 'national interest' and sacrificed on the altar of higher productivity.

MASSIVE PROFITS

Since the industry was nationalised, their numbers have been reduced from 700,000 to just over 200,000. Output per man has doubled. And every year the industry has turned in massive profits before equally massive sums in compensation and interest were paid over to the former owners and successive governments.

For years the union was almost completely integrated into the National Coal Board. But then came the Coal Board move to end piecework, which had kept earnings in Yorkshire and Nottingham high and the union divided.

The day-wage system altered all that and the high earning areas were levelled down to meet Scotland and Wales in a miserable parity.

The will to fight is there as a new mood has swept through the industry. Areas which were previously indifferent to their common plight are now willing to lead the struggle.

If the miners do fight, they can win. But the battle will be long and hard, without strike pay and against a government only too ready to get its millionaire friends who run the daily press to unleash a campaign of hate against the miners as they did against the power workers a year ago.

The miners have to build their links with the transport and dock workers to ensure that the strike is not weakened by imports or moving of coal. If they stand firm they can blaze the first trail right through the Tory government and its 7 per cent, and teach the rest of the working class a very different lesson from the one the government wants it to learn.

Four-day week call at Parsons

by Dave Peers

NEWCASTLE: 1300 members of the AUEW (Technical and Supervisory Section) employed at C A Parsons staged a protest march on Monday and at a mass meeting that followed agreed overwhelmingly to reject redundancies announced by the management.

Instead they called for four-day working and instructed their negotiating committee to impose this themselves if management would not accept the proposal.

Parsons want to sack 950 people—650 staff and 300 hourly paid indirect workers—out of the total work force of 9000. The Joint Shop Stewards Committee has replied by imposing an overtime ban and by refusing to discuss any details of redundancies.

The convenor, Mick Wallace, walked out of a meeting with

management saying 'We reject the philosophy of redundancy and we will oppose this with all our power'.

Individual stewards have been instructed to behave in the same way. If any redundancy notices are issued they are to be referred to the JSSC immediately.

In charge of issuing the redundancies is a man by the name of Craufe, who was responsible for the sacking at Reyrolles earlier this year.

MIRROR LIES ON IRISH CAMPAIGN

by Eamonn McCann

'KILL A BRITISH SOLDIER' screamed the front-page Daily Mirror headline last Friday. The story below alleged that this slogan was being used by the Anti-Internment League in its approaches to British workers.

Mirrormen Davies and Bonnett painted a lurid picture of the AIL. To justify the story the Mirror printed on Saturday a piece by Davies describing two 'AIL meetings' one in Notting Hill and one at the Roundhouse in Camden Town.

It turned out that the quote came from a speaker from the floor at the Notting Hill meeting. As for the Roundhouse, the meeting there was not held by the AIL.

In other words, the Daily Mirror gave its whole front page to a remark by a member of the audience at one of the 300 meetings so far held by the AIL.

The reason for this is clear. The Mirror wished to discredit the AIL in the minds of British workers.

Messrs Davies and Bonnett were given the grubby job of digging up the dirt. These two gentlemen could only come up with one speck of mud.

Frighten

Nothing daunted, they spread it as far as it would go—over the front page of their newspaper. A little mud goes a long way in the hands of 'journalists' like Davies and Bonnett.

The AIL campaigns on the slogan: 'Troops out of Ireland, Internees out of jail'. It has laid the basis for the biggest mass movement on the Irish question which this country has ever seen. And it is making significant progress in the trade unions.

This is why the Mirror now feels it necessary to try to frighten British workers off.

On the wider issue of violence and the killing of British soldiers our attitude is clear: While believing in the necessity to assist the development of a revolutionary working class party in Ireland, we are not neutral between the British Army and those who fight against it.

We acknowledge the right of the Catholic working class areas of Northern Ireland to defend themselves against the army by whatever means they have available, including the use of arms.

British soldiers are being shot because they are there and because they are being used to shore up a reactionary and bigoted Unionist establishment.



Part of a 1000-strong torchlight march against internment in London on Sunday

Plessey occupation enters fourth month

by Steve Jefferys

THE PLESSEY company appear to have started the festive season with a massive assault on the workers occupying their Argyll Works in Alexandria, near Glasgow.

Plessey's original strategy—to defeat the workers through boredom by simply leaving them alone—has been beaten by the Plessey workers' determination. Over the 15 weeks that the gatehouse at Alexandria has been the HQ of the Occupying Workers Committee, there has been no falling away of support.

And during these long weeks, in which the Plessey lads have broken all post-war records for occupation and complete control of the factory, the pressure built up on the employers. Plessey had sold the metal stores to the 600 Metal Group for £250,000 on the understanding that they could collect within a short period.

But as Eddie McLafferty, the convenor says: 'They won't take anything away until we've won our fight.'

Plessey are also desperate to remove some of the research projects to factories in England, as they have simply marked time since the struggle began. And they are increasingly anxious to get shot of the entire factory so they can use the capital that will be released elsewhere.

The end of the phoney war was sig-

nified last week by a Plessey press statement. Plessey intended to set up a joint company with the Lyon Group, Ltd.—an industrial site development company—to develop the factory as an industrial estate.

The conditions under which Plessey and the Lyon Group would go ahead with this scheme are:

1. The men to end their occupation.
2. The unions to join management in a campaign to attract new industry.
3. 'Recognising that all existing stocks and works in progress, while of no direct relevance to the issue of employment, is of significance to Plessey in business terms, and that they agree to their removal.'

In other words, Plessey and a giant estate firm are demanding the end of the fight on the basis that they will try and get more jobs in Alexandria. This is in no sense different from Plessey's original position, so it is only fair to ask why has it been given the publicity build-up.

The answer to that can be seen in the headline editorial in the local right-wing newspaper, Lennox Herald: 'Plessey men will now need diplomacy.' This editorial goes on to pretend a victory has been won and says: 'And the families of the men who have guarded the gates during the 14-week sit-in must now have real hopes that their loved ones will be with them at home over the festive season.'

The Plessey press offensive has a clear objective: to isolate the Plessey workers from their support which has been growing throughout the country over the past weeks as the message had been getting through about their struggle.

Appeal: page one.

KILBURN IS public meeting: 'Chile Is It Socialist?' Speaker Juan McIver. 8pm. Tuesday 28 December, York Room, Anson Hall, Chichele Rd, Cricklewood NW2.

WANTED URGENTLY: London comrades to distribute leaflets and sell papers at London docks on Friday and on Monday mornings or afternoons. Contact Fred Lindop. 552 7085.

HORNSEY IS Xmas Fund Raising Party. Beer & other booze 75p. Hot food 15p a plate. Tuesday 28 December, 9.30pm. 90 Mountview Road, N8.

IS BOOKS will be closed on Friday 24 Dec and will reopen Monday 3 January.

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Sunday 30 January 1972
in MANCHESTER

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