

## A.T.U.A. miners' section statement

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National Coal Board's (NCB) contemptuous and insulting delays in negotiations, sick to death of Robens' speeches, and sick to death of the union leadership's refusal to use the union's strength to force the issue.

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Everybody is saying: this is the strike nobody expected. It has come because of all the accumulated bitterness and frustration at the NCB's treatment of the miners.

Now the NCB and the Labour government are being challenged. Not only hours, but wages, pit closures, rents and every other issue now comes up and must be settled, in the teeth of a government policy against wage increases and favouring laws against trade unionists.

Above all, the miners need a leadership that will fight instead of collaborating with the government and the NCB.

In five years of Labour government, 216 pits have been closed. How could we expect opposition from leaders like Ford, who denounces this strike, or from Paynter, who has now joined the side of the government?

Under their leadership wages have declined until miners are 20 places down the wages 'league'.

Along with millions of other workers, the miners are saying to the government and the employers: for many years you've treated us with contempt; now it's ended! The surface-men's hours are only the tip of the iceberg.

### Determination

We say it is a fight against the government: how can it be won?

Only by the greatest determination of the men, like the Liverpool dockers in 1967. No return till the demands are met, no matter what the press, TV, the government, Mrs Castle, or the TUC or the NUM executive may say.

But more is needed. The miners are in front of a whole class fight against the government and against the Tories' plans to return to power and attack the working class.

When the NCB refuses the eight-hour day and sticks fast on wages and the market-men's issue, it does so with government support.

Whether they like it or not miners are faced with a battle for a new socialist leadership against the plans of the NCB and the Labour government.

This new leadership is an urgent question. There is every danger that the present leadership will try some way to sell the strike down the river. They are afraid of a real struggle.

### Wages issue

Why are miners out on the surface-men's hours and not also on the main issue—wages?

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They hoped the threat on the hours question would get them off the hook on the wages question, with 12 pits already supporting the four-week Cadeby strike.

Because the NCB rejected any concession on hours, the Yorkshire area leadership were caught in their own trap and had to call a strike.

The magnificent response to the strike recommendation goes far beyond what they intended and shows the great things which the miners and the rest of the working class can now win if a revolutionary leadership is built.

Can this strike turn the tide against the NCB? Yes! From this strike we

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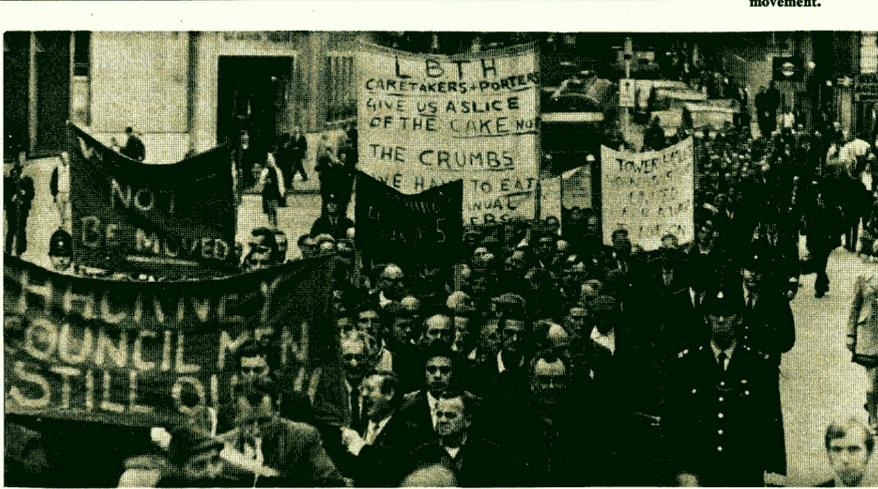
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Their strike is to continue despite an offer from the council.

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East Kilbride, Lanarkshire dustmen, however, have returned to work pending negotiations.

Mr James Barrie, SCMU national organizer has said the union will make strike action official if the negotiations fail.

The SCMU was not a signatory to the agreement reached by union chiefs and councils in Edinburgh last week.

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The stoppage was total. Shops, banks and morning newspaper offices closed, while trams and trains stopped running for one hour.

Again to the fore were Milan's engineers joined in this strike by building, chemical, pharmaceutical, municipal and hospital workers.

He was immediately backed up in his attack on car workers by Mr. Douglas Richards, president of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders.

'Way of Life' 'Strikes seem to be coming a way of life and this has done incalculable harm to the image of Britain around the world.'

The industry was facing a state of 'near anarchy', he warned.

Mr. Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, on the other hand, received his usual warm praise from this leading employers' spokesman.

He was, said Richards, 'as nearly all of us know here, a sincere man, and he has already tasted some success. We wish him much more'.

Richards no doubt had in mind Feather's recent and vicious denunciation of Mercedes workers.

LEGAL SCREWS Stokes' attack follows directly from the Tories' declaration at their Brighton conference that on their return to power they intend to immediately tighten the legal screws operating against the unions.

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AS STRIKES caused further delays to the Motor Show opening at Earl's Court, British-Leyland chairman Lord Stokes called for government intervention to end the wave of unofficial disputes now hitting the industry.

If the government wanted another £26 million contribution to the balance of payments, said Stokes, 'it is perfectly easy and we will oblige willingly'.

'All it has to do is something positive to stop unofficial disputes and have the solemn and binding undertakings actually undertaken', declared his Lordship.

Even more workers than were at first thought will be affected by British-Leyland's plans for short-time working and redundancies at Morris Motors, Oxford.

Except Minor 1000 workers, all piece and day-workers will suffer some short-time. Skilled men will lose their overtime.

If the company's plans go through, 6,000 will be affected.

The company proposes to slash Morris 1100 production by 408 cars a week through cutting one complete day and night shift.

But it wants to increase the speed of one line from 23 to 26 cars an hour!

Shop stewards have told the management that this is totally unacceptable and may well propose factory action unless the proposal is dropped.

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One-time 'left' Walker would bear none of this: 'It should not be overlooked' he stated 'that such fees are largely subject to heavy tax demands.'

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# More discipline for students

FURTHER steps in the drive against left-wing students in universities and colleges are suggested by the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science, which reported earlier this week.

The committee's report follows its national 'fact-finding' tour, which was several times interrupted by demonstrations, particularly at Essex University and the London School of Economics.

The inquiry was set in motion as part of the witch-hunt against student militants which followed the LSE events last year.

In fact, the committee singles out these colleges, along with the art colleges at Hornsey and Guildford, for special treatment.

It recommends that they be subjected to independent inquiries.

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Student unions would be required to register with a central body in the same way as trade unions have to register with the Registrar of Friendly Societies.

It would also have the power to inquire in detail into any higher education institution.

These proposals would mean that the government would have far greater control over university affairs.

The new Higher Education Commission would become a means for enforcing governmental diktats in the universities and a centre for the attack on students' conditions and militancy.

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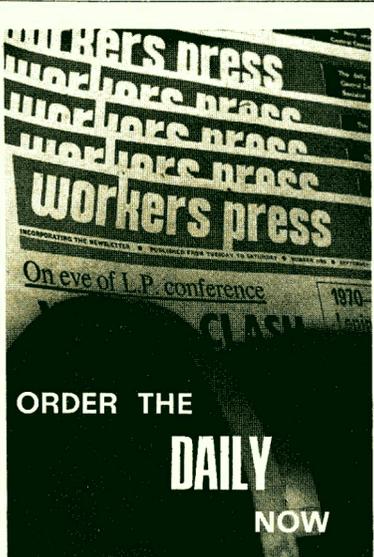
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Not surprisingly, the committee's report, drawn up by an 'all-party' body of MPs, wins the approval of the National Union of Students' leadership.

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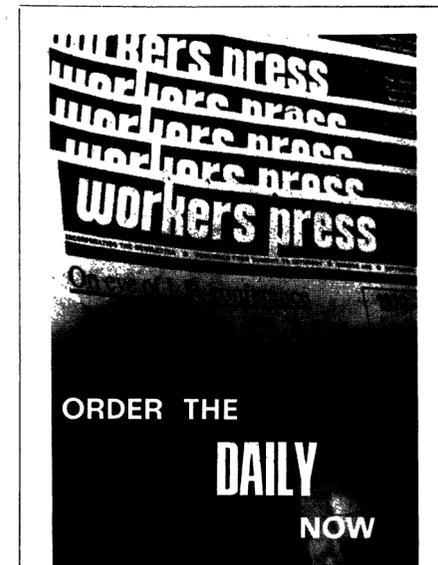
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### Fifth week

This is Italy's fifth consecutive week of mass strikes and occupations.

The present working-class offensive shows no signs of slowing down. Only its leaders fear victory.

DAVID MAUDE, industrial correspondent for Workers' Press, has written the first of a series of important articles on the motor industry.

These will be especially important for delegates attending the All Trades Unions Alliance Motor Conference in Birmingham on November 8.

The article, entitled: 'Sackings, Measured-Day Work, Common Market: British-Leyland tools up for new attacks', is a must for all car workers.

Make sure of your copy now. If in difficulty, telephone 01-720 2000.

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## 'ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION' VOLUME 2

Edited M. Blaug  
Penguin Modern Economics: READINGS  
pp. 50 10s.  
Review by JACK GALE

# Worse and cheaper education on the way

'EDUCATION at all levels is going to be subjected to more and more pressures to increase its productivity, to introduce economies, to conserve resources, to operate more efficiently.' (p. 311.)

Recent reports on education in the Workers' Press have highlighted the discontent of teachers over pay and conditions and the intensified government 'economy' cuts.

These are the symptoms of the underlying trend in education in the capitalist countries.

As the world economic crisis lurches on and a permanent body of unemployment is created, capitalism has less need of an educated working class.

Labour power is a commodity. If it cannot be sold, resources will not be directed towards producing it.

Thus, whereas the years of economic boom gave rise to an expansion of and an increased interest in education—taking, in this country, the form of reports such as Robbins, Newson and Plowden—the 1970s will see an emphasis on economy cuts and cheapness, particularly in the United States and Britain.

This is made clear in a new collection of papers 'Economics of Education Part Two' edited by M. Blaug. What is advocated here, above all, is that education must be measurable in productivity terms.

This means:

- Larger classes in schools and higher staff-student ratios in colleges and universities.
- Exclusion of many children from higher education and even, in some cases, from normal schooling.
- Cheaper buildings, more intensively used.
- Less research in universities.
- Cutting out of non-measurable aspects of the curriculum.
- Increased fee-paying.

## ILLUMINATING SECTIONS

The most illuminating sections of this volume are 'Productivity and Efficiency of Education' and 'The Finance of Education'.

Writing on 'Productivity in American Schools and Colleges', J. A. Kershaw points out that education is second only to national defence as a consumer of resources.

Unfortunately, however, the high capital investment has not been used to displace labour but has been accompanied by a large increase in manpower per student.

Kershaw concludes that, both in schools and colleges, 'the student-teacher ratio will almost surely have to rise in the future under the impact of the rapid growth in enrolments'. (P. 306.)

Kershaw also comes very close to advocating that the more intractable youth should be excluded from school altogether.

Some youngsters, he says, are 'virtually ineducable' and are in schools merely to keep them off the streets.

The job has to be done, Kershaw thinks, but he asks why it has to be done by the schools.

What is implicit here is a process of creaming off the more able and/or the more passive working-class children and keeping the rest 'off the streets' in some kind of non-educating institution.

Or, in other words, the future unemployed are to be institutionalized from childhood!

The well-known brass-hat Admiral Hyman G. Rickover is quoted as having called for standardized Federal examinations to be given to all children to show how 'good a job' the schools are doing.

This, it is stated, would force the schools to 'de-emphasize' (i.e. cut out) those subjects which could not be measured in this way.

## TESTED EN MASSE

Once this was done, the 'measurable' subjects could be taught, as well as tested, 'en masse'.

'Both schools and colleges,' says Kershaw, 'should re-examine seriously the number and value of their small classes.' (P. 309.)

He then goes on to advocate a system of differential payments to teachers.

A few teachers in subjects where there was a shortage (like science teachers in secondary schools) would be well paid, but the mass of teachers would receive substantially less.

Kershaw recently participated in a study, financed by the Ford Foundation, to see whether a school system could be analyzed systematically to evaluate its productivity value.

Big business is interested in these ideas and is prepared to back them with hard cash!

Needless to say, similar ideas are prevalent in Britain. M. Blaug in 'The Productivity of Universities' mentions the use of staff-student ratios as an index of university productivity and says there is no evidence in support of small group teaching.

'What evidence there is,' he says, 'gives little support to the popular belief in the value of smaller classes... reductions in student-staff ratios may lead to a decline in a meaningfully defined productivity of labour in universities.' (P. 314.)

Blaug's views do not seem to be so far removed from those of Admiral Rickover:

'What of those goals or functions of universities that cannot be quantified and reduced to a scale? These, I would argue, should be ignored for purposes of measuring productivity and, for that matter, for purposes of assessing efficiency.' (P. 318.)

## UNIVERSITY OUTPUT

And again:

'To be sure, such things as the personal satisfaction and cultural awareness of students is part of the output of universities, but this makes no difference whatsoever to any conclusions about trends in university productivity.' (P. 319.)

'In my opinion, the first item on the agenda of future research should be student attainment tests given at the time of admission to universities and repeated at the time of graduation.' (P. 322.)

The same line is pursued by C. F. Carter in his paper 'Can we get British Higher Education Cheaper?':

'The general virtue of the smaller class is unproved.' (P. 331.)

'Could we get higher education cheaper by having fewer academic staff?' (P. 331.)

'The arguments used to justify the quantity of research are uniformly bad.' (P. 334.)

'It is not enough to say that the search for knowledge is a contribution to civilization, to be valued in its own right, irrespective of any economic justification.' (P. 335.)

'We could get higher education cheaper if we could house it in cheaper buildings, or if we could use buildings more intensively.' (P. 336.)

'It has been right to direct the search for cost reductions mainly to expenditure on teaching staff.' (P. 338.)

Finally, in Part 5 of this volume, Professor Jack Wiseman, Professor of Economics at York University, argues that state action in the field of education should merely provide subsidies to parents rather than provide a free education out of taxes.

He advocates 'educational vouchers' which would be distributed to parents. These would have a prescribed purchasing power over education services to be supplied out of the parents' own resources.

Professor Wiseman states clearly the attitude of all the apologists of capitalism towards social services:

## MEDICAL COSTING

'Improvements in the health of the working population may increase productivity, and this in turn will increase the "pay-off" to investment in skills (education)... this can be dealt with conceptually by treating good health not as an end, but simply as a means, so that provision of medical facilities becomes one of the "costs" of obtaining a return on educational investment.' (P. 347.)

What could be more direct? Capitalism's investment in health, education and all social services is related only to its requirements for a strong, physically and mentally fit working class.

When this need declines, so does welfare expenditure.

The reforms of the first post-war Labour government were not an attack on capitalism but served its needs at that time.

Today, capitalism can no longer afford—and no longer needs—such luxuries.

Therefore, social democracy once again meets its wishes—the Wilson government axes the health and education services.

Nevertheless, these reforms were real gains for the working class.

What is clear now is that more reforms can only be gained—and the old gains defended—by revolutionary means, because they clash with capitalism's basic requirements.

## Culture and Socialism



## Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art

Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto Art and Revolution

An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 3, 1926, and a number of other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearing in 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up in collaboration with Trotsky.

Price: Two shillings and sixpence Available from 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4



Among the contributors to the Dada magazines '391' and 'Litterature' are Tristan Tzara (front row, far left) André Breton (front row, far right) Louis Aragon (third row, far left) and Paul Eluard (third row, centre), all of whom joined the Communist Party.

## 'THE SURREALIST REVOLUTION IN FRANCE'

By Herbert S. Gershman

### 'MANIFESTOS OF SURREALISM'

By André Breton

Reviewed by Martin Meyer



André Breton, Diego Rivera and Leon Trotsky with Jacqueline Breton in Mexico, 1938.

# Surrealism and the revolutionary movement

THE STUDY of a rather difficult pre-war artistic movement might seem far removed from the struggle for socialism in 1969, but the questions which the surrealists raised concerning culture and socialism remain very relevant today.

It is essential that the revolutionary movement should have a clear understanding of these questions if it is to attract those young artists and intellectuals who are seeking a way out of the blind alley of modern art.

Bourgeois culture has reached a dead end.

Those artists who try to work within the accepted system are hemmed in by financial and, increasingly, by political pressures.

Those who opt out, like the underground film makers and painters, are thrust back on their own individual resources and lose that essential germinating conflict with the rest of society.

This inevitably leads to the exhaustion of the imagination.

The surrealist movement, or at least the main section of it led by André Breton, is unique in combining a firm allegiance to the revolutionary party as the only means to establish socialism with a determination to defend the artist's complete freedom to develop his own ideas.

It started after the First World War as an offshoot of the Dada movement, which used to express its hatred of the bourgeoisie in provocations of various kinds.

In 1925 Breton came in contact with the writings of Trotsky and swung the whole movement round to an understanding of the need for fundamental social change as the only means of really liberating the spirit.

In 1927 Breton, Aragon, Eluard and others joined the French Communist Party but left a year later when Trotsky was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party.

Breton remained an opposition communist and supporter of Trotsky right through the worst years of the 1930s and beyond, but most of the others capitulated to the Stalinists (Aragon, Eluard, Tzara) or the right wing (Salvador Dali).

'The Surrealist Revolution in France' is an academic literary study in the worst

traditions of university doctorates.

Gershman is hostile to the movement and in particular its fight for political principles which he dismisses as 'bickerings'.

'Manifestos of Surrealism' on the other hand is an important work.

It contains some of Breton's most important theoretical writings including the First and Second Manifesto of Surrealism of 1924 and 1930.

The difference between these two manifestos is quite dramatic.

The introduction to the First Manifesto speaks of the 'whims of the imagination which alone causes real things'. It is idealism run riot.

Ideas are seen as inborn, only needing to be 'uncovered'. But the key sentence comes on page 18:

'It was a question of going back to the sources of poetic imagination.'

It was the right to carry out this search that Breton and Trotsky defended all their lives against all those bureaucrats who tried to 'codify poetry' and limit artistic expression to an empty formula.

The second manifesto rejects idealism and links the movement directly to the fight of the working class for socialism.

It discusses the important questions of the relation of art to the economic base of society and of whether the working class can develop its 'own' art.

However it is the lecture of 1935 'Political Position of Today's Art' which must rank with Trotsky's 'Literature and Revolution' as one of the outstanding statements on art in our time.

Breton completely demolishes those shallow critics who say that the artist directly reflects the experience he undergoes.

He sees that the artist must extend the range of artistic expression.

Neither his personal experience, nor his political convictions can find valid artistic form directly.

They must first permeate into the subconscious and then find artistic form through the free play of the imagination.

This is why there can be no restriction on artistic experimentation.

In the manifesto 'Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art' written by Breton, Rivera and Trotsky (unfortunately not included in this book) it states quite clearly, 'There must be no authority, no compulsion, no trace of command' in the development of art and science.

## 'THE LIBERATION OF GUINÉ'

By Basil Davidson

Penguin African Library 6s.

Reviewed by Charles Parkins

THE AFRICAN as a hero is not a figure that appears much in the picture of Africa fostered by the bosses' press.

The courage of African liberation fighters is unlikely to be given prominence as a topic by editors who depend for their bread on advertising revenue from firms with investments in South Africa.

If you haven't read more about the war in Guiné, this is probably the reason why.

In this small country large forces of Portuguese troops, assisted by aircraft and bombs supplied by Portugal's NATO allies, have been engaged in a war for the last six years to maintain colonial rule.

It was 10 years ago, in August 1959, that the troops were first in action.

The Bissau dock workers came out on strike for higher wages and the troops were used to force them back to work. Some 50 dockers were shot.

Within a few years, the people's armed liberation struggle against Portuguese rule had begun. By 1968, two-thirds of the country was liberated.

Within the liberated areas, the revolutionary movement has set up its own shops, schools and hospitals.

It sends medical teams around the villages and assists the farmers with growing more food.

Arms are distributed among the people so that they can defend their villages against the Portuguese troops, while the guerrillas attack the enemy bases and prepare for the liberation of the towns.

The leaders of the liberation movement, the PAIGC (Party of African Independence, of Guiné and Cape Verde), do not regard their struggle as being against Portugal alone.

They have suffered bombing and napalm from the Portuguese forces; and as PAIGC leader Amílcar Cabral writes in his foreword to this book: 'Everyone knows that Portugal does not make any aircraft, not even as toys for



The villagers are armed: Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, hands out rifles in Quitaíne.

children. Our situation—the Portuguese aggression against our people—also involves the allies of Portugal, including Great Britain and the United States. And there too our struggle brings another gain: it teaches us to know the friends and enemies of our people of Africa.'

## DENOUNCES

Cabral denounces the Wilson government as pro-colonialist, but believes that his people have got friends in Britain, and says 'We count on the sympathy of the youth of Britain...'

Basil Davidson has written a number of books on contemporary Africa, and on African history.

In 1967, he was able to visit the liberated areas of Guiné, and in this book he describes what he saw and analyses its significance.

He begins by describing the historical background to Portuguese rule and showing how the African people have been oppressed and exploited in Guiné.

The exploitation of the colony has been carried on mostly by one monopoly company, the União Fabril. In Lisbon, opponents of the war describe it as 'the company's war'.

The União Fabril controls its own shipping and industries and through the Mello family its ownership is lined with other capitalist interests in Portugal, such as the steel industry.

Through these links it has connections with capitalists in Britain, France and West Germany.

So, as Davidson observes, it is not only Portuguese companies that are behind this war.

The war also has a wider significance in Davidson's view.

The successes of the Afri-



Member of the PAIGC with a fragment of an unexploded napalm bomb dropped by the Portuguese with the aid of American and British planes.

# The liberation struggle in Guiné

can liberation fighters in Guiné have given hope, encouragement and practical lessons in struggle for people throughout the continent.

## GUERRILLA WAR

Guerrilla war has begun in Rhodesia and South Africa. A unit commander who had been wounded in action there told Davidson:

'We are doing better than Smith's crowd can admit. We are winning over the people in the villages. They feed and hide us now. That's how we've been able to keep going

establish firm support from the masses.

In this respect, as Davidson notes, these African revolutionaries differ very strongly with the ideas of the Cubans, and especially with Regis Debray's ideas about heroic gestures and spontaneity.

They believe that it is useless to launch guerrilla war without active backing from the peasants, and about this there is little that is spontaneous, nothing that is automatic or mechanistic.

As for Regis Debray's remark that 'the guerrilla force should not be subordinated to the party', Davidson writes 'they would see this, it seems to me, as a recipe for disaster'.

The tragic end of the Guevara, in contrast to the successes of the revolutionaries in Guiné, can leave no doubt that they are right.

What are the politics of the PAIGC? According to Davidson, the leaders were to begin with not only opposed to Portuguese imperialism, but were also disillusioned with some of the 'independent' African states that have arisen.

They do not want simply to replace the colonial rulers with a black élite.

Davidson describes the PAIGC as 'a revolutionary movement based upon a Marxist analysis of social reality'.

## NOT QUOTATIONS

They could not simply get by with quotations from Chairman Mao, although in developing an independent analysis in this way, they would seem to have more in common with Mao than with those who are always quoting him.

What the PAIGC found was that although they were confronting an European power with modern weapons, among some of their peoples the social relationships had not even developed as far as feudalism.

Another specific feature was that in Bissau, the capital, there was a large element of unemployed youth who had come in from the villages, but for whom there were no openings, and who formed an important source of recruits for the party.

What is not made clear in Davidson's book is the social basis of the PAIGC itself, and whether it has really broken from being petty bourgeois based and gone over to the proletariat.

The present revolutionary, heroic phase of the struggle might obscure the importance of this question, but it will be decisive as to whether the future African state in Guiné lives up to the hopes of those who are fighting.

This links up also with the question of whether, in 'independently', empirically developing their theory, on the basis of Guiné's special conditions, the revolutionaries might pass over into a kind of Guinéan exceptionalism which would take away much of the international significance of their movement.

Real revolutionary consciousness is international, both in development and in implications.



# CRISIS IN EDUCATION

## Labour's education cuts encourage 'Black Paper' Tories

**THE PUBLICATION of the right-wing Tory document 'Black Paper Two' heralds a period of wholesale attack on the education of working-class children and students.**

**By Mark Jenkins**

all an expression of middle-class revolt.

As always, this layer of society is squeezed between the power of the working class and monopoly capital in periods of upheaval.

The middle class is being ground down into penury and bankruptcy by big capital and the economic squeeze. True to form it turns on the working class whom it blames for its plight.

That is the meaning of 'protecting excellence' and 'fighting mediocrity' in the 'Black Paper'.

The middle class wishes to preserve its petty privileges in the commercial and academic world. It boasts to its big business masters that it is 'more intelligent' than the working class and needs to be protected in separate grammar schools where its delicate 'intelligence' can be nurtured.

### Opposition

Since much of its wealth has gone, it can now only offer mythical 'intelligence'. Hence the general opposition to comprehensive education and the clamour to defend grammar schools.

Whereas Labour's pledge to pass a Bill forcing a reluctant minority of education authorities to go comprehensive was a sop to the left wing, Boyle's pledge to the Tories to repeal it was a sop to the right-wing Tories who supported the 'Black Paper'.

The Tories and the Wilsonites are agreed that education—and for the majority of working-class children this means comprehensive education—must be cut as part of the attacks on the living standards and wages of the working class.

### Trained

In the post-war period of inflationary boom, concessions were made to the powerful and confident working class. In Britain this took the form of the 'Welfare State'—the health service, free education and grants for working-class students.

The 1944 Education Act permitted working-class children to gain scholarships to grammar schools and to proceed later to universities and technical colleges.

### Revolt

Tory big business feels at the moment that the cuts begun by Labour are the best way to dismantle working-class gains in education.

The 'Black Paper' is above

### What the 'Black Paper' says

The Tory document 'Black Paper Two' is made up of contributions from a number of Tory educationists. Not all of them agree on every point. Here are some of its main points from different contributors:

- There are class differences in 'intelligence'. Working class children are born 'less intelligent'.
- Encourage birth control for 'less intelligent' people.
- Use 'Intelligence Quotient' (IQ) tests to submerge 'mediocre' people and allow those of 'superior intelligence' to succeed.
- Return to the bipartite system of secondary modern schools and restore grammar schools on a direct grant basis. Restore fee paying and provide scholarships for 'poor' children who are 'intelligent'.
- Select by examination at 13.
- Restore streaming and grading.
- Reliance on 'chalk and talk' by teachers, opposition to 'discovery methods' of learning, return to basic skills of the 'three Rs'.
- The average teacher is not 'intelligent' enough to use new methods.
- Autonomy and less state interference in universities which are expanding too rapidly.
- Instill respect for authority throughout education.

#### Who are its authors?

Rhodes Boyson, headmaster, Tory candidate for Eccles, ex-Labour councillor. G. Bantock, Professor of education at Leicester university. Tibor Szamuely, Russian emigre, lecturer in politics at Reading. R. Pedley, headmaster of St. Dunstan's. Sir Cyril Bert, Professor of Psychology, London. H. J. Eysenck, Professor of Psychology, London. Arthur Pollard, Professor of English, Hull. Richard Lynn, Research Professor of Psychology, Dublin. June Wedgwood Benn, teacher. G. B. Cox, ex-army educationist. Examiner. G. Crawford, teacher. Ralph Harris, general director of the Institute of Economic Affairs. A. E. Dyson, examiner. Mrs. D. M. Pinn, headmistress. Max Beloff, Kingsley Amis. Angus Maude.

But the demands for skilled labour, more technicians and teachers engendered by the boom made even this tripartite system obsolete.

Hence comprehensive education made some headway even under the Tories.

After all, this was not going to affect the children of the upper-middle and ruling classes who have their 'prep' schools and public schools regardless.

Comprehensive schools were introduced to meet the new needs of capitalism. It was discovered that some 'late developers' could easily fail the 11-plus examination but might still be trained and become skilled later.

Not only did the comprehensive school overcome such wastage of talent problems, but it was more economic.

Instead of local authorities having to provide facilities, staff, buildings and administrators in three separate units—

grammar, technical and 'secondary modern'—they need only provide one unit and thereby save money.

Comprehensive education is more and more begun to house all the problems of education in general under one roof instead of three.

But nevertheless it marked a big step forward from selection at 11 and the snobbery of the grammar school.

Now, with monetary crises rocking the capitalist system to its foundations, the concessions of the welfare state period must be taken back from the working class. Education, which occupies a place high up in total government spending, is target number one.

The Wilson government has used the Prices and Incomes Board to hold back teachers' pay, thereby driving many teachers to seek jobs elsewhere.

It has cut the rate-support grant to local authorities, thereby encouraging Tory councils to cut educational expenditure which is the biggest item of their budget.

This has resulted in some boroughs in sacking part-time teachers (Coventry), reducing the supply teaching service and decreasing pupil-teacher ratios.

To defend the pound the government has raised bank rates to an all-time high, putting education authorities into crippling debt with the banks.

At the end of the first quarter of 1969 the local councils' outstanding temporary debt reached £2,023 million compared with £933 million, eight years earlier.

These actions have encouraged the Tories even further.

As reported in Workers' Press on September 30 a pamphlet published by the Tory education centre, 'Education and Labour's Axe', proposes to 'put up school meals from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d., charge the full price for junior school milk, allow the university staffing ratio to deteriorate by 10 per cent, introduce student loans instead of grants and extend



Comprehensive education is no more 'socialist' education than the nationalized British Railways is a 'socialist' industry. Nevertheless it marked a big step forward from selection at 11 and the snobbery of the grammar school. Above: A sixth-form discussion.

nursery education on a fee paying basis'. (Workers' Press, September 30).

Behind Labour's cuts, and the Tories' proposed cuts, come the stone-age measures of the 'Black Paper'.

It is a chain reaction.

Miss Alice Bacon, by waving the 'Black Paper' in the eyes of Labour delegates at Brighton succeeded in defeating the agricultural workers' resolution which correctly declared that the government's cuts would make this the worst year for education since the 1930s.

In this way she uses the 'Black Paper' to attack education.

This provides perfect cover for the 'lefts' to refrain from attacking the government. Either Wilson, they say, or the 'Black Paper'.

The Communist Party, too, allows Wilson to get off the hook by calling for unity of 'progressives' to defend comprehensive education from the 'Black Paper'.

This presumably includes Short, Bacon and Wilson himself, all 'supporters' of comprehensive education.

Supplement of the same date, in which Professor Peters says: 'It might be argued that the "Black Papers" have done a service in making criticisms of current trends more acceptable.'

If the teachers are not successful in their pay claim and Wilson's education cuts continue unchallenged, the pressure in the class rooms will become unbearable for many teachers.

There is not space in this article for analysis of the putrid philosophy of 'intelligence' behind the 'Black Paper' and its authoritarian leanings. But thousands of teachers are coming into struggle against the Labour government's incomes policy and education cuts.

The teachers must find their place as allies of the working class to overturn the Wilson leadership in the labour movement.

Only the development of a revolutionary leadership and the taking of power by the working class can open the road for the development of socialist comprehensive education for all and the ending of class privilege in education.

No voice of dissent was raised. The meeting thanked those members of the executive who conducted the negotiations!

The Stalinists may well find their liberal-progressive 'friends' performing some strange tricks in the near future.

The 'Black Paper' was not unsympathetically reviewed by 'The Teacher' (NUT journal) October 10:

'Black Paper Two contains a great deal of good sense.' And 'The Times' Education

At the same time Stalinists on the National Union of Teachers' executive on October 4 sat through a meeting which expressed 'quiet satisfaction' at the Coventry settlement, which resulted in 133 sacked part-time teachers and the 'most stringent cuts' in other fields of education.

No voice of dissent was raised. The meeting thanked those members of the executive who conducted the negotiations!

The Stalinists may well find their liberal-progressive 'friends' performing some strange tricks in the near future.

The 'Black Paper' was not unsympathetically reviewed by 'The Teacher' (NUT journal) October 10:

'Black Paper Two contains a great deal of good sense.' And 'The Times' Education



Edward Boyle, ex-Tory Minister of Education.



Whatever the cuts and changes in education for working-class children, the upper and middle classes, through their wealth, still have their 'prep' schools and public schools. Above: A scene from Lindsay Anderson's film 'If' about life in a public school.

### B.B.C. 1

9.38-11.55 a.m., For Schools and Colleges. 12.55 p.m., Disc At Dawn. 1.30, Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53, News and Weather. 2.05-2.25, For Schools and Colleges. 4.20, Play School. 4.40, Jackanory. 4.55, Crackerjack. 5.40, Junior Points Of View. 5.50, National News and Weather.

6.00, Entertaining With Kerr. 6.25, Television Brain Of Britain. 6.45, The Virginian. 7.55, Not In Front Of The Children. 8.25, Golden Silents. 8.50, The Main News and Weather. 9.10, The Survivors. 10.00, Come Dancing. 10.30, 24 Hours. 11.05, Star Close Up: Joan Fontaine. 11.40, Weatherman. Regional Programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.0-6.25 p.m., Midlands Today. Look East, Weather. 11.42, News Summary, Weather, Weekend prospects for anglers, Road Works. North of England: 6.0-6.25 p.m., Look North, Weather. 11.42, Northern News, Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 a.m., Around Scotland. 11.35-11.55, Modern Studies. 6.0-6.25 p.m., Reporting Scotland. 9.10-9.35, Current Account. 9.35-10.0, Corrie Fold. 11.42, Epilogue, Scottish News Headlines. Northern Ireland: 6.0-6.25 p.m., Scene Around Six. 11.42, Northern Ireland News Headlines. Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m., Ar Lin Mam. 6.0-6.25, Wales Today. 6.45-7.05, Heddlw. 7.05-7.30, Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55, Week In Week Out. 11.05-11.30, Llygad Y Geinog.

# TODAYS TV

### Westward

11.0-11.55 a.m., Schools. 1.40 p.m., Schools. 3.0-3.55, Racing From Newmarket. 4.10, Westward News Headlines. 4.12, Peyton Place. 4.40, The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.55, Thunderbirds. 5.0, National News. 6.0, Westward Diary. 6.25, Sports Diary. 6.35, Crossroads. 7.0, Parkin's Patch. 7.30, Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30, Ours Is A Nice House. 9.0, The Untouchables. 10.0, News At Ten. 10.30, Frost On Friday. 11.15, Faith For Life. 11.21, Weather.

### B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m., Play School. 7.00 p.m., What Are The Facts?: Oil On The Beaches, an enquiry. 7.30, Newsroom, Weather. 8.00, Wheelbase. 8.25, The First Churchills. 9.10, The French Cinema: Salt-on-Jamale? 10.40, Westminster At Work. 11.00, News Summary, Weather. 11.05, Line-Up.

# L.W.T.

### Yorkshire

11.0 a.m., Schools. 3.0 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 4.0, Houseparty. 4.15, News Headlines. 4.17, Once Upon A Time. 4.30, Tales From Dickens. 4.55, Tarzan. 5.50, News. 6.0, Calendar, Weather. 6.30, Wheel Of Fortune. 7.0, Parkin's Patch. 7.30, Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30, Ours Is A Nice House. 9.0, Who Dun-It? 10.0, News At Ten, Weather. 10.30, Yorksport. 11.0, Frost On Friday. 11.45, Late News Weather.

### THAMES

11.0 a.m., Schools. 3.0-3.55 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 4.10, How About You? 4.40, Once Upon A Time. 4.55, Lost In Space. 5.50, News From ITN. 6.03, Today. 6.30, Peyton Place. 7.00, London Weekend Television starts.

# BORDER TV

### Tyne Tees

11.0 a.m., Schools. 3.0-3.55 p.m., Racing From Newmarket. 4.08, North East Newsroom. 4.55, Land Of The Giants. 5.50, News. 6.0, Today At Six. 6.30, Peyton Place. 7.0, Parkin's Patch. 7.30, Ours Is A Nice House. 8.0, The Untouchables. 9.0, Hadleigh. 10.0, News At Ten. 10.30, Frost On Friday. 11.15, Focus. 11.45, Late News Extra. 12.0 midnight, The Name Of The Game.

# Fazakerley, Liverpool C.A.V. workers must throw out productivity deal

A THOUSAND workers meeting outside the CAV factory, Fazakerley, Liverpool, last Monday rejected the management's 30s. increase offer tied to a productivity deal.

Workers' Press correspondent

There was only one vote against the resolution, proposed by the shop stewards' committee, which demanded a £2-a-week increase without strings.

The CAV management is demanding a savage attack on conditions. This is contained in Appendix A to their proposed 'productivity deal'.

This is only the beginning. Apparently, stewards have been informed that there is going to be an Appendix B, but they will not see that until there is agreement on Appendix A.

Appendix A consists of ten foolscap pages of conditions.

They strike blows at the working conditions of every section of workers in the factory.

CAV workers are ready to give a sharp answer to conditions like these.

There can be no discussions of productivity deals. They have the Lucas factory example next door where the workers rejected decisively any productivity deal or strings and a month ago obtained a 25s.-a-week increase without any conditions.

The Lucas combine is also being hit as, for the first time, shift workers in all four factories on Merseyside move together for a shift allowance

increase to £5 for every worker.

The CAV meeting decided to join workers at Lucas, Broad Green and Gilling, Bromborough in stoppages every Friday until a works conference meets to discuss the shift allowance demand.

The Merseyside Lucas area shop stewards' committee has called on the shift workers in all these factories to stop work three hours early, on both shifts, on Fridays to demonstrate their feelings on shift work.

## Strike at Cwmbran brake factory

PRODUCTION came to a standstill on Wednesday at the Girling Brake factory—part of the Lucas combine—in Cwmbran, Monmouthshire. 400 storemen, labourers and checkers walked out for the second day in support of their 25s. wage claim.

More than 4,000 workers in the factory were laid off on Wednesday and more layoffs were expected if the strike continued.

The plant supplies more than half of all drum brake assemblies for Britain's motor industry.

## Back to work at Rover

THREE hundred strikers at the Rover factory in Cardiff returned to work last night after a meeting on Wednesday had accepted a return-to-work formula agreed with the management on Monday.

The strike, which began as a protest against lay-offs caused by a dispute in the factory's machine department, and broadened to a demand for pay parity in the factory, had lasted five weeks.

More than 2,000 workers were laid off as a result of the dispute in the Birmingham area and production of Rover 2000s and 3500s was brought almost to a standstill.

Rover estimates the cost of the strike at its Cardiff and Birmingham factories to be in the region of £2 million.

The company expects to restart production on Monday.

## Nickel strike talks today

EMPLOYERS' and union representatives are to meet officials of the Department of Employment and Productivity today to discuss the four-week-old strike at the International Nickel Company's Clydach, Swansea, refinery.

800 members of the Transport and General Workers' Union struck work at the factory when the management began to operate the manning clauses of a productivity deal before the union had signed it.

The deal has already been accepted by the five craft unions at the factory, including the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers.

It contains a particularly vicious 'no-strike no-lockout' clause, which effectively outlaws any form of industrial action.

The T&GWW has said it will end the strike if the status quo is restored.

Already operating A productivity deal similar to the one proposed at Clydach is already operating at Inco's Henry Wiggin nickel refinery at Hereford.

The DEP's intervention in this strike can mean only one thing: increased pressure to get the deal through.

Inco workers must fight to throw out the entire deal and reject any attempts to sign away their right to strike.

## Building industry reflects economic crisis

FIGURES FOR 1969 may show a production drop in building for only the second time since 1951.

In the first half of this year output of new construction fell 4 per cent in real terms on the same period of 1968.

The credit squeeze and high interest rates have made it difficult for builders to obtain working capital to begin new construction.

The building materials industry, too, is suffering. One estimate is that 6,300 million bricks will be delivered this year, compared with 7,221 million last year.

Men are also being cut-back. August figures from the Department of Employment and Productivity show that 66,000 fewer workers were employed on construction than in August 1968.

This decline is almost wholly due to a fall in house building.

Recent estimates indicate that up to 40,000 fewer houses will be built this year.

Leading the attack on house building, especially by local authorities, is the Wilson government.

Concerned only with the goodwill of the international bankers, it fights tooth and nail to cut local government spending wherever it can.

Landlords helped The new Housing Act is aimed at giving financial assistance to landlords who renovate dilapidated property and allows them to raise rents at the same time.

Earlier this year the government began an attack on local authority public works departments.

Much of their work, which includes council house-building, would have to be put out to tender.

This policy is continued even to the point of cynically endangering lives.

A year and a half after the collapse of Ronan Point, many local authorities have yet to start work on strength-

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA



DISCUSSION CONTINUES: Early on in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, invaders were engaged in heated discussions with people in Prague (above). Similar discussions have apparently continued ever since and are worrying the commanders of the Soviet troops still stationed in Czechoslovakia.

# Political discussion worries Soviet command

By Robert Black

SOME of the problems facing the Kremlin in its occupation of Czechoslovakia were revealed on Tuesday by General Mayorov, Soviet commander of the forces now stationed there.

Writing in the Defence Ministry paper 'Krasnaya Zvezda' the General claimed:

'Speculation on national feeling has been confounded. With every passing day, more and more people are becoming convinced that the Soviet troops are in Czechoslovakia with an entirely noble purpose.'

And with every passing day, more and more people are purged from the Communist Party, the trade unions and leading government posts under the regime protected by General Mayorov's bayonets and tanks.

These lies are strictly for home consumption, where opposition to the Kremlin invasion is gathering strength.

## DIFFICULTIES

He also alludes to certain difficulties that have yet to be overcome, connected with 'living conditions, training, and supplies'.

The main problem was a political one however: 'Our troops in Czechoslovakia not infrequently have to take on the role of ambassadors for our Party and explain its policy.'

This can only mean that continued political arguments and discussions are breaking out between Czechs and the occupation forces, arguments in which the Soviet troops are hard pressed to justify the policies of their commanders and the Soviet bureaucracy which sent them there.

## READ LENIN

Finally, and with what can only be an intention by which the General makes the following comment:

'Efforts were being made to educate the Russians in Czechoslovak history and culture, and one unit had organized joint readings of Lenin with Czechoslovak troops.'

General Mayorov should not let his forces handle such dangerous weapons. Lenin all his life was a passionate enemy of national oppression. In one of these readings, let us hope that they study the following text:

'In such circumstances, the "freedom to secede from the union" by which we justify ourselves will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is. Collected works. Vol 36, p. 606.'

Lenin directed these words against Stalin's chauvinist policy in Soviet Georgia in 1922, but they apply equally well to the oppressive work of Stalin's successors, Kosygin, Brezhnev and company.

The Kremlin Stalinists degrade Lenin in using his name to justify their own counter-revolutionary acts.

The Czech workers, and the rank-and-file troops sent to oppress them, will in time see through this deception and carry through Lenin's struggle against bureaucracy and national oppression.

## ATUA meetings

BIRMINGHAM LUTON 'Workers' Press and the fight against redundancy and Measured-Day Work' Tuesday, October 14, 8 p.m. Bell Hotel Northfield Bristol Road

'Support Ellesmere Port. Throw out scabs' charter. No sackings' Thursday, October 23, 8 p.m. The Cock Park Square

## Apartheid land law for Rhodesia

SMITH'S Rhodesian regime published details of its Land Tenure Bill on Tuesday.

The Bill is based on South African 'apartheid' principles. Land will be divided between Europeans and Africans, making it illegal for either to own property or live in the others' zone.

The actual division of the land is also based on the system already operating in South Africa.

Rhodesia's 230,000 white population will have 44,952,900 acres, or just under 200 each, while the 4,800,000 Africans will be herded onto a slightly smaller area, with just over nine acres each.

This reactionary, racist dictatorship is now heading towards a fully blown apartheid regime.

It is also a regime that the Tory Party wishes to restore full links with.

## Nigerian farm rebels win big concessions

SUBSTANTIAL concessions to rebellious farmers were announced on Wednesday by the Nigerian Federal government.

Over the last month there have been serious riots in Nigeria's western state, with police killing more than 60 farmers protesting against high government taxes.

The Nigerian cabinet has now agreed to a reduction in the flat rate of taxation and local officials are being withdrawn from the villages to the city.

The cabinet has also promised that the state's cocoa marketing board will review prices paid to producers for next season.

## STUDENTS

FROM PAGE ONE

The NUS leadership does not appear in the least worried at the prospects of tighter governmental control over the universities.

Indeed, they hope to take part in the full in operating this plan.

No doubt this reformist leadership considers the committee's proposals for increased student participation on Senates, governing bodies and academic boards to be a step in the right direction.

## Aspirations

In fact, it is merely another way of drawing selected student 'representatives' closer to the establishment, effectively damping the real aspirations of the majority of students.

However, many students will take a quite different and much less welcoming view of the report.

Central government intervention in the present higher education situation can only mean tighter control over left-wing students and more frequent purges like the one that took place recently at LSE.

The report must be fought as a continuation of the attack on students.

## Foundation member expelled by Austrian C.P.

Workers' Press correspondent

THE AUSTRIAN Communist Party announced on Tuesday that it has just expelled Ernst Fischer, one of the Party's oldest members.

The expulsion follows Fischer's refusal to retract statements he has made against the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Though officially opposed to the Kremlin action, the Austrian Party leadership had previously been loyal supporters of the Soviet bureaucracy's policies and actions.

This expulsion indicates a move back towards Moscow as the crisis sharpens in Czechoslovakia itself.

Fischer has long been regarded as an authority on cultural questions. His articles on problems of art and literature under socialism have severely criticised Stalinist distortion of culture in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

On hearing the news of his expulsion, Fischer (who is over 70 years of age) stated that being a communist did not depend on Party norms, but on one's attitude to the revolutionary struggle.

## CAR

FROM PAGE ONE

creating vast unemployment and short-time working.

On the very day before his speech, Stokes had threatened 1,000 of his Oxford workers with the sack and the Motor Agents' Association had warned of considerable short-time working in the industry over the coming winter.

Only the nationalization of the motor industry under workers' control can end this capitalist anarchy and chaos.

This is the programme of the Socialist Labour League and All Trades Union Alliance.

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## A.T.U.A. meetings SWINDON

Speaker: Frank Willis Young Socialists candidate in the parliamentary by-election

Friday, October 17 8 p.m. Swindon Town Hall

## LIVERPOOL

'Unemployment and the lessons of GEC-English Electric'

Sunday, October 19 7.30 p.m. Museum Lecture Hall William Brown Street

## LEICESTER

'Wages battle, unemployment and Workers' Press'

Thursday, October 23, 8 p.m. Queens Hotel Rutland Street

## NOTTINGHAM

'The Workers Press and the fight against low wages, productivity deals and redundancy'

Thursday, October 23, 8 p.m. Peoples Hall Heathcote Street

## All Trades Unions Alliance conference

Motor workers' conference All car, car components and delivery workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth Birmingham Saturday November 8 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Write for credentials to: R. Parsons, 21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford. Conference fee: 5s. a person

## MINERS' STRIKE

FROM PAGE ONE

must go forward with a programme:

● Immediate wage increases. Immediate settlement of the union's now outdated claim of £16 underground and £15 surface minimum and a new claim to be settled within a month—or strike action! If the dustmen demand £20 minimum, what about the miners?

● Suspend all pit closures now. Committees of workers' inspection must be set up with powers to decide on the future of pits.

● Stop all NCB rent increases.

What should miners fight for now, during the strike? Bring the wages question into the forefront, where it belongs.

The union branches and panels in Yorkshire and every area must call regular mass meetings to plan the strike and hammer out policy.

The union officials must be supplemented on the strike committees by equal numbers of members elected from the ranks.

The executive must make the strike official and pay strike pay.

No return until the demands are met, signed, sealed and delivered.

This will smash the hated procedure agreements, under which a return to work is always demanded before negotiations can begin.

Every worker in the country will support the miners because they are all in struggle against the government on wages.

Nationally and locally the miners must appeal to other sections of workers for support.

We ask miners to discuss this policy. Build in every area branches of the All Trades Unions Alliance to prepare a new socialist leadership in the mines and every other union.

## Jobs threatened at Tempered Springs

A STATEMENT posted on notice boards at Tempered Springs Co. Ltd., Sheffield—announces that it has entered into an agreement with English Steel Spring Corporation.

It will take over English Steel's heavy springs for general engineering purposes and hand over its motor car suspension orders.

This rationalization is in response to a depressed market and is closely linked up with the sackings and short-time in the motor industry.

The statement predicts that 'there is little chance in the near future of demand rising to absorb available capacity'.

The management claims that 'any person displaced from his present job will be offered alternative employment'.

The shop stewards' committees should work to take big delegations to the Birmingham conference of car workers called by the All Trades Unions Alliance on November 8 for an industry-wide offensive against redundancies, productivity deals and the government's incomes policy.

## Operators

Operators are to refill their machines with coolant or cutting oil and to move work in the absence of labourers.

The management lay it down that, while it is 'inevitable' that some workers will receive a greater increase than others, there must be an acceptance of any revised differentials.

Buy and spread the Workers' Press, the only daily paper fighting for the miners.

This is a fight against the government and its policies. It is a fight against the return of the Tories, the hated traditional enemies of the miners.

For that an alternative leadership must be built. Winning this strike will help to lay the basis for that.

## NLF SINK SAIGON SHIP

NLF frogmen blew up a Saigon regime cargo ship on Wednesday with a limpet mine.

The 1,261 ton Panamanian-owned vessel sank in Nha Trang harbour. It was carrying a cargo of tin sheeting. Such military disasters as these are creating the open split in the US ruling class on its policy towards Vietnam.

## Notts. still solid

UNION officials are trying to sell out the dustmen's strike by forcing through productivity deals as was shown by their policy in Nottingham this week.

The 300 men at the East-croft depot have been out since Monday pressing a claim for £19 4s. for loaders and £20 15s. for drivers.

But at a mass meeting union officials claimed that the only way to get more than the 50s. rise offered to London dustmen last week was to accept proposals similar to Croydon council's; a productivity deal cramming 15 hours more work into the normal working week.

This huge speed-up clearly carries with it the threat of redundancies.

The Nottingham men must reverse the decision to accept this line and join the national fight for a £20 basic wage with no productivity strings.