

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 193 31 OCTOBER 1970 6d

## THE RICH

A special feature looks at the tiny group of powerful people who control our lives in the interest of profit — centre pages

# IT'S BLOODY BARBEROUS



London busman Chris Davison seen at last weekend's Workers' Control conference where he spoke of the necessity for an all-out fight against anti-union laws. Report page 8. Picture: Jeff Pick

## 'Police are out to smash us' — claim by Black Panthers

BLACK PANTHERS told a press conference in London this week that their organisation is being hounded and victimised by the police with government backing. Their allegations were given weight by the trial of 19 black people — many of them Panthers — which began on Wednesday.

Charges at the trial arose out of a demonstration in Notting Hill last August against police harassment. A number of black people were arrested on the march. And the police have been visiting other demonstrators two months after the march to charge them

with incitement to riot, assault and even attempted murder of an officer. The Panthers claim there is a systematic, political move to smash their organisation. Socialist Worker expresses its total solidarity with them.

## Handouts for bosses, kick in the teeth for old and poor

DID SOMEONE SAY we don't live in a class society? That illusion should have been shattered this week by Barber's razor attack on the living standards of the workers and his shampoo and set for the bosses.

The Tory prescription means suffering for the poorest people in our society — and the numbers who live below the poverty line are on the increase.

Suffering for children who will lose their free school milk. Lack of milk in the diet leads to malnutrition that always strikes at the poorest families.

And diseases such as rickets, caused by malnutrition, are already on the increase in the poorer parts of the country.

Hardship for working-class families who will have to fork out more for school dinners, more for doctor's prescriptions, more for trips to the dentist, more for spectacles.

The rising cost of health charges means, quite simply, that working people will visit the doctor, the dentist and the optician less often. And because these charges hit hardest at the very poor and the old, there will be more sickness, more distress...and more deaths.

How does that grab you, Tony Barber?

### MEANS TEST

But he hasn't finished brandishing the razor yet. Sweeping changes in council rents and rates are on the way.

Rents will go up. And so will fares with the ending of subsidies to commuter services.

Of course, you can always plead poverty. You can always say I can't afford the services that I already pay for from my wage packet every week.

And then the kindly government will means-test you, interrogate you, pry into your family affairs and may offer you a tiny handout. But only for a very few (see David Hebblethwaite's article on page 2).

Ah, yes — but there is a 6d in the £ cut in income tax. Pardon us while we spew.

A flat-rate cut in income tax means that the poor shoulder an even bigger tax burden.

A worker on £20 a week will get £3 a year back in tax. A man on £3000 a year will get back £42. And the fat parasite on £15,000 a year gets a cool £320 a year relief.

Poor relief has been replaced by rich relief. Tony's tanner for the workers will be swallowed by all his cuts in welfare.

Now for the rich and the powerful — the tiny minority who profit at our expense. They are cock-a-hoop. Shares jumped on the Stock Exchange on Tuesday.

Corporation tax is cut. That means

## Big jump in rents and prices

bigger profits, bigger dividends.

In fact, profit is at the heart of all Barber's changes. The right to profiteer at the expense of the majority is enshrined in the Tory proposals.

Switching from investment grants to investment allowances means more cash for the most profitable firms. And firms will be able to write off the cost of new machinery against tax, which opens the way to massive tax fiddles.

The new system of agricultural support is the first move to get British agriculture into line with Common Market food pricing. That means higher food prices for the consumer and is a further blow at the poor.

It all mounts up to a massive attack on ordinary working people. They have to pay to make Britain profitable for the bosses and the financiers.

Of course the Labour opposition will howl. But they set the pace for many of these changes when they were in office.

They are not going to lead a real fight against Heath and Barber.

### VICIOUS SYSTEM

And it isn't just a fight against the Tories. It is against a system, the capitalist system, a mean and vicious system that condemns millions to poverty, millions more to a life of scrimp and scrape.

The Tory cuts must put more steam into the fight against their anti-union proposals. Millions must be mobilised to fight and defeat the government.

The task of socialists is to convince working people that they have the power to lead that fight.

THIS FRIDAY  
30 October  
Cliff - Mandel debate  
Friends Meeting House  
Euston Rd NW1 7.15pm



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## Once again, the workers have to pay

THE WELFARE CUTS announced by Chancellor Barber on Tuesday are a piece of crude class legislation designed to make working people pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

What hypocrites the Tories are! Heath made family poverty one of the key issues of the election campaign — and one of his first moves is to plunge thousands of people deeper in poverty.

Private industry makes colossal profits of £8000 millions a year—profits produced by the workers. But the Tories don't make the profiteers foot the bill. Once again, another pound of flesh is stripped from the workers.

The Tories hate the welfare system. The health service and social benefits may only marginally improve the lives of ordinary people. But they mark a step away from the Tory philosophy of individualism, where the rich pay for — and get — all the benefits and the poor and the sick go to the wall.

The Tories are replacing the important principle of welfare benefits available to all regardless of income with the most vicious and hated of systems — the means test. People wishing to claim some exemption from welfare charges will be forced to go through the degrading business of having their family income investigated, checked and queried.

## Refuse such indignities

In some parts of the country children who claim free school meals have to use a different door to children who pay for their food. In some instances children have been made to wear coloured badges to show they receive free school dinners.

Because of the natural reluctance of many people to suffer such indignities, the vast majority will refuse to be means-tested. They will pay the higher charges and allow their incomes to be diminished further.

Remember — the health and welfare benefits are not free. They never have been free. We pay for them out of our wages every week — and working people pay a higher proportion to the state than any other section of society.

The Tories want us to pay more. They want to turn us away from the principle that people, as a collective, should care for one another, look after one another.

These miserable, disgusting proposals must be fought. Not on their own, but as part and parcel of a massive campaign of militant action against this anti-union, anti-worker, inhuman government.

## COUNCILS OF ACTION —KEY TO UNION FIGHT

THE DECISION by the Workers' Control conference last weekend to call for militant action by the trade unions against the government's anti-union laws is an important step forward.

The conference organisers seemed reluctant to put any real demands to the conference but the delegates successfully challenged this attitude. The final resolution called for a national strike on 8 December and the creation of local committees of action to spearhead the challenge to the Tories (full details: back page).

The setting up of local Councils of Action is a vital part of the fight to stop the anti-union laws going through. They are designed to mobilise the rank and file in each locality and to campaign in every factory and place of work against the government's proposals.

The danger in the campaign is that too much reliance will be placed on trade union officials who will verbally attack the government but will not attempt to bring their members into all-out opposition.

As we have stressed in recent weeks, the Tories will only be defeated by action, not words. Union officials will only be forced into action by their members.

In some areas where trades councils are strong bodies with real roots in the trade union movement they can be used to lead the fight. In such instances, all local union branches must be encouraged to send delegates to the trades councils and to press for full and frequent discussions on the strategy needed to fight the government.

## No room for complacency

In other areas, where trades councils are weak or do not exist, rank and file Councils of Action should be set up by elected delegates from trade union branches, factories, shop stewards' committees and other workers' organisations.

The councils should launch campaigns in every locality through factory meetings, public meetings, and marches and demonstrations to arouse all working people to the menace of the Tory proposals and the need to fight them and defeat them.

As the first steps in this campaign, full support should be organised for the 8 December national strike proposed by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. Trade unionists should make an effort to send strong delegations to the Liaison Committee's conference on 14 November.

The campaign against the government is hotting up. But there is no room for complacency.

If Heath and co are to be beaten decisively, millions of workers must be mobilised to take strike action. Councils of Action, democratically run and controlled by rank and file trade unionists, are the key to success.

Credentials for the 14 November Liaison Committee conference are obtainable from J Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park

# Police and dons launch big student crackdown

by Martin Shaw

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT can no longer be tolerated. It has to be attacked. That's how Dick Atkinson, a lecturer victimised at Birmingham University, summed up the situation in higher education today.

He is right. Information coming in from all over the country gives a picture of growing viciousness by university authorities and the state in their attitude to students.

Eight months ago, Warwick students discovered political files on students and staff, with information provided by local big business which dominates the university. Meetings had been spied on and International Socialists leafletting factories and schools were reported to a grateful Vice-Chancellor.

The student response to the revelations was a national wave of anger. On every campus the question was, 'Is it happening here?'

And everywhere the authorities refused to let the students see for themselves. So the students, in many cases, had a look without permission. It was then that the universities clamped down with the biggest wave of expulsions, suspensions and discipline yet.

## Brandishing the axe

The repercussions are still being felt. At Keele the university is brandishing its axe in retaliation for a long series of protests at earlier discipline, including a harmless nude sunbathing incident which the press sensationalised.

Some students have been thrown out on trumped-up 'academic' grounds.

With the Atkinson case, the idea of academic freedom has been thrown to the winds. Atkinson was considered academically competent by a faculty committee, but his appointment was vetoed by a senate committee on political grounds.

Atkinson is not a revolutionary socialist. He thinks universities should abide by their own professed liberal-democratic precepts.

The university authorities have proved that they won't. And the police, courts and government agree.

This summer, nine Cambridge students were jailed for demonstrating against a dinner to support tourism in Greece, ruled since 1967 by a Western-backed military dictatorship. The students were jailed under common law provisions of 'unlawful assembly' and 'riot'.

The Sunday Times (hardly a subversive paper) showed at the time that the students were arrested after the event, not for this or that action,



Chief Constable Porter: blown the gaff

but simply because they were held to have led the demonstration. Most were selected for being leaders of the Socialist Society.

The Chief Constable of Cambridge Mr F D Porter has confirmed this. In the Observer (18 October) he said that for him the advantage of these charges was that they could be used as a very wide net to catch people. 'They could be, and they will be, as far as I'm concerned,' he says, 'And I think you'll find that other chief constables do the same.'

The problem for him is not the breach of the law, but the 'approximately 100 revolutionaries' and '400 fellow-travellers' in the University.

His aim in the Greek demonstration was to get known left wingers. 'When we were fighting the Germans and we took prisoners, we didn't take Americans, did we?'

So much for the idea that the law is above politics! Mr Porter has blown the gaff.

For him, the law is a general weapon of authority against dissidents. The job of the police is to

harass those who think differently from our rulers.

Evidence that this isn't just his personal view is growing. A report from the National Council for Civil Liberties alleges a big growth in police spying on left-wing students.

Durham drugs squad might almost have been trying to prove the report right, by showing a desire to illegally keep records on any students who might possibly diverge from the values of society in even a non-political way.

Members of the public attending a trial of two students on drug charges last week were secretly photographed by police. The police had to say they would destroy the photos, after a lawyer complained.

But as the Students Union President said: 'After today, let no student doubt the report of the NCCL that the police are watching us all.'

Why are our rulers flouting the very concepts of freedom, democracy and the rule of law in the universities and in society?

Basically, it's because these ideas are not the truth about our society. But it's also because at the present time British capitalism is in greater trouble internationally and with its own working class than it has been for decades.

## Front-line students

The Tory government, with its vicious anti-union, anti-social services and anti-educational policies, is a measure of how far the ruling class is prepared to go against democratic rights and other reforms achieved in the past. It is further encouragement to university authorities and the police.

Students are in the front line. They must and will fight back.

But their power is limited, and their main hope is to build real links with the working-class movement in its fight. There is little doubt that many students are attracted to this idea, but do not see how it can come about.

There is much students can do, but the underlying problem in the attack on students is this: will the working class see that anti-union laws, productivity deals and wages are not just isolated or sectional questions?

Will workers realise that these questions are the centre of a battle against reaction in general — that if we lose, society slips a little further along the road to barbarism, that we can only win by moving onwards towards socialism?

What is happening to students shows that the Tory trade union laws are not an isolated question. It is up to socialists, workers and students, to make sure this point is driven home.

## Tory welfare scheme will not aid the poor

by David Hebblethwaite

THE GOVERNMENT is going ahead with a scheme designed to help large families in need of financial assistance.

But in fact the scheme will do nothing to aid the eight million people living in poverty in Britain today.

The government proposes to help the 200,000 of the poorest families where the father is in full-time work by telling them to apply to their local social security office for a weekly grant. This may sound reasonable but it amounts to a further attack on working-class living standards.

Those who appeal will only receive up to 50 per cent of the difference between their earnings and their 'tax threshold'. This means that very little will actually be paid out.

There is a top limit of £3 a week per family but only a few families will be liable to receive the full allowance.

And the government intends to place a 'ceiling' on a family's weekly income. It

mentary benefit level — and we know how wildly extravagant that level is.

If a family does get one of these hand-outs, the rate will stay at the same level for six months when it is assessed again. It is ludicrous to fix social security allowances twice a year, for the circumstances of families change from week to week.

Illness, unemployment, redundancy and additional children all affect the income of a family.

On top of all this, the scheme will be administered by social security offices that are hardly noted for their generosity to working people. Many will not appeal to these offices because of a natural reluctance to have to ask for money that is rightfully theirs.

Other welfare schemes — such as rent and rates rebates, welfare foods, prescription charges and supplementary benefits —

complicated forms and assume they fully know their rights actually deter many — from taking full advantage of them.

The whole scheme is a ruling class charade, a cheap capitalist substitute for raising family allowances which the government promised to do in its election manifesto.

The Tories must realise that many poor families do not have a wage earner. Families in unemployment, old age or with one parent will not qualify for help. So much for aiding the poor.

And the scheme is only designed to 'help' wage earners. Here is the real attack — for the scheme will try to prevent lower-paid workers from organising themselves in trade unions to press for wage increases.

The government will attempt to buy off workers by giving them a few shillings a week extra and so soften trade union organisation.

This so-called financial help scheme is just another arm of the Tories' anti-trade union offensive and should be treated with the contempt — and resistance — it



STARTS THIS WEEK: AN IMPORTANT NEW SERIES

# Blood-soaked profits from the cargoes of death...



## Balfour - friend or foe?

'BALFOUR ST.', 'Balfour Square': in every large town in Israel, one of the leading streets bears the name of this alleged saviour of the Jewish people.

On 2 November 1917, Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary, sent a letter to Lord Rothschild, a leading figure in British Jewry. In it he expressed the British government's favourable attitude towards 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'.

But was he such a hero? Were his policies inspired by a genuine love for the Jews? The anniversary of the Balfour Declaration is an appropriate time to explode this myth.

Lord Balfour was leader of the Tory Party and Prime Minister from 1902 till 1906. In 1905, he took a strong line on the question of Jewish immigration, and checked the inflow of Jews seeking refuge from persecution in Eastern Europe.

### Anti-semitic

Not only did Balfour put through legislation keeping the Jews out, but the Tory Party under his leadership put out vicious anti-semitic propaganda directed towards the working class. In official Tory leaflets, Jews were described as 'Foreign criminals,' 'diseased outcasts,' 'the scourgings of European slums,' 'this evil flow of aliens who were turning out the honest Britisher'.

And when asked, early in 1917, to intercede on behalf of Jews suffering from appalling discrimination in Russia, he replied that, 'the persecutors had a case of their own... wherever one went in Europe one found that by some way or other the Jew got on... one could perhaps understand the desire to keep him down...'

What then was the real motive behind the Balfour Declaration? The Zionist ambition of a Jewish state in Palestine could only be achieved by courting whichever imperial power happened to be dominating the Middle East at the time. By the end of 1917, British forces had almost driven the Turks out of Palestine.

The Zionists were offering themselves to Britain as a bulwark to help defend British interests in the area against Arab nationalism.

### 'Little Ulster'

Sir Ronald Storrs, first British military governor of Jerusalem, wrote that a Jewish state would create 'for England, a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism'.

These people encouraged the growth of the Zionist movement for several reasons. First, they believed that a pro-British state would help to sustain British possession of the Suez Canal.

Secondly, they thought it would strengthen the British imperial life-line to India. Thirdly, Britain had £500 million invested in Egypt.

Britain was in competition with her war ally, France, for imperial control over the Middle East.

But a key factor in 1917 was the Russian Revolution.

The Russian Revolution haunted the Western ruling classes. In 1919, Balfour, in a conversation with the American Zionist leader Justice Brandeis, said, 'Jews are now not only participating in revolutionary movements, but are actually to a large degree, leaders in such movements.'

Among other things, Zionism was for Balfour a means of directing Jewish energies away from revolution and towards support for existing capitalist society.

To call Balfour a friend of the Jews would be like saying Enoch Powell is the blood brother of black immigrants.

Sabby Sagall

The problem of racialism has grown enormously in Britain in the last few years. It is vital that all socialists not only oppose racialism but also understand why it exists and what role it plays in capitalist society. This series is an attempt to answer some of these problems.

ANY UNDERSTANDING of racialism in Britain today must start from an appreciation of the role of imperialism and colonialism in British history. Only when we see the relationship between Britain and Africa, Britain and the West Indies, Britain and India, in the past is it possible to understand why Britain today is faced with the problem of racialism.

The first contact Britain had with non-white peoples was in the role of slavers.

The first Englishman to engage in the vile trade of transporting blacks from Africa to the 'New World' to be used as cheap, slave labour was John Hawkins, the pirate, who, sailed, aptly enough, in the good ship 'Jesus' in 1562 under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth I.

The trade boomed until by the middle of the 18th century it was just about the most important trade English merchants engaged in.

## Cheap labour

The key to the slave trade was the West Indian economy, which was based almost entirely on sugar. As the demand for this commodity grew English landlords established huge plantations with an ever-expanding need for cheap labour.

In order to meet the demand, the 'triangular run' was set up. Under this system, British merchants sent cargoes to West Africa that were sold or exchanged for a cargo of slaves.

The slaves were then transported in frightful conditions to America or to the West Indies. They were sold for fat profits which were used to buy goods—mainly sugar—that were then resold on the ship's return to England.

In this way, English merchants doubled and trebled their profits. The role of the slave trade cannot be exaggerated in the development of the British economy.

Ports such as Bristol and Liverpool were built up on the blood-soaked profits obtained from the slave trade. In the years 1783-1793, 921 ships sailed from Liverpool carrying 303,787 slaves at a value of £15,186,850.

No wonder that when a Bill to abolish slavery was defeated in the House of Commons, the churches of Bristol rang their bells in joyous acclamation. And no wonder that Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for



Millions of Africans were set down in societies with which they had nothing in common: print shows the ramshackle quarters given to slaves in the southern states of the USA.

the Colonies, could say in 1775: 'We cannot allow the colonies to check or to discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation'.

It is here that the first seeds of present-day racial attitudes were sown. The original motive of the slavers was not primarily racial.

Given the chance, they treated their white labourers in the same way.

But as a result of shipping more than 15 million blacks in conditions of indescribable horror, such men as the slavers came to believe that the blacks actually were sub-human.

They were not like white men, rational, thinking human beings; they were a commodity to be bought and sold just like sugar or cattle.

## Backcloth

In a famous law-suit of 1783, a learned judge ruled that in the case of a captain who threw 132 slaves overboard because he had no water for them 'It was exactly the same as if horses had been thrown overboard'. He awarded the firm employing the captain £30 per slave and the insurance company had to pay up.

These were the attitudes that formed the backcloth against which the rush for colonies was to take place in the 19th century. In addition, the economic and social effects of the slave trade upon both Africa and the West Indies were unimaginable.

In Africa, whole tribes and nations were set against one another and countries were depopulated, all to feed the insatiable appetites of Brit-

Slaves worked for 16-18 hours a day in the sugar colonies. Whippings and mutilations were common as punishments for slaves. Slaves were filled up with gunpowder and blown up with a match. They were buried up to their necks, then smeared on their heads with sugar so that the flies could devour them.

Between 1666-1766 the number of slaves imported by Britain into the Americas was 3,000,000 (250,000 died on the voyage). Between 1776-1800 an average of 74,000 slaves a year were imported into the American colonies.

It has been estimated that by 1750 there was not a trading or manufacturing town in England unconnected with the triangular trade based on slaves. The profits from this trade were one of the main sources of capital accumulation that financed the industrial revolution.

The slave trade brought with it a huge increase in shipbuilding and ancillary trades like carpentry and painting. More importantly, the London docks were started in 1799 and 1802 to accommodate the West Indian trade.

Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow were built in the slave trade. A local historian wrote of Bristol: 'There is not a brick in the city but what is cemented with the blood of a slave'. Over one-third of all Bristol ships were involved in the slave trade.

Another writer said of Liverpool: 'After all, it was the capital made in the African slave trade that built some of our docks. It was the price of human flesh and blood that gave us a start'.

Britain was no longer the only industrialised nation in the world. It became necessary to take control of colonies in order to safeguard raw materials—such as palm nut oil in West Africa—from other imperialist nations.

This meant that for the first time large working class armies were used by the colonisers, bringing working men into their first contact with non-white peoples.

Such armies and the settlers who had accompanied them came solely as conquerors. They were often welcomed by the inhabitants of these countries, but the invading armies ruled by force of arms, broke treaties, set one tribe to fight against another and arbitrarily fixed boundaries.

## 'Superior'

Almost inevitably, the men who ruled in this manner came to believe that it was not because of their armed force but because of their inbuilt superiority over black people that they were able to rule those areas. Such ideas were brought back to England by returning soldiers and sailors and gained some acceptance, although it was by no means total.

This was the position at the turn of the century. Ideas of racial superiority mixed with a muddled thinking that spoke of 'the survival of the fittest races' had gained some acceptance in Britain.

But without the presence of a large black population in Britain, such ideas were largely irrelevant to the political life of Britain.

NEXT WEEK: THE TORIES FAN THE FLAMES





Picture by JEFF PICK

# What the rich wot gets

## Getting to know the powerful few that control our lives

by KATHY and LIONEL SIMS

WHO ARE THE RICH? Do they affect our lives? Can there be any comparison between Onassis on his million pound yacht, thousands of miles away in the Mediterranean, and the factory worker on his council estate in Batley?

What possible link can there be between the rich playboys of the Swiss mountain resorts, the debonair young millionaires who idle away the sunlit hours on palm fringed beaches and Joe Bloggs who spends his days sweating it out at Ford's?

The Daily Mirror and other so-called 'people's dailies' spend a great deal of time flashing photos of the gentry and the rich of the world across their pages.

### Strip away

The aim is to get us used to the idea that these parasites on the back of the working class are a different race, a different species, people who through their own 'natural superiority' have somehow managed to make the grade, to be rewarded for their brains and intelligence with all the comforts of life.

Those of 'inferior intellect and abilities' are relegated to the dustcart of life. They get all the rotten jobs, which funnily enough seem to fall upon members of the working class.

Right - let's forget all the press rubbish and strip away the aura of mystery surrounding these 'heroes of our time'.

Let's face it, they can't spend all their time on the beach in Honolulu or visiting their mistresses or divorcing their wives. What goes on in between these 'activities'?

Well, for a start they've got to collect the money.

### Work harder

Where does it come from? Answer - US.

On the face of it, that might seem a bit ridiculous. After all, we've never met Lord Muck.

We've never been on his yacht or visited his country club. We didn't even know he had a house in Switzerland for the weekend and a flat in Mayfair. Details!

He knows us though. That's because he owns us.

If he didn't own and control our lives he wouldn't be able to fly his private plane or go water skiing in California.

The fact is, when he's not engaged in using the world as his playground, Lord Muck is attending board meetings. In these board meetings he takes off his jacket, rolls up his sleeves and gets down to his 'job'.

His job is talking, thinking, devising ways and means to make us work harder in the factories and on the production line.

He thinks up ways to con the public into buying the products which the public itself produces. He decides how the employers can

introduce speed-up, productivity deals, measured day work, working out different methods of making the workers on the shop floor think they've got a 'fair deal' so that the speed-ups can be introduced with the minimum of trouble.

How else did Charles Forte turn the Cafe Royal from its 1954 annual loss of £46,000 to its 1968 profit of a quarter of a million quid? It's not Charlie who makes the chip butties you know.

Or what about the Metal Box Co? Profits have risen from £21 million in 1968 to £25 million this year. The new chairman, a Mr A W Page, received in his first two months employment this year an average of £482 a week.

### THE PLIGHT OF THE POOR

THE 25 company chairmen below receive a total of £1 million a year in salary. They are not necessarily the top-paid chairmen but a few selected at random.

Most company chairmen do not have to live on their pay alone. They also receive dividends on shares they own in their own company. For example, O A Aisher owns shares in Marley and his dividends on these shares was £15,000.

CHAIRMAN	COMPANY	PAY £
D H Barran	Shell Transport	72,809
Sir G Harvie	Consolidated	
Watt	Gold Fields	61,135
Sir Peter Allen	ICI	57,915
J Davis	Rank Orgn.	50,000
AEC Drake	BP	*47,118
Sir Val Duncan	Rio Tinto-Zinc	45,000
Sir J S Willis	British Electric Traction	42,931
A J McAlpine	Marchwiel Holdings	42,720
Lord Stokes	British Leyland	*42,148
P W Milligan	Sedgwick Collins	42,100
Sir J Lockwood	EMI	42,000
Sir B Mountain	Eagle Star Insurance	42,000
Sir A Hall	Hawker Siddeley	41,769
J Rank	Rank, Hovis	
Lord Cole	McDougall	41,700
Sir Denning	Unilever	40,000
Pearson	Rolls-Royce	39,616
F Taylor	Taylor Woodrow	38,999
R P Brookes	GKN	36,000
E J Partridge	Imperial Tobacco	36,000
O A Aisher	Marley	35,325
Sir R Geddes	Dunlop	35,000
Sir L Crossland	Ford	31,741
BN Reckitt	Reckitt & Colman	31,000
J O Hambro	Hambros Bank	30,565
A F McDonald	Distillers Co	30,400

\* Pay for 11 months only  
Facts from Labour Research

Reyrolle-Parsons, the electrical switchgear firm, increased its profits from £5 million to £11 million between 1967 and 1969. The chairman, Mr Judge, got a pay increase of £194 a week, bringing him to the princely sum of £548 a week. The average bloke on the shop floor of Judge's firm would have to work 25 years to equal one year of the chairman's earnings. A council worker would have to work 30 to 40 years.

Incidentally, it might interest you to know that our old buddy Edward Heath is having a new yacht built. It's costing him a mere £25,000. How long will it take you to earn that much?

What it boils down to is this - in every firm and company these

## 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, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

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



officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

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

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

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers.

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

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

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black work-

ers. We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

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

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

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

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. Over a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it'. If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

### THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

**SCOTLAND**  
Aberdeen/Clydebank/Dundee/Edinburgh/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling/Fife

Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

**EAST**  
Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

**NORTH EAST**  
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Tees-side (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

**MIDLANDS**  
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Licester/Oxford/Nottingham

**GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES**

**NORTH**  
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**WALES and SOUTH WEST**  
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Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chersey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

**SOUTH**  
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**NORTH WEST**  
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name .....

Address .....

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



A Bolshevik poster

posh con artists and plot over our heads. But the rich would be a great part to think so.

Unfortunately

keep them on the concessions at we accept every prod speed-up that's th we refuse to accept

This makes it icult for the ric think they can co frightens them.

### New

Everytime th out on strike Grabital tremble under their sunsha

So they devise to harness the na ness' of the wor invent new laws t jail, they create a pain through the press, their telev radio.

They support Spain and Greece a to supply arms to keep the workers They'd do the sar they could get awa

One of their keeping the shar and contented.

Just what is They are the peop

Now and then the rich director onising our place in and out of his sure we see he's rea

But these shar are the ghostly f Stock Exchange se



# the gravy, Why arms for Vorster aids rape of Black Africa



at the time of the Russian Revolution.

called bosses plan heads. are not idle. It mistake on our for them, we toes. go hard-won k, we refuse to ctivity deal and ust upon us and wage cuts. incredibly diff- who like to trol our lives. It

They're the non-existent people who only appear as figures on a balance sheet, or in the columns of the Financial Times. They are another section of the rich who seem to have very little to do with our lives, and yet, like the directors and bosses, they actually control us.

A shareholder is a private saver. He lends money to firms so that they can buy more plant and machinery.

The shareholder lends his money on the understanding that the company will give him a big chunk of interest every year.

That's why the bosses are so scared of strikes. If there are lots of strikes the shareholder takes his money out of the firm and invests in something more 'reliable'.

In the 19th century a shareholder was, on average, a small saver, a landlord or professional man who would invest all his savings. He would get an annual pay out from the firm's profits in the form of a dividend.

The idea of the Stock Exchange in those days was to operate as a clearing house for lots of small investments being parcelled up and used by a number of firms.

Once the firms had delivered the goods and made a profit, part of it would then be split up and returned to the original investors who had provided the money in the first place.

Today, the scale of investment is so vast that the stock market is now effectively bypassed by enormous financial institutions.

The top men in the largest insurance companies, pension funds, investment trusts and merchant banks control almost one third of the nation's shares and

account for half of all the deals made on the stock market.

The total value of all public companies is almost £12½ thousand million. A handful of men sitting in Prudential, Lloyds and the rest of them must control more than £4 thousand million.

Their power is so great they make their own private deals in buying and selling shares.

By the time the small investor gets to market, the finance institutions have already carved up business so well that the price of a share is rigged.

## A lot

It all boils down to this. The rich have the luxuries of life and they control the world.

They do this because we work for them. But because we work for them for a mere pittance compared with the generous amounts they bestow upon themselves, we are every day seeing the contradictions which exist between US and THEM.

When you work it out, for every £1 the average British worker gets in his wage packet, the British bosses and their hangers-on get £2.

Think of how many millions of US there are, and the ten thousand there are of THEM. They get a lot of gravy.

That overtime you have to do, that spread-over shift last week, the faster speed of the line - all the sordid little details of your job - are what make the gravy.

It's how Heath can afford his tan and it's how the top financiers behind capitalism's playboy image get away with it all.

And for how long, brothers and sisters?

IN SEPTEMBER the Afrikaaner paper Die Burger, a mouthpiece of the South African Nationalist government, headlined a speech by Prime Minister Johannes Vorster: 'Strong New Steps in Africa'. Vorster 'offered non-aggression treaties to any willing African state and the services of the South African army to any country which asks for help to deal with the insurgents.'

The western press has greeted this aggressive position as an 'enlightened' policy. It is the same policy that has resulted in the presence of the formidable South African army in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia (S W Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The idea of a 'greater South Africa' has been gaining support for many years among members of the ruling Afrikaaner Nationalist Party. South Africa had to be 'outward' looking.

'We are the bearers of the values that made the West great. We are Europe in Africa,' proclaimed Finance Minister Dierdrichs.

'We are Africa, we understand Africa ... and nothing is going to prevent us from becoming the leaders of Africa in every field,' said Vorster.

For international capitalism, especially Anglo-American capitalism, the idea of expanding into Africa from a base in the racist police state of South Africa is attractive. In spite of the massive economic power of the Afrikaaner state, western capital still provides the economic drive essential for growth.

*Its ability to produce a wide variety of goods, both manufacturing and capital, remains essential to the economy.*

*The source of finance for large scale projects in mining, power and transport, even though carried out by the state, is still the finance house of western capitalism.*

## Black labour provides surplus

The 'outward drive' into Africa by South African capital makes some sense only when the problems of the economy are taken into account. South Africa faces the common problem of getting rid of its surplus of capital.

This large surplus has been built up at the expense of the poverty of the black population. This can be seen by the gross inequality of incomes between the Europeans and the Africans.

The European average income per person is more than £1536 a year, making up 82 per cent of the purchasing power in the country.

The African average income is £100 per person a year. This makes up a mere 15 per cent of the purchasing power.

In the post-war period, South Africa has had available 20 per cent of her national income to reinvest every year, including paying for the run on equipment and machinery. These rates are extremely high.

The other side of the coin, however, is that such inequalities restrict the growth of the internal market. The majority of the population, the Africans, have artificially low incomes and cannot afford expensive consumer goods.

To maintain growth, South Africa has to expand her exports of both manufacturing and capital goods.

## Growth of Harry's empire

It is in these sectors that most of the interests of international capital are concentrated. Given its relatively weak competitive position in the international market, South Africa has to turn to 'independent' black Africa to get rid of her surplus products and goods.

The dramatic growth of the Harry Oppenheimer empire shows the rapid rate of South African expansion. Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation and Charter Consolidated (London based) dominate some 200 companies in Southern Africa, with a market value of more than £500 millions, earning £27 millions in profit every year.

This empire is an amalgamation of interests from America, Britain, and Western Europe. The expansion of Southern African industry into Zambia, Rhodesia, Malawi, Congo, Mozambique, An-



Evans. gola and S W Africa is matched by the penetration of international capital in that industry itself.

This expansion is not confined to private industries. The South Africa state industries under the umbrella of the Industrial Development Council, have also moved north.

A company called IMEX has set up in Malawi and has plans to build a new capital city and exploit sugar and bauxite there. IMEX is largely financed by South African state industries supplemented by West European finance houses.

The controversial Cabora Bassa dam scheme in Mozambique is 50 per cent financed by the



OPPENHEIMER: rapid growth

South Africans, the rest coming from Western Europe. Other examples can be found in Rhodesia, where South African capital now dominates and in Angola and SW Africa.

Trade, especially in manufacturing goods and machinery, reflect a similar pattern. The total external trade of this region is approximately £3000 millions, with South Africa enjoying the lion's share of some £2804 millions.

Recent events, such as the withdrawal of formal control by Britain from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland and the legal breach between Britain and Rhodesia, has strengthened South Africa's position. For instance, trade with

Zambia has doubled since 1967, South Africa replacing Rhodesia as Zambia's main supplier.

It is this imperialism that Vorster wishes to safeguard by the presence of South African troops. It is also this imperialism that is the main reason for the long list of arms required from the British government.

In Britain, politicians may be talking of protecting 'sea routes'. In Pretoria the more important area is black Africa, where South African and Western investment has to be protected from the black liberation movements.

'Independent' Africa is already under the yoke of international capitalism, and the development problem still haunts the ruling parties.

## Capital keeps a foothold

The isolation of the African rulers from the peasantry and the small working class makes it possible for western capitalism to maintain its foothold.

It is not surprising that the South African expansion has met with little resistance in black Africa. The presence of Western capitalism in both areas of black and white Africa has helped this expansion.

The growth of South African industry has wide implications for the liberation movement. It is essential that the Southern African workers, the most concentrated and independent in Africa, make alliances not only with the workers in Western countries but also in 'independent' Africa.

Only a movement of workers embracing the entire continent and with international connections can effectively break the might of the alliance of South African and Western capital in that part of the world.

**Basker Vashee**



## THE FIGHT AGAINST UNION LAWS

# DON'T BE FOOLED BY TORY ICING

by CHRIS DAVISON

ONE THING stands out clearly about the Tory plans for laws against the unions. Unless they can get the co-operation of at least some of the trade union leaders, they are going to be in real difficulty.

A united and militant trade union movement will make it hard enough for them to get their proposals into law. But even if they do succeed, the problems will have only just begun.

They propose to set up courts to administer the new laws — industrial tribunals and the national Industrial Relations Court.

Only if they can persuade union leaders and other alleged representatives of the workers to sit on these bodies can they hope to maintain the pretence that they are neutral in the fight between employers and workers.



CANNON: no arm twisting

## No change of heart

In order to get this co-operation, the Tories have been careful to write into their proposals various new 'workers' rights'. After 100 years of bitter opposition to workers having any rights at all, the Tories haven't had a change of heart.

With some sugar on the pill, with some 'give away' concessions, they hope to persuade workers they are sincerely acting in their interests. But more important, they want to give right-wing union leaders an excuse to co-operate.

Not that many of them will need much arm-twisting. Already Les Cannon of the Electricians Union has found it difficult to conceal his agreement with the Tories.

These leaders are much more at home treading the corridors of power, divorced from the interests and demands of the membership, than they are taking a militant stand against the government.

What are these new-found 'workers' rights' we are being offered?

We will have the right to appeal to an industrial tribunal against unfair dismissal. But, according to the Tories, a dismissal would be quite fair 'if the employer had acted reasonably and had dismissed the employee because . . . of redundancy or the employee's conduct or capability'.

All trade unionists know that under these headings the boss can

sack anyone he wants, any time he wants. In fact, as the Tories propose that unofficial strikers will be liable to claims for damages by employers, the effect will be to make it easier for the boss to sack you.

In a well-organised factory, victimisation is prevented because the boss knows that his workers would be out of the gate in five minutes if he tried it.

Under the Tory plans, we would have the choice of waiting weeks for the industrial tribunal to hear the case while the man involved is out in the cold or going on strike and facing the loss of hundreds of pounds in damages.

## Worthless right

*And just in case we might win the case at the tribunal and win damages, the Tories have made it clear that the employer is not compelled to take you back.*

The other great right to be given us is the 'unqualified right to choose whether or not to join a trade union'.

The industrial tribunal would be able to award compensation to workers if the boss tried to prevent them joining a union or taking part in its official activities. Of course the boss can still sack you 'because of redundancy or your conduct or capability'.

In other words the 'right' is not worth the paper it's written on. In practice the only real rights will be given to the 'non'—who will have the law protecting him from any action to force him to join or to force him off the job. So much for the Tories 'workers' rights'.

With icing as thin as this, there is no excuse for any union leader to pretend he can't see the arsenic underneath.

## Back union breakaways

WHILE it is encouraging to read your continued attacks on anti-trade union legislation (be it Labour or Tory), there seems to be an important omission from your propaganda on the issue.

One of the present Tory proposals is to set up a register of trade unions with the specific purpose of outlawing any future 'breakaway' or 'rank and file' union.

It is important to warn fellow trade unionists of the difficulties and dangers involved in setting up a breakaway union. However the following points must be made:

1. In certain circumstances we would recommend such action, and even at the present time we cannot give unconditional advice that breakaway unions should not be set up.

2. If breakaway unions are formed, we should unconditionally defend them against attack from the ruling class.

Why hasn't Socialist Worker campaigned in defence of the Pilkington breakaway union, and of their right to make such a move, in the face of the hysterical attacks made in the press?

— GEOFF HODGSON, Manchester 19.

THE EDITOR REPLIES: As regular readers will know, Socialist Worker has given complete support to the victimised Pilkington workers in their right to join the union of their choice and to have full negotiating rights at their place of work.

But we believe the breakaway union was a mistake and we have argued our case with the Pilkington workers. The international history of 'dual unionism', with certain notable and infrequent exceptions, has proved to be a diversion and to weaken trade union and political effort.

Britain has a particularly rich tradition of dual unionism that has invariably operated to the advantage of the employers by dividing sections of workers. It would be wrong to give a blanket condemnation of breakaway unions for now and all time but, to be successful, such a move would demand a tremendous heightening of class consciousness, the virtual breakup of the union bureaucracies and a related weakness of the employers.

Even under those circumstances it is far more likely that such a struggle would be reflected through the existing trade union organisations. In today's situation where the G.M.W.U. is able to continue to recruit workers there seems no scope for forming yet another general union.

## LETTERS

But this criticism in no way detracts from the example and self-sacrifice of the Pilkington workers who have done so much to inspire other sections of low-paid workers.

### All-out strikes can be bad tactic

I AM ASTONISHED at the advice given in the Socialist Worker that the unions concerned in the local government strikes should call a total stoppage instead of isolated local strikes. There are cases where a total stoppage would either kill a strike stone dead after a few days or be impossible in the first instance to get off the ground.

The factors that need to be taken into account in assessing total or guerrilla strike tactics are:

1. the unions' strike funds and their use (bound by union rules)
2. the level of militancy of the affected workers (this may be very uneven in different places) and, most important,
3. how badly the employers and the economy will be affected and how long the workers will have to hold out.

Local government workers fare very badly in respect of point 3. They don't affect employers' profits at all — indeed, the employers save money all the time they are out on strike.

Their only strength is their nuisance value and their moral justification as deplorably underpaid workers, which, as

economic weapons, are weak and will probably necessitate a long-drawn out struggle. Last year they had to fight for six weeks before getting some satisfaction.

The teachers, similarly placed, won after 3½ months of guerrilla strikes — and they would have been smashed in a week if they had had a total stoppage. (Even at GKN this year — in spite of its being economically vital — management didn't budge after a six-weeks' strike.)

It would therefore be foolish for them to exhaust their funds rapidly by a total stoppage and at the same time involve their weakest or most backward sections who might wish to give in before they have achieved the maximum possible.

No. For these unions the only possible tactic to use today is local or guerrilla strikes, in which they choose the most militant sections or the sections with the greatest nuisance value and are flexible about escalation.

In this way the unions can hold out for a long time, choosing their points of attack and dividing the employers and wearing them down by the moral justification of their case. That's how the teachers won, and it seems clear that that's how the local government workers will win. — C. ROSENBERG, London N16.

Don't just tear your hair out — let us have your thoughts. Socialist Worker likes to hear from its readers. But keep your letters short — and post them to arrive first first delivery on Monday.

## Chile and internationalism

I WON'T take up Joe Wright's assertions concerning Cuba (17 October) but I must correct his misinterpretation of my article on Chile.

1. I am not abstentionist on the need for Chile's workers and peasants to mobilise against their tiny ruling class and imperialism. If Chile's new President, Dr. Allende, leads such a mobilisation then revolutionary socialists throughout the world must make their support known. This is taken for granted by all members of the International Socialists.

2. The purpose of my article was to analyse the problems facing Chile and to argue that in the long-run these could only be solved through a truly international workers' revolution. 'Socialism' in one country is a non-starter.

3. Of course Chilean workers must demand

that Allende carries out his programme. But his initial remarks to a BBC interviewer asking about a possible right-wing coup do not carry much hope.

He wanted first to extend his greetings to the British Queen and her people. British Leyland have already carried one-page advertisements in all Chile's newspapers announcing that they are continuing with their investment programme. They were one foreign company that wasn't included in Allende's limited nationalisation plans.

In Britain it is important that the socialist movement understands both the nature of political developments in the 'Third' world and the need for support for the revolutionary forces. This was the purpose of my article. — STEVE JEFFERYS, Glasgow W1.

## THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



CAPITALISM is the most revolutionary social system that has ever existed. Change, continuous and ever more rapid change, is built into its structure. 'The capitalist class cannot exist,' wrote Karl Marx, 'without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society.'

Two hundred years ago, the English peasants — and the majority of working people were then peasants — lived and worked in ways not too different from those of their Saxon ancestors.

Of course there had been many changes. If Wat Tyler and the other leaders of the great peasants' revolt of 1381 had been resurrected in 1750 they would have seen many things that would have astonished them.

Yet they would have had no difficulty in understanding the way of life of the mass of the people.

The peasants still worked in the open fields with the same tools and the same methods that had been used from time immemorial.

They still went hungry and cold every winter and celebrated the coming of spring with an enthusiasm unimaginable to us today.

The 'big houses', the magnificent homes of the gentry and the higher clergy, with their hordes of servants, still dominated the land as they had done for a thousand years.

*In 1750 Britain stood on the eve of the greatest change in human life since the invention of agriculture. Industrial capitalism, after centuries of gradual advance, was about to make its great leap forward.*

And the change was not to be a once and for all affair. Once the process got under way it was to transform the world and to go on transforming it.

## Looting

First of all capitalism created a world market. Long-distance trade can be traced back to the stone age but its effects on most societies were marginal.

With capitalist production they became central. The first breakthrough to industrialisation in Britain could not have taken place without what a conservative historian politely called 'the appropriation of extra-European resources and labour'.

War, looting and slavery played an important part in this process of 'primitive accumulation' — the initial gathering together of resources to turn into capital — but trade, unequal and semi-monopolistic trade, was the central feature.

The economic historian E J Hobsbawm has summarised this development. 'Behind our Industrial Revolution there lies this concentration on the colonial and "underdeveloped" markets overseas, the successful battle to deny them to anyone else.

'We defeated them in the East: in 1766 we already outsold even the Dutch in the China trade. We defeated them in the West: by the early 1780s more than half of all slaves exported from Africa made profits for British slavers.

'And we did so for the benefit of British goods . . . Our industrial economy grew out of our commerce, and especially our commerce with the underdeveloped world.'

## Ruthless

The political basis for the series of wars of aggression that made possible the birth of British capitalism had been laid earlier.

*The English revolution of the 17th century had created a political system and a ruling class that could, at the same time, ruthlessly oppress the people of Britain and fight other ruling classes for world supremacy.*

But the effects of the first phase of British imperialism were quite different from those of previous conquerors. Genghis Khan and his kind had created great empires but little social change.

The British expansion of the 18th and 19th centuries was quite different. It was the bearer of revolutionary social change.

In some countries the outcome of

## The battle for markets

earlier class struggles made it possible for capitalist classes to gain control and to imitate and improve on the British model.

France, Belgium, Germany, after more or less violent political changes, became developed capitalist countries. So, after a civil war, did the USA and later on, Japan.

Other countries, where the previous struggles had left potential or actual capitalist classes too weak to seize power, became colonial or semi-colonial areas.

But they, too, were transformed out of all recognition. Their social systems did not stand still.

They were thrown back. Their economies became more impoverished more 'underdeveloped' than they had been in pre-capitalist times.

'The West' industrialised, they were de-industrialised. In 1810 nearly 40 per cent of the people of India lived in towns in which hand production of textiles and metal goods was carried on. By 1900 only just over 10 per cent lived in towns and this in spite of the rapid growth of some big cities.

*Once established the world market dominated, and continues today to dominate, economic life everywhere. Purely 'national' solutions to economic and social problems are out of date.*

*The basis of internationalism is the fact that decisions taken in Frankfurt, New York or Osaka affect vitally what happens in Birmingham and vice-versa.*

## Massive

The second revolutionary effect of capitalism was an unprecedented increase in the productivity of labour. Over a century ago Marx could write 'the capitalist class during its rule of scarce 100 years has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations put together.'

Since that time the growth in the productivity of labour and in techniques of production that has been produced by capitalist competition has made the productive forces of Marx's day look tiny.

Of course increasing output under capitalism will not solve our problems. In fact it can, in some circumstances make them worse.

The point remains that the material basis for a world society based on free co-operation has been created by capitalism.

If the present productive equipment, without allowing for any increase, was rationally organised to produce for need and not for profit, it would be possible to abolish poverty everywhere in the world.

The third revolutionary consequence of capitalism has been the creation of the human basis of socialism, the modern working class.

The central theme of Marx's thought is that this class is unique in history both for what it is and for what it can become.



SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
<i>Seven times Seven</i>						



WHEN did you last *speak* to your father? The reality behind that tired cliché 'generation gap' was brought sharply into focus by last Saturday's programme in the BBC-1 series *Generations Apart*.

It was shot — by the Man Alive team — in a Derbyshire mining village, three streets of tiny houses looking from the distance like specks of gravel tossed up by the roaring traffic of the M1. The giant motorway has served both to bring modern 'civilisation' nearer to the village and to isolate it from that civilisation. Caught in the vice of dreary work, bad housing and near poverty, the older generation is resentful of the modern world and the young people whom they think personify it.

### Broken away

The chief target for their banter is the local rebel, Paddy, an 18 year old with bushy hair and hippy clothes who has broken away from the mine and is now determined to break away from the village itself.

The programme tended to narrow Paddy's conflict with the emptiness of village life into a straight antagonism between him and his father, an Irish armchair autocrat who refuses to allow any member of the family to finish a sentence unaided.

But cutting through all Paddy's observations was a clear-sighted realisation that it was society, not the villagers, who were to blame for a life that stunts and cripples working people's abilities.

In one telling scene, Paddy's elder brother Willy points to a small child on a tricycle pedalling down the rutted street and says that the boy is already finished: he will never be allowed by the education system to grow into anything worthwhile.

But Willy himself is a living proof that people can rise above the trough designed for them by a benevolent ruling class. Another rebel from the pit, Willy has written a play about a Derbyshire miners' revolt in the 18th century and attempts to write poetry

### Simple answer

*Generations Apart* asked many questions but posed no answers. The answer is such a simple one—working people can only free themselves by a collective action to transform society and so open up vast reservoirs of talent—that the programme would not be allowed to pose it.

But, for me at least, it did ram home the point that the 'generation gap' is a false one, imposed on workers of all ages because of the glaring shortcomings of our present way of life. Long hair and beads or short-back-and-sides and a collar and tie are easy scapegoats for a system that exploits and imprisons us all, whatever our age.

Differences in attitude and outlook will exist between age groups in any society (will old revolutionaries chide a future generation with 'you've never had it so good?') but the negative aspects of the 'gap' must be overcome if a meaningful workers' movement is to be built.

**David East**

## Sallying forth against Auntie

THE TRENDY Royal Court Theatre, London home of the English Stage Company, was the scene last week of a festival of 'experimental theatre' under the stimulating title of 'Come Together'.

In this sea of middle-class trivia, CAST's new play 'Auntie Maud is the Happening Thing' stood out as an island of tough (and funny) political comment.

CAST (Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre for the uninitiated) is not just another way out theatre group—nor is 'Auntie Maud' just another experimental play.

CAST are a group of committed socialists whose plays (they collectively write all their own material) are about the way our society works — how working people are systematically robbed, cheated and manipulated in the interests of capital and the controllers of capital.

They see their plays not as abstract comments on society, but as tools in the struggle of the working class for an understanding of how the system works — and how it can be overthrown.

### Step forward

'Auntie Maud' is perhaps the most ambitious of all their plays to date and marks a tremendous step forward in both political and artistic terms for the group.

Briefly, it is an attempt to portray the history of the British working class from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day—a difficult task, especially with a cast of only five. However, the play succeeds brilliantly, with each member of the cast representing in strip cartoon form one or other of the forces that have shaped society.

The Auntie Maud of the title, for example, represents the ruling class, constantly adapting, constantly giving minor concessions and making deals, but always retaining control, despite a recurring and steadily worsening illness.

The aim of the play, and of CAST, is indicated by the paraphrased quote from Marx on the programme: 'Artists may interpret the world, the point however is to change it'.

### Plays as weapons

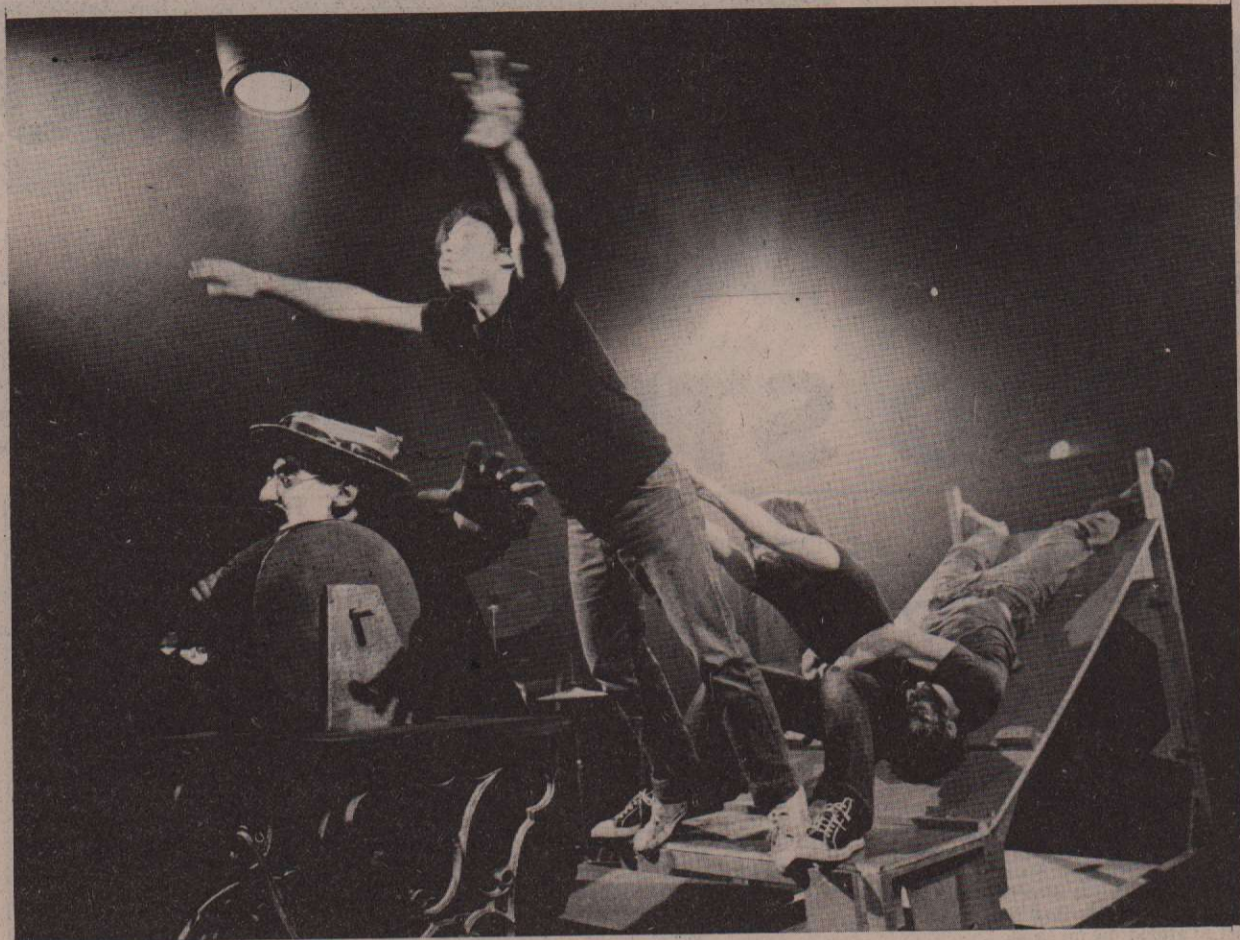
Because CAST see their plays as weapons in the struggle to change the system, they don't as a rule perform in the 'legitimate' theatre. Over the last eight years they have performed in youth clubs, universities and working men's clubs, at trade union socials, political rallies and, most recently, at the Institute for Workers' Control Conference in Birmingham last weekend.

They have a repertoire of four plays, ranging in length from about 20 to 40 minutes. They have travelled to most parts of the country to perform and are willing to put on their plays for any socialist or workers' organisation.

If you haven't already seen CAST perform then you've been missing something. If you have seen them you shouldn't need telling. Either way, Auntie Maud is marvellous.

**Sean Thompson**

If you would like CAST to perform in your area, contact John Porter, Flat 3, 161 West End Lane, London NW6 (Tel 01-328 2409).



Changing the world: a scene from CAST's new play. Picture John Haynes

# COTTONS COLUMN

FROM time to time, some right-wing loony howls about the 'left-wing' bias of the BBC. Mr Nigel Lawson, ex-editor of *The Spectator* and a defeated Tory candidate (there is some justice in the world) has joined the chorus in his Sunday Times column.

No doubt Lawson and co will dismiss the happenings on a Northern region radio programme called 'It's Saturday' as a faction fight between Maoists and Trotskyists.

Last week four regular broadcasters resigned from the weekly programme. They included folk singer Alex Glasgow, of Close the Coalhouse Door fame, who claimed that his songs were being pre-censored.

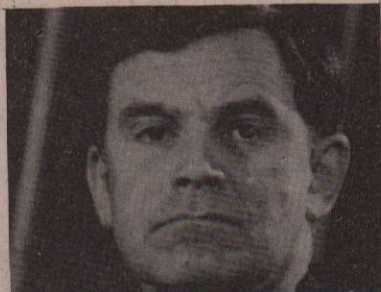
There had been a few fascist squawks following a Glasgow song about the Tory Party conference. The BBC brass, brave, moderate men that they are, immediately surrendered and put pressure on the programme's editor to cool his contributors' ardour.

The editor of 'It's Saturday' appealed to Glasgow to return, saying that he could sing about anything he jolly well liked, as long as he steered clear of political personalities and the national parties. Glasgow declined to don this political straitjacket.

Behind the growing McCarthyism at the BBC stands the genial figure of radio's new boss, Ian Trethowan, a staunch Tory whose latest offspring was godfathered by no less than toothy Ted himself.

Listeners to such programmes as *The Weekly World*, which reviews the weekly press, have noted that left-wing papers have been cold-shouldered in recent months and that nothing seems to exist to the left of *Tribune* any more.

So pardon us if we chuckle a little when we are told the BBC is controlled by marxists. With one exception that is: Jack de Manio's inability to tell the time in the morn-



Teddy's boy Trethowan

ing is a clear conspiracy to stop people getting to work punctually. Get rid of him, Trethowan, before your bias shows.

*At this time of national emergency, when every wage rise threatens the economy with disaster, how good to see one section tightening its belt and setting an example to any greedy malcontents determined to ask for more.*

*The stirring example comes from our armed forces top brass. In view of the troubled financial times, admirals and generals are to receive an increase in pay that is not one penny in excess of £190 to £250 a week.*

*It only goes to show that running a poop deck is tougher than manning a sewage works.*

### Tread on Corns

FRED NEEDLE writes:—Here's a tip to any worried industrialist wondering where to open his next factory—go South West, young man.

An American firm planning to build an 800-job factory in the West Country has been advised 'Pay lower wages than you planned to—you'll still be paying above the average'.

The advice comes from the Department of Employment. An d advertising brochures in the US invit-

ing American capital to Britain have stressed the advantages of Devon where workers are low paid and mainly non-union.

### Benn chimes in

THE 'return of the Labour Party to socialism' has begun. Following the publication of his new highly principled and highly boring Fabian pamphlet, Mr Anthony Wedgwood Benn appears to be doing a whistle-stop tour of radical lefties to win them back to the fold. His whistle stopped briefly at a meeting called by Bristol's 'Other Paper'.

Comrade Benn has certainly advanced politically. His insights were extraordinarily self-critical.

'When socialists 30 years ago worked for the return of a Labour government, they did not realise they were merely installing a new bureaucratic leadership.' And 'what we need is a political movement in the factories.'

But, strange to say, when a petition was circulated in support of the council workers, a rare ex-Ministerial signature was missing.

*GENERAL FRANCO's son Nicolas has been enjoying a shooting expedition on the Duke of Bedford's Woburn estate. His target? Deer—red deer, of course.*

*Well, makes a change from Asturian miners.*

## NOTICES

EAST LONDON IS: anti-trade union laws and how to fight them. Duncan Hallas (editor Rank and File Teacher) on Thursday 29 October 8pm, Railway Tavern, Angel Lane, Stratford E.

FIFE IS: Tony Cliff on Productivity Deals and How to Fight Them. 7.30pm Friday 6 November, Auchmuty Tenants Rooms, St Regulus Gdns, Queen Margaret Drive, Glenrothes.

SCOTTISH AREA IS One-day school, Dundee, 7 Nov. AEU Hall, North Tay St. Speaker T Cliff 2pm The Anti-Union Legislation, 4.30pm Imperialism

BOB and Pat Dean announce the birth of their son Jason Robert on 21 October.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS: Public mtg Mon 2 November, Len Stubbs Hackney dustmen's shop steward on What We have learnt from the strike of lower paid workers and discussion on How to Fight the Anti-Union Laws. Rose & Crown, (cnr Church St/Albion Rd, N16 at 8pm.

DAGENHAM IS: John Palmer speaks on The Decline of Western Capitalism, Mon 2 Nov 7pm. Marsh Green School, South Close, Dagenham (off New Road).



# Socialist Worker

## Big backing for militant battle over Tory laws

by Fred Hall

A RESOLUTION calling for political and industrial action to defeat the government's anti-union laws was carried unanimously by 1,203 delegates at the Institute for Workers' Control conference in Birmingham last Sunday.

The key sections of the resolution asked the delegates: 'to win the support of their organisations and work places for the call for a day of industrial action on 8 December made by the National Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.' And to fight for 'appropriate local committees of action to oppose the Bill and to defend those who suffer under it if it becomes law.'

The resolution also called for a campaign to ensure that unions do not register under any Tory law and refuse to collaborate in industrial courts or tribunals.

Many delegates had gone to Birmingham expecting to spend the weekend discussing practical proposals for fighting the Tory legislation.

But somewhere along the line, the conference organisers had a change of heart. After a 'plenary session' attended by all delegates, the conference split into seminars to discuss everything from automation to universities. Everything, that is, except the anti-union Bill.

### Threw out

After hearing the 'big name' speakers (Ernie Roberts, Moss Evans and Bob Wright) plus five short contributions from the floor on Saturday morning and spending the afternoon and Sunday morning on seminars, the delegates were permitted to reassemble for a final two hour session to get down to the problem that they had come to Birmingham to discuss.

In fact the organisers had decided in advance that none of the motions submitted would be debated, let alone voted on. A specific call for resistance to Tory laws might, some of them thought, 'divide the movement'.

But delegates threw out this approach and forced a debate on the issue.

The other highspot of the conference was a Brains Trust on productivity dealing with Tony Cliff (IS), Bert Ramelson (Communist Party) and Tony Topham (IWC). It was attended by half the delegates and Cliff, in particular, pulled no punches in attacking the role of trade union officials, 'left' as well as right, in selling productivity swindles.

In the end the conference did issue a clear and unequivocal call for action against the Tory offensive. It could have been more useful and effective if the organisers had been able to overcome their fear of offending trade union officials and given a lead themselves.

Fortunately most of the delegates—and IS members played an important part here—were in no mood for diplomacy. The job is now to get the call heard at the grass roots, organise maximum support for the liaison committee conference on 14 November and pull out all the stops on 8 December.

## Dustmen show way to victory

STRIKING council workers in the East London borough of Tower Hamlets have hit back at the government's use of troops last weekend.

The soldiers cleared the Petticoat Lane street market of rotting piles of rubbish. The dustmen say that street traders get preferential treatment because of the high rates they pay while nearby council tenants get no relief.

So the Tower Hamlets dustmen went into action this week and cleared the

blocked up rubbish shutes in several blocks of flats. They dumped the rubbish in Petticoat Lane.

As the strike—for a 55s a week increase for 770,000 municipal workers—drags into its fifth week, feeling is running high for more determined action from the unions to win the full demand.

A mass meeting of council workers in Tower Hamlets on Monday called for a total stoppage as the only way to defeat the authorities. And on Tuesday the local

Labour council caved in and agreed to pay the 55s.

Meanwhile an inquiry into the dispute started in London on Tuesday, chaired by top 'troubleshooter' Sir Jack Scamp. Judging from past experience, he is certain to offer the strikers less than the 55s.

Only more widespread strike action will force him and the authorities to pay the full amount and bring the workers up to the princely sum of £16 10s a week.

# MINERS' FIGHT MUST GO ON—DANGER OF PROD STRINGS

by John Charlton

LAST WEEK'S miners' ballot result was a resounding declaration of militancy. Since the Coal Board made its insulting offer in mid-September the miners and their families have been subjected to a barrage of anti-strike propaganda.

Lord Robens has been given every facility to mount his attack on the miners' case. Television and the millionaire press lost no opportunity to undermine the miners' solidarity by playing on their fears of unemployment and the scrap heap—so deeply ingrained after 20 years of being kicked around.

It was amazing therefore that in a secret ballot (deliberately designed in itself to check the collective power that is the only weapon of the working class) there was a majority of 28,000 in an 80 per cent poll of the 300,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers.

### STAGGERING

The returns from Scotland—83 per cent in favour—and South Wales—78 per cent in favour—were staggering.

In spite of this loud and clear message from the rank and file, the union executive have decided to defy them. The NCB offer that for two months has been 'insulting' has now become 'acceptable' by having 10s tacked on—with productivity strings.

The 'left' leaders on the executive say they have been outvoted by the lackeys of the NCB. True—but they knew this would happen all along.

There comes a time when executive members must put principles and the interests of the members before rigid observance of the rules. That time is now.

The left leaders have argued that the present struggle is a crucial one in the history of the miners' union. They must demonstrate their sincerity now by supporting any unofficial action that takes place.

They must campaign to spread the strikes. Anything less will be seen as a betrayal of the trust placed in them by a majority of miners in the ballot.

### INITIATIVE

A number of pits in Scotland, South Wales and Yorkshire have already indicated that they intend to carry on the fight—others will certainly follow.

Miners should boycott the second ballot on the NCB offer. It is an obvious attempt by the right wing to weaken the determination of the majority.

An immediate stoppage of work must take place in the areas that voted for strike action.

Such a move, coupled with visits by pickets to every pit will form an irresistible force to drive forward to victory.

### Steps to be taken:

1. Strike NOW for the full claim with no productivity strings, which present a future threat to wages and jobs.
2. Elect strike committees at mass meetings at every pit. Local officials must not act as a strike committee BY RIGHT. This is not an attack on the many militant local officials who have worked tirelessly for the strike, but as the only way of guaranteeing that the strike committee is directly answerable to the men for the duration of the strike.
3. Regular mass meetings must be held to take all major decisions and to counter by free discussion the barrage of anti-strike propaganda that will be spewed forth by the Daily Express, the rest of the millionaires press and the television.
4. A National Delegate Conference must be held to take all major decisions and to consider any offers from the NCB.

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## CLOSURE THREAT FOR CHRISTMAS

SW Reporter

THE THREATENED closure of Coventry Radiator has been put back until Christmas. Shop stewards were told this by managing director Mr N Raine.

No discussion was allowed even though night shift stewards had made a special effort to attend the meeting.

The threat of a Christmas closure is a clear move to make workers and their wives feel insecure and to force a shop-floor change of mind on wages. It is the current level of wage demands that has brought the closure challenge from the management.

Last Christmas Mr Raine tried a five-week lockout and lost. This year he is trying the ultimate Christmas present—closure.

### Attempt to divide

This dodge is as old as the factory system itself and is an attempt to divide and demoralise the workers.

The reason why Cov Rad has been picked out for closure from the 170 factories in the Associated Engineering group is that the works has led the way in wages and conditions. Operators get an average 18s 5d an hour.

The company is worried by claims for parity and is trying to undermine AE workers' bargaining strength.

A recent AE combine committee meeting pledged full support for Cov Rad workers.

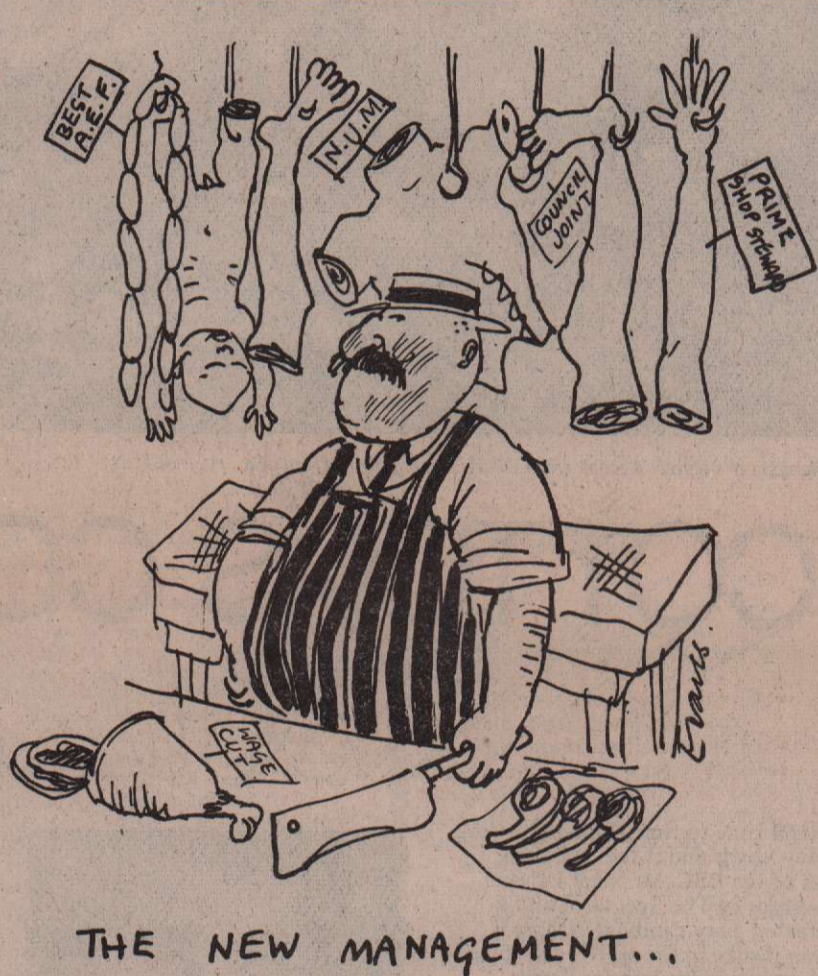
The committee secretary was instructed to call an emergency meeting if any definite move is made by the management. Such a meeting would discuss united combine action.

### BREWERS CALL TIME

CRAFT UNIONS at Watney's Isleworth and Mortlake breweries struck this week against management's attempts to bring in a three-shift system. The strike was expected to spread to other breweries in the combine.

### PRINTERS TO MEET

A CALL has gone out from printworkers in Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Manchester for a rank and file conference in London on 15 November. Credentials can be obtained from R Pritchard, Flat 1, 37 Queen's Drive, London N4.



THE NEW MANAGEMENT...

## Electricians' union expels militant in ballot contest

SW Reporter

THE WITCHHUNT against West of Scotland militants in the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union has intensified with the expulsion of Glasgow branch chairman Charlie Montgomery. He was the only opponent of W Blairford, the present member for Glasgow in the elections for the union executive.

Mr Montgomery was expelled for allegedly attending 'unofficial meetings'. He was fingered to the executive by Eddie Murphy, a former militant and now a stool pigeon for the union officials.

The latest attack follows the expulsion in September of three other leading militants in Scotland.

### Wide support

Charlie Montgomery is a well-known member of Glasgow Labour Party. He received wide support in the nominations for the union executive.

He was nominated by Blairford's own branch in Edinburgh and was expected to win the contest. His expulsion is a blatant move to deprive him of his seat.

He is now taking legal action in a bid to allow him to contest the election or at least stop Blairford being returned unopposed.

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used. Glasgow militants are reluctant to see the courts to seek 'justice' but they are being forced into such action by the executive's behaviour.

Two other full-time Glasgow officials have been sacked and banned from office. It is no coincidence that they supported Charlie Montgomery for the executive position.

### Victory for DATA

DATA, the Draughtsmen's and Technicians' union, this week claimed a substantial victory in the Rolls-Royce combine dispute. The company said that a 7 per cent pay increase was their final offer but the settlement gives higher figures in a number of factories.

At Coventry, where 1000 DATA members were locked out for 14 weeks, the increase will be £4 5s all round. This adds up to 16 per cent for members aged 21 and 12-13 per cent at the age of 30. Women members get the full increase.

In Scotland the increase ranges from 7 to 15 per cent and in Bristol an increase of £2 5s all round adds up to 8 per cent.

The company withdrew their threat to take blacked work to other plants. All productivity strings have been withdrawn and replaced by a promise to discuss office efficiency.

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