

Socialist Worker

BERNADETTE DEVLIN



see page 3

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MINERS' VITAL STRIKE

'WE'VE BEEN KICKED AROUND TOO LONG—WE'VE HAD ENOUGH'

by JOHN CHARLTON

YORKSHIRE MINERS have given a magnificent lead to their brothers throughout the country. All the pits in the area have now been on strike for a week in pursuit of their claim: £20 for surface workers, £22 for underground men and £30 for face workers.

They have issued a call to the rest of the miners to join them and by Wednesday a total of 40 Yorkshire and 26 South Wales pits were on strike. Scotland and Kent are expected to follow this week and pickets will be visiting every area in a determined effort to bring out every miner.

In spite of every effort by the Coal Board and the majority of executive members of the miners' union to destroy the militancy of the past few months, the rank and file has shown that it wants to fight and is ready to fight.

A Brodsworth miner summed up the mood: 'We've been kicked around long enough. We've had enough. If the executive won't give a lead — then we'll have to do it ourselves.'

PAY CLAIM JUSTIFIED

The strikers are making it clear to everyone why they are striking and why every miner should follow.

The original pay claim was absolutely justified. And last week's 'Barberous' anti-working class budget makes it very modest indeed.

Like every other working class housewife, the miners' wives find making ends meet increasingly difficult. The extra money, which would still leave miners some 25 per cent behind their 1956 wage levels, is urgently needed.

The latest offer of 10s extra next summer if productivity has risen by then to pay for it, is totally unacceptable. It can only lead to further closures in an industry where demand is declining due to government policy of favouring the oil and natural gas barons.

The only answer to redundancy is for the union to mount a vigorous campaign.

DETERMINED TO BEAT MINORITY

The secret ballot last month gave a clear majority for strike action. The lads are determined not to be ruled by an undemocratic minority of defeatists and lackeys of the NCB.

Only a fight now can pave the way for future pay demands and successful negotiations on other such vital subjects as redundancy, holidays, working hours, dust control and accident prevention. Defeat now can only mean greater humiliation at the hands of NCB and government.

The new ballot is a deliberate attempt by the unions' right wing to defeat strike action. In the face of the tidal wave of rank and file initiatives, the union executive has a clear duty to support the strike.

If they play true to form and refuse to take this action, then the militants should organise to see that a clear majority is won on the second ballot.

This is the message which has gone out from Doncaster and South Wales. It deserves the support of everyone.

● CONTROL THE KEY: Page 8

● EDITORIAL: Page 2

Tory rents policy is landlords' charter

THE TORIES are on the anti-worker warpath with a vengeance. Hard on the heels of their sweeping cuts in the social services come proposals to increase rents and put more money in the pockets of the landlords and the moneylenders.

In the plans outlined on Tuesday by Environment Minister Peter Walker rent control will end for 1,300,000 tenants in controlled dwellings. They will be transferred to what Walker quaintly calls 'fair rents' — in other words, they will be at the mercy of the landlords.

And council tenants will also be switched on to the fair rents system. The Tories are determined to end the situation whereby tenants under one council pay lower rents than tenants in a neighbouring area.

The government looks upon the Greater London Council, run by a clique of Tory landlords and busin-

essmen, as the pace-setters in this direction. Some GLC rents in London are as high as £10 a week and make up a third of a family's income. The Tories want to round up all council rents towards the GLC figures.

Means test

For both private and council tenants on very low incomes, the Tories have the inevitable means-test scheme in hand. Rent rebate schemes will be forced onto all councils and private tenants will undergo degrading investigations of their income in order to receive a small allowance. Landlords will receive an indirect government subsidy.

Landlords and moneylenders are licking their chops at the prospect. Only united action by trade unionists and tenants' organisations can wipe the grins from their faces.

TOP BOSSES MESSAGE TO THE CHANCELLOR:

Ta very much, Tony Barber!

THE CHANCELLOR'S sixpence off income-tax is a jolly, jolly relief rather than a bonanza for most of us. But it gives an £8,000-a-year pay rise to six of Britain's top-paid managers.

This is the amount which their incomes, inflated at the gross level to allow for surtax, will now rise as a result of just a small cut in the standard rate.

The sixpenny respite pushes up their after-tax incomes by between 11 and 14%. (The figures below for their new take-home pay are calculated on the assumption that they are married men with no dependent children, so they will not be strictly accurate in

individual circumstances; but the change is much the same at these levels whatever the size of the family.)

The income-tax reduction should work wonders for incentives in the £18,000-a-year-plus bracket. The amount they can keep of each extra £ they earn rises sharply from 1s 9d to 2s 3d. But perhaps the most dramatic way of all to look at the figures is to examine how much these top men's gross income would have had to be boosted at the old rate to achieve the same result as Barber's mini-budget. In each case the pay-rise would have to have been around 28%.



JOHN DAVIS (Rank Org.):
Gross Pay: £50,000
After tax: £11,300
UP £1,200 (12%)



LORD STOKES (British Leyland):
Gross Pay: £42,148
After tax: £10,400
UP £1,000 (11%)



SIR PETER ALLEN (ICI):
Gross Pay: £57,915
After tax: £12,200
UP £1,400 (13%)



JOHN CLARK (Plessey):
Gross Pay: £66,653
After tax: £13,100
UP £1,600 (14%)



DAVID BARRAN (Shell):
Gross Pay: £72,809
After tax: £13,800
UP £1,700 (14%)



SIR ERIC DRAKE (BP):
Gross Pay: £47,118
After tax: £11,000
UP £1,200 (12%)

THE facts and figures above, reproduced from the Sunday Times, show how the Tories' 6d cut in income tax will benefit the rich and widen the gap between them and the poor. Barber's tanner amounts to a considerable tax handout to the tiny minority who own and control our society.

And don't be taken in by the 'after tax' figures for

their pay. Top directors do not live on their pay alone. They have company houses, company cars and company accountants to look after their tax. And they all own substantial stakes in their companies. Lord Stokes, for example, holds 30,000 shares in BLMC, plus a further 1000 in the South African subsidiary. He is enormously rich without his salary.

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The miners' fight is our fight

ALL SECTIONS of the trade union and labour movement should express their complete support for the miners' strike. Wherever possible, that support should be made active by taking steps to raise financial aid for them, black any supplies to the pits, and distribute leaflets and bulletins explaining the miners' case.

It is a strong case. From being one of the best paid sections of the working class, miners have dropped to one of the worst paid. Bullied by the profit-motivated bosses of the Coal Board and abandoned by most of their union leaders, the men have been exploited savagely in the interests of supplying cheap coal to private industry.

Trade unionists should pay close attention to the way in which productivity bargaining has been at the root of the miners' problems. When the union signed the Power Loading Agreement in 1966, output per manshift was 110cwt. In March 1969 this had risen to 132cwt. And in the same period 166 pits were closed and 120,000 men lost their jobs.

In that period alone, miners raised their productivity by 20 per cent while their average earnings rose by only 9 per cent and prices rose by 15 per cent.

Here is the all too familiar picture of union leaders accepting productivity deals that eat away at jobs, wages and conditions. And that is why it is vitally important that the striking miners tell their fence-sitting union officials that they will accept nothing less than a straight increase without any dangerous productivity strings.

There is another equally powerful reason for all trade unionists to back the miners. A victory for the strikers would mark a setback for the Tories and the bosses in their campaign to push through new laws to attack the rights and freedoms of the labour movement. If the miners win, the Tories will get a good indication of the fighting determination of the trade union rank and file.

On the other hand, a defeat for one of the most militant sections of the working class will encourage the Tories and their big business allies to press ahead with the legislation. And if they are successful the type of solidarity action outlined above would become illegal.

In every sense, the miners are fighting for us all. We must help them to win.

THE REAL VIOLENCE IN BRITAIN'S POLICE STATE

MAJOR-GENERAL Anthony Farrar-Hockley, commander of the British Land Forces in Northern Ireland, is a living witness to the fact that starvation is not an essential requirement for high army rank. At a press conference in Belfast on Monday he blamed the latest street rebellions on the IRA, condemned the campaign of violence against the troops and spoke of the danger of law and order breaking down.

General Hyphenated Hockley should look around him. Law and order in the Ulster police state has been the crude and simple variety for more than 50 years. Thuggish, bigoted police, encouraged by the ruling Unionists, have perfected a system of beatings and intimidation to quell any opposition to Orange rule. At their elbow is a Special Powers Act containing such sweeping provisions for arrest and detention that it is the envy of the South African government.

And there is more to violence than just the physical variety. There is nothing more violent than a system that deprives men and women of jobs, that forces them into slum housing and discriminates against them because of their religious beliefs.

These conditions are at the heart of the problems of Northern Ireland. A people oppressed and exploited beyond endurance have taken to the streets to fight for their basic human rights.

That is 'violence'. The answer of the RUC and the British army is CS gas, house searches, beatings and looting. That is 'preserving law and order'.

When Farrar-Hockley declares that youngsters who fight the police show that the 'permissive society has gone too far' he is insulting all generations in Northern Ireland who have been forcibly kept in 19th century conditions to serve the interests of British capitalism. The 'permissive society'—a passing acquaintance with some of the good things in life—is a sick joke in the Six Counties.

The street fighters are expressing the pent-up frustrations of the working class in Britain's backyard slum. But as Bernadette Devlin has correctly stressed, such activities alone cannot remove the root cause of the people's oppression.

The only way forward is the less spectacular but more meaningful struggle to build a workers' movement that will be able to use the courage and determination of the young street fighters for political ends.

Only a movement based on socialist policies, breaking down artificial religious differences and linking up workers throughout the whole of Ireland can free the 32 counties of the grip of British capital and kick out its arrogant khaki bully boys.

LABOUR'S HELPING HAND

LABOUR PARTY leaders have made indignant protests about the Tory cuts in social service expenditure. But Barber and co are merely building on a series of precedents laid down by the late Labour government.

Labour discontinued free school milk for children over 11. Labour increased the cost of welfare milk from 4d to 6d a pint. Labour decided to pay no earnings-related unemployment or sickness benefit for periods of less than 12 days off work. Labour jacked up council rents year after year. Labour increased dental charges. Labour reduced the taxation on business companies from 3.4 per cent to 2.7 per cent of the gross national product.

With such a record, no one should look to Labour for a fight against the government's policies.

TORY CUTS WILL DEEPEN POVERTY

by Jim Kincaid

LAST WEEK's mini budget has made Anthony Barber number one golden boy of the upper middle class. His decision to knock 6d off the standard rate of income tax means big hand-outs for the higher income groups.

As an example, consider the position of a married man with two children under the age of 11. The lower his income, the less he gains from the 6d cut in income tax.

Weekly Income* £17	Value of Income Tax Cut	
	Nothing per week	
" " £18	5d "	"
" " £20	1s 3d "	"
" " £24	2s 8d "	"
" " £30	4s 6d "	"
" " £50	13s 4d "	"
" " £100	32s 2d "	"
" " £200	75s 0d "	"

* Income all earned

At incomes above £200 a week (£10,000 a year) the value of the tax handout continues to rise steeply. The latest Inland Revenue figures show as many as 40,000 people with incomes of above £10,000 a year.

Needless to say this group includes all the proprietors and editors of the newspapers who last week hailed Mr Barber as a budgetary genius.

At every level of income, the family man gets less benefit from the reduction in income tax than the single man, or the married couple without dependent children. And the differences are big ones.

Income	Annual Value of Tax Cut	
£24 a week Single man	£16	2s 10
£24 a week Married couple (no children)	£12	12s 10
£24 a week Married couple (2 children under 11)	£7	0s 2

The person who comes off best from the reduction in income tax is the single man, with a very high income, derived from invested wealth rather than paid employment.

One of the most potent sources of poverty in Britain today are the starvation wages paid in a broad range of jobs. Currently the TUC target for minimum earnings is an unambitious £16 10s a week.

GRIM POSITION

Yet it is estimated that about one million men in full-time employment get less than £16 10s a week, even when all overtime and bonus payments are included—and this is before deduction of tax and national insurance contributions.

Among this million, 160,000 men with families are in a particularly grim position. For them, household income is not high enough to bring them up to the official poverty line, the meagre subsistence scale used by



BARBER: hero of the rich

the Supplementary Benefit Commission to measure need for extra income.

Yet at present such families are not entitled to supplementary benefit because they have a breadwinner in full-time employment.

The simple solution is that the government should make it illegal for any employer to pay less than a living wage. This has been rejected out of hand by the new Tory government as it was by their Labour predecessors.

The Tories are insisting that the local authorities should put up tough resistance against the £16 10s minimum being demanded by local authority manual workers.

But to give an appearance of concern about wage earner poverty—and to help the propaganda campaign against all wage claims, even those from poorly-paid workers—Mr Barber has announced a new scheme to supplement wages. For a start, the following will be excluded from any benefit under the new scheme:

- Those earning over £15 a week, who have 1 child
- Those earning over £17 a week, who have 2 children
- Those earning over £19 a week, who have 3 children
- Those earning over £21 a week, who have 4 children

People whose incomes are below these ceilings will not get a family income supplement big enough to make up the total difference between their earnings and the ceiling. Only half the difference will be made up.

So, for example, a man or woman earning £13 a week and with one child would be £2 below the £15 ceiling, but will get an income supplement of only £1 per week.

The financial information supplied by the government suggests that this new scheme will be run in the same grudging, pennypinching spirit that characterises all means-tested hand-outs in Britain's welfare state.

The budget allocation for the new scheme is £7,600,000 a year. Of this, £600,000 goes on administrative expenses, mainly to pay the 200 extra civil servants who will investi-

gate the financial circumstances of those claiming a supplement.

The remaining £7 million will be divided out among the families containing 500,000 children who are expected to qualify. This works out at an average of 5s 5d per child per week—a pitiful sum in a period when the cost of living mounts higher every week. To cap it all, the new supplements won't start to be paid until August 1971.

As is usually the case with means test welfare benefits, the new scheme is hedged around with conditions and threats, as if designed to put off as many potential applicants as possible. Statements of income will be checked with employers.

Any appeal by a claimant goes to a local Supplementary Benefits Tribunal meeting in private and making up its own rules as it goes along.

The increased charges for dental treatment and spectacles are particularly disastrous because only a small proportion of the population is allowed exemption from these charges. Customers will pay an extra £7 million for their spectacles next year and £7 million is in fact the amount of the current state subsidy for the supply of spectacles.

In effect, specs are being virtually taken out of the welfare state, and returned to the capitalist market.

MAIN BURDEN

Similarly, very few are completely exempt from dental charges, and they will be fewer still after the age limit for free treatment is reduced from age 21 to 18 next year.

The Tories are introducing a 50 per cent increase in dental charges, and the main burden will fall on the more expensive operations. Says the British Dental Association, 'In the case of a rotten tooth, patients will have to choose between having it extracted for 8s, filled for about 35s or crowned for about £5 10s'.

A further massive saving (£32 million a year) will be made at the expense of the sick and the handicapped by an increase in prescription charges from 2s 6d to 4s per item.

The Tories are out to make the working class foot the bill for the inefficiency and stagnation of the capitalist system in this country. Their strategy is twofold:

Anti-trade union legislation to weaken and destroy the ability of workers to organise in defence of wages and conditions

And cutbacks in the social services, combined with reductions in company taxation, will make sure that the old, the sick and the poor will fully share in the sacrifices required to sustain investment and improve the profitability of private enterprise in Britain.

Threat to children's health

by Maureen Woodward

AS A MOTHER of two young schoolchildren who will be affected by the barbarous slashes made to the social services by the Tories, I am angry and desperate.

The cutting of school milk to children of seven and over is a direct threat to the health of many schoolchildren.

The years from seven to 11 are those of very rapid growth in childhood. For this reason foods that contain protein and protective nutrients like vitamins and minerals are more important than carbohydrate foods.

Milk is a recognised source of first quality protein and a major source of the mineral calcium in the diet. Calcium is needed for bone and teeth formation.

The seven years-old child that is losing his infant teeth and growing his adult teeth is therefore at risk if his supply of calcium is reduced. This fact alone means that more children will be paying frequent trips to the school dentist.

Linked with this is the fact that the notorious tuck shops in schools provide children with maximum-profit items like biscuits and soft drinks that also rot teeth. When the milk is stopped the soft drink manufacturers will be delighted. Their profits will soar—and so will dental decay.

The other major aspect of the cuts that angers me as a working mother is the increase in the price of school meals.

A school meal at present costs 1s 9d.

Two years ago it cost 1s.

At 1s 9d each, the school meal is expensive. If parents saw the quality and quantity of food dished up to many infant and junior schoolchildren they would not wonder why little Johnnie comes in at four o'clock saying, 'Mum, I'm starving'.

At 2s 10d a day, I'm sure many mothers are going to start wondering what the children are getting for the price.

The school meals service was introduced to alleviate the malnutrition of working class children in 1906. It was not intended to make a profit.

The meal is meant to supplement those at home as well as to provide the child with a balanced meal. But for many children, then and now, the school meal is the only hot meal and in many cases the only meal of the day.

Unless it contains adequate nutrients the child is in danger of suffering from malnutrition.

In some cases, where meals are cooked in one school and transported to other schools, and where meals are cooked several hours before they are eaten, there is a loss in the Vitamin C content of the meal.

Vitamin C contained in fruit and

vegetables is destroyed by bad cooking and holding methods. Lack of this vitamin in the diet results in undue tiredness in children (teachers please note), causes a check in growth in childhood, retards the healing of cuts and sores and leaves gums and mouth unprotected against infection.

The fact that many mothers work and are compelled to use the school meals service means that some will see no other option than to pay such a high price for their child's meal. But many cannot afford 14s 2d a week per child, and will have to withdraw their children from school meals.

This means that, at a later date, a further more serious cut can be made on the grounds that the service is no longer required because of the few people who can afford to use it.

The abolition of the school meals service would mean severe deprivation on the part of many children and also unemployment for the many mums and others who work for the service.

The above points have angered me, but what causes desperation is the fact that this is yet another attack on the welfare state. The money given in compensation to the needy families is in no way enough to make up for the loss this action means.

It is another step, this time by the Tories, to reduce everything to monetary terms. Those who can afford to pay are 'all right, Jack' while those who cannot should 'work harder' or are dismissed as 'layabouts'.



BERNADETTE

Mid-Ulster's MP talks to Socialist Worker

SEAN TREACY: Welcome back. Some people here—and some newspapers—have been expressing the hope that you would join one of the 'more responsible' moderate groups like the Social Democratic and Labour Party on your release from jail.

No chance. Gerry Fitt's SDLP represents a realignment of the middle class Catholics. They are ineffective by almost any standard and certainly are not socialist.

In addition they are in the business of selling a possible constitutional rearrangement called 'federation' to the Catholic workers. This would strengthen the control of British imperialism in Ireland.

What about unity among the socialists then?

It must come. In mid-Ulster we are setting up a centre which can try and co-ordinate the work being done by People's Democracy and other revolutionary socialist groups.

I hope this centre can also aid workers in struggle and that out of unity in action we can build a socialist organisation for the whole of Ireland. Looking at the role of the southern Labour politicians this is certainly long overdue.

What do you think about the chances of a right wing take over by Craig?

This is possible but less likely than Brian Faulkner

taking over with a policy half way between the official unionists and the extreme right. This would also mean a big increase in repression—through the Special Powers Act—against socialists and republicans.

What do you think about the events in Dublin, the trial of Haughey and so on.

Haughey wants to do a Faulkner inside Fianna Fail. In fact he and the green Fianna Failers represent basically the same policies.

Haughey was in charge of the repression of republicans and he is also in favour of federation, but with himself in charge of the south. He, Blaney and company are mainly interested in the north to combat the influence of the left and to divert the struggle into sectarian lines—not along class lines against capitalism.

What about the Irish Solidarity Campaign here. What should it say and do?

I am sure all readers of Socialist Worker realise that it is ridiculous to talk about freedom for Ireland unless you present it as support for the struggle of Irish workers and for the Workers' Republic.

Some British left wingers, though, do not seem to understand this and talk vaguely about 'Ireland for the Irish'. The solidarity campaign can win big support by talking to workers here about the struggle of workers in Ireland. I am prepared to help them do this.

REPORT FROM CRISIS-HIT EIRE

Union militancy and scandals rock Irish 'green' Tories

UNDER THE IMPACT of revelations by former ministers during the arms trial and a militant response by trade unionists to the proposed wage freeze, Jack Lynch's Fianna Fail government has been brought to the verge of collapse.

But when a vote of confidence is taken in the Dail in Dublin this week, Lynch is likely to be saved by the votes of the 'rebel' ex-ministers.

Whether Fianna Fail survives or not, the present situation in the 26 counties has all the makings of a major social crisis. The government and its likely replacements both suffer from an increasing lack of credibility.

Already some prominent Labour politicians are warning that unless 'reformists act' the country could drift close to revolutionary conditions.

The present economic situation is as serious as anything experienced south of the border since Fianna Fail abandoned its protectionist policies in the early 1950s.

Following the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, the Green Tories have placed the Irish economy into the hands of international, mainly British, capital.

In a bid to mount a small economic boom, they sold Irish workers as the cheapest labour available for international companies in western Europe.

'Western' role

This development was accompanied by a shift in the political attitude of the Irish ruling class parties. Now even formal adherence to 'republicanism' was out.

In came enthusiasm for 'Ireland's western role', for the Common Market and—in the words of Lynch in New York last month—enthusiasm for 'Britain as a freedom loving nation'.

The economic climate in Ireland has blown cooler in recent years. New investment was more difficult to attract and the employers came under pressure from an Irish working class more strongly organised in the trade union movement and less inhibited by emigration or unemployment than for many years.

Although the 26 counties remain a haven for skivvy wages (girls on the Shannon estate get paid £4 a week) organised sections of workers were

by PAUL GILLESPIE in Dublin

able to advance their living standards.

The Irish ruling class has now decided to make a stand. But the 6 per cent wages ceiling announced last month had already been amended when the unions began talking about a general strike.

Colley (Lynch's pro-British finance minister) has imposed new deflationary taxes and clearly intends to straitjacket wages as far as possible while prices continue to rocket. Major industrial clashes seem inevitable.

The paralysis of the government during the northern crisis has been heightened as a result of revelations made during the trial of former Finance Minister Haughey and others

for illegally attempting to import arms to the north last year. It is clear that the rebel Fianna Failers were prepared to talk big about helping 'our brothers' in the north but do nothing in practice.

Concentration camp

But the trial has served to put a 'republican' gloss on men like Haughey in spite of their anti-republican record. It was Haughey that supervised the opening of the Curragh concentration camp for republicans in the 1950s.

Haughey and his cohorts like Blaney (possibly on social issues the most right wing member of Fianna

Fail) are now mounting a campaign to unseat Lynch but they are not prepared to risk the fall of the Fianna Fail government.

They offer no fundamental alternative to Lynch. Haughey, like Lynch, is in favour of closer links with Britain.

He and Blaney are anxious to divert the dangerously radical direction of the northern anti-Unionist movement into safe, non-socialist channels. To this end they are prepared to talk 'more green than thou'.

If Haughey and the rebel Fianna Failers offer no hope for the oppressed people in Ireland—north or south—the official 'opposition' in Dublin is equally barren of hope.

The Irish Labour Party has moved so far to the right since the last 26 county general election that they are

now prepared to enter a coalition with the extreme right wing Fine Gael party (largely farmers with big commercial interests).

Labour leaders like Conor Cruise O'Brien speak 'left' talk but are aghast at the prospect of mounting industrial and social strife and are preparing to divert this into safe constitutional channels.

Great unity

Outside the constitutional parties, the republicans in the south are best placed to give a socialist lead. Following the split with the right-wing Sinn Fein dissidents, the republicans have hovered between reformism and a move to openly marxist politics.

In the north there are signs that greater unity of action is now possible between the revolutionary socialists of People's Democracy and left republicans.

In this move lies the best hope for the future. The emergence of a non-sectarian revolutionary socialist party would attract thousands of militants from the south.

At that time Lynch, Haughey, Chichester-Clark and the rest will be more than a little worried.



A big hand for Jack Lynch [left]: how long before it puts on the knuckleduster?

War-time move to dump Ulster



DE VALERA: not impressed

THE MEMOIRS of Eamon de Valera, President of Eire, published this week, contain the startling revelation that Winston Churchill offered to forcibly unite the whole of Ireland during the Second World War if Eire dropped her neutral stance. Churchill was angry at de Valera's refusal to open his ports to British war ships and was worried that the Germans might use them.

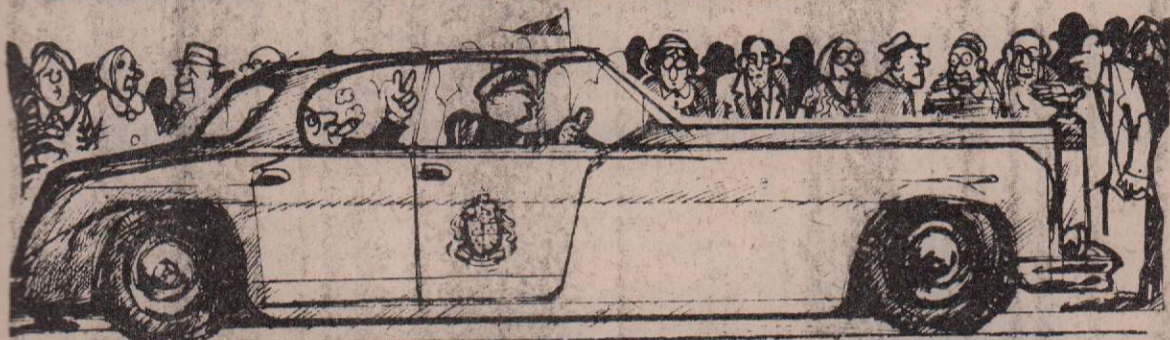
Churchill's offer shows the cynical hypocrisy of the British ruling class towards the Irish question. In an attempt to divide Ireland and weaken the nationalist struggle, British imperialism deliberately fostered religious differences that led to the creation of Ulster. A divided Ireland helped maintain the grip of British capital over the whole 32 counties.

But when the same British capital's interests were threatened by Germany, Churchill was prepared to immediately abandon 'brave little Ulster' by amalgamating her with Eire. When de Valera rejected the proposal, Churchill had to be restrained from using armed force to make the Irish leader change his mind. Like Carson, Churchill had scant regard for 'law and order' when ruling class interests were at stake.

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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
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NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham

Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth

SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

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

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TRANSPORT has always been high on the list of man's basic needs. Yet today, despite its tremendous resources, skills and inventions, our society is incapable of satisfying this need.

At a cost approaching £1000 millions, Concorde will soon fly businessmen to New York in three hours while workers spend as long each day in struggling a few miles across our cities to work and home again. It is not lack of technology but the continuous drive for profit that lies at the root of our transport chaos.

The politicians and planners talk as if public transport was a relic of the past. The papers speak of the 'car owning democracy'. But only 50 per cent of families own a car.

More than three quarters of the population need public transport to some degree. Few need to be told of the serious decline in the standard of bus and train services.

British Rail concentrates on the plus Inter City services catering mainly for businessmen while vital services have been axed in many areas. In country areas the remaining buses, which have often replaced trains, are now under threat.

The National Bus Company is to withdraw unprofitable routes 'to the extent that is necessary to restore the overall financial position'. In other words the poorer people who rely on these buses can go to the devil as long as NBC makes a profit.

For the same reason fares have rocketed. This August many Londoners faced a 50 per cent increase overnight. Elsewhere minimum fares have gone as high as 7d and children's fares are being pushed up to three-quarters of the adult fare.

On East Kent buses, children pay full fare before 9.15am. In Manchester a peak hour surcharge is in force.

The last 20 years have seen a 40 per cent cut in London's buses. Even short journeys have become a nightmare. 'Hop on a bus' say the ads. It's usually quicker to walk.

Travellers on the tubes find a similar declining service - and pay a shilling minimum into the bargain.

Anger and abuse

The managers of our public transport are fairly incompetent and keep well away from the anger and abuse of the passengers. But they are really only carrying out the orders of their political bosses.

The Labour government tried to cover up for the policy of cutting services with sugary promises. 'We must clearly expand and develop public transport and make it far more convenient, rapid and reliable,' said Barbara Castle in 1966.

With the Tories in power the object has become clear. As with other social services, cuts come first and service last, if at all. In last week's 'mini' budget they announced the withdrawal of grants worth £33 million to public transport.

In every survey of bus and train services the most important demand made by passengers is for a reliable service. Yet reliability has been the first casualty of the craving for profit.



by
Chris Davison
a London bus driver(TGWU)

FREE TRANSPORT

With the reduced frequency of buses, the impact of operating failures has become more acute. On a two-minute service you will hardly notice that a bus is missing. On a 20-minute service you will be left feeling pretty sore.

One of the most important factors in reducing reliability is staff shortage. The refusal to pay busmen a wage that will compensate for the irregular hours and loss of social life has led to a serious shortage in many parts of the country.

The present figure for London is a 17 per cent shortage - in some garages it is more than 30 per cent for drivers. This hits the service in a completely haphazard way and may result in three consecutive buses being cut without warning.

The inevitable complaints and abuse - sometimes even assaults - soon persuades the remaining crews to find other jobs. In 1969 London Transport mounted a special recruiting drive and signed on 2300 new drivers. In the same year 3000 left.

A tremendous speed-up, that has left the London busman driving more miles in 40 hours than he would have done 20 years ago in 1948, has its own impact on services. Buses delayed in the peak hour will be hours before they get back on time.

In a desperate move to save money, One-Man-Operated buses are to be introduced on busy city routes in many places. London Transport plan to go over entirely to one-man bands in five years and are following Birmingham with 89 seater double deck buses fitted

with periscopes and other electronic devices.

Yet OMO is unpopular with the public and these mon-

itors are slower and more expensive. The truth about the decline was vividly shown in that year fare line with the (about the only jobs, the staff p-

service were improved. As a result, the traffic, which had cent in the three was cut to 0.2 p-

buses alone a gre cent was recorded old policies had a loss was back to 1 per cent on the b-

Profits and

When employees of public transport most people believe look at London's fares for 1969:

- Declared loss
- Interest payments
- Fuel Tax, rates, licences

In other words, the government was asked for a million to make a bus was receiving a million. A £6.7 million have been a truth that wouldn't b-

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SPORT THE ONLY ANSWER

double mirrors and gadgets. (already) proving (travelling pub- cars can only be reliable. (passenger de- down in 1967. were frozen in incomes policy (prices that were) general lack of position and the red. (annual loss of averaged 5.2 per cent. On the (with of 0.8 per cent. By 1969 the (turned and the 3 per cent (8.3 per cent).

its (with

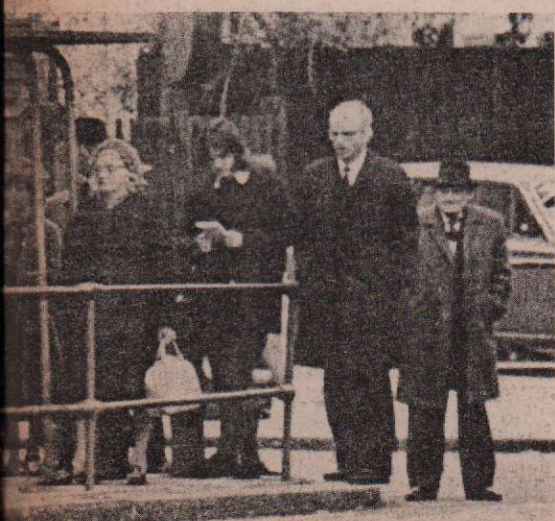
announce that (making a loss (them. But just (Transport's fig-

£10.7 million

£1.4 million

£5.9 million

while the gov- (to pay £10.7 (ood the loss it (her £17.3 mil- (profit would (picture - but (ve suited the



policy of cuts and the busmen might even have put in for a bigger wage increase.

Road congestion in our cities gets worse as more vehicles are driven on to the roads. A survey of traffic entering central London in the morning peak hour showed that between 1957 and 1967 there was a 52 per cent increase in the number of cars and a 27 per cent reduction in the number of buses.

This meant that 23,700 extra cars replaced 1,600 buses occupying 4½ times as much road space but carrying 56,000 fewer people. The result was to increase congestion which is estimated to cost £150 million a year in delays to people and goods.

Each passenger that can be persuaded to use public transport to go into London and leave the car at home saves us 5s for every mile travelled when all the costs are added up. The profit or loss declared by London Transport is totally irrelevant in the face of these figures.

There are many other ways in which we suffer due to cuts in public transport. More traffic means more accidents. In 1965 the cost of accidents involving injury was put at £246 million.

Everywhere old people find it too costly and difficult to get about. For workers the effect is to lengthen the working day. 15 minutes on each journey due to inadequate transport means another 2½ hours a week, or at average wages, around £1 10s.

Transport policy has now centred on the building of urban motorways. In London the Ring-

way systems are likely to cost around £2000 million with some sections setting us back £24 million a mile.

At the same time some 30,000 homes will be lost, adding to the present 250,000 shortage of homes in London.

In Britain, vested interests back the urban motorways. The most powerful is the British Road Federation, currently preparing a detailed case to back up the GLC's plans.

The BRF includes construction firms (Laings and Taylor Woodrow), the Cement and Concrete Association, British Steel Corporation and the oil companies Esso and Shell.

Add to this the pressure from the motor manufacturers and it is clear that the most powerful forces in British capitalism are pushing for motorways because an expanding motor industry means higher profits.

Free and easy

The motor manufacturers' lobby demands the building of vast urban rings and motorways for colossal sums of money.

The motorways rip through the cities, tearing down houses, uprooting thousands of families.

But the traffic jams grow worse and whole cities threaten to come to a complete standstill.

The only sane policy, one that puts the interests of the majority before the interests of the profiteers, is a free public transport system. Public transport is the most efficient method of moving large numbers of people around.

We can afford it. The bill should be footed by industry, which would benefit from the easing of congestion and which pays nothing for the wear and tear of the roads caused by its heavy lorries.

Cars will still be needed for places where buses and trains can not reach. Again, sweeping changes would be needed to make cheap motoring available for all working people.

At present it costs as much to tax a Mini as a Rolls. The Labour government balked at a simple change: to abolish all motoring taxes except petrol tax and make

the owners of the big cars pay more than ordinary motorists.

But the only long-term solution is the nationalisation of the car industry, along with the oil and petrol combines and the insurance companies. Motoring is expensive because it is run for profit, where cars fall to bits after five years and the petrol firms constantly force up their prices.

Buses and cars

A car industry run under workers' control would break the grip of the profiteers and produce cars for need, not profit. Possibly the most efficient way to run motoring would be on a co-operative car hire basis so that people would obtain a carefully maintained vehicle when they needed it and so stop thousands of cars cluttering up the kerbs and road space for most of the day.

To make such a scheme of free public transport and co-operative hire feasible would almost certainly demand restrictions on vehicles in city centres at certain times of the day. This would be attacked as a restriction on 'individual freedom' but as costs mount and the parking meters proliferate, the only freedom today is that of the bank account.

Only socialists put forward any coherent and constructive alternatives to the present chaos. But these alternatives can only operate when millions of working people take collective action to change our present society.

Change can be made. The people of Acklam Road in West London won a small victory when they forced the GLC to rehouse them away from the roar and stench of the Westway.

Trade unionists must become aware of the fact that struggles for higher wages are weakened when rising fares diminish any increases achieved. And cuts in the working week are wiped away when extra hours are spent in bus queues.

The campaign for public transport geared to social needs is a vital part of the general movement for a decent, humane society, run and controlled by working people. It is a campaign we must not ignore in the important struggles that lie ahead.

TOM LANGAM, a Dagenham AEF worker and SABBY SAGALL on the next round of the car workers' wages campaign

FORD WORKERS are likely to be in the news again soon. At the end of 1969 and the beginning of 1970, the demand for 'parity' — for earnings equal to those of Midlands' car production workers — caught the imagination of large sections of the working class.

The demand was for £10 a week extra, to bring Ford workers up to the level of Rootes (now Chrysler) Ryton workers. Production workers at Ryton had won 17s 5d an hour in return for giving up piece-work and accepting Measured Day Work.

The campaign for 'parity' was not fully successful. A majority of Ford workers voted against strike action to win the £10. They accepted instead the £4 extra which the company had offered. However, the 'parity' campaign represented something new in the attitudes of many workers.

The struggle for 'parity' in the car industry was sparked off by the imposition of Measured Day Work on Rootes' workers at Coventry. Since Ford workers had always been on MDW, they felt their situation to have become closer to that of their Rootes' brothers.

Ford workers had long been nursing a smouldering grievance at being the 'poor relations' of the car industry. To Ford militants, the time seemed ripe to launch the demand for equality of earnings with the Midlands.

It is against this background that shop stewards from all the Ford plants will be gathering in Coventry on 8 November to map out their strategy for the coming battle. Prominent in their minds will be the memory of last February when a majority of Ford workers refused to come out for more than £4 extra: the company had bought off strike action.

But on the positive side, because the £4 was granted without any action, the expectations of Ford workers will have risen. The attitude of many is likely to be: 'If we got £4 without action, what can we get with action?'

New confidence

Ford militants have faced the difficult task of rebuilding the factory organisation since the catastrophic defeat of 1962 when 17 of the leading militants were sacked in a grand-scale victimisation drive by the company.

The Ford women's strike of 1968 created renewed confidence in the possibility of trade union struggle. It was the fight of an especially oppressed section of workers not previously noted for their militancy.

A crucial factor about Measured Day Work, in contrast to piece-work, is that stewards are not allowed to negotiate on any aspect of wages. This, like all other important questions, is in the hands of full-time union officials.

For years at Ford, stewards were able to deal only with relatively minor issues. It was only as a result of the 1969 strike against penalty clauses that the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee was re-organised to include some rank and file representatives on the trade union side.

Being excluded from wage bargaining tended to have a depressing effect on the confidence of stewards and also on the level of militancy of the rank and file.

Open allies

The workers were led to rely on the union leaders. The right-wing leaders were open allies of the bosses.

The 'left-wing' leaders, on the other hand, may have good intentions, but they want to act on behalf of the workers instead of rousing them to act for themselves. The danger is that stewards, instead of issuing leaflets urging rank and file self-reliance, will call token mass meetings at which the praises of Moss Evans, TGWU national officer, will be sung.

Ford militants should remember how Moss Evans sold out the recent protracted strike at GKN: Sankey, and how Brothers Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones accepted the principle of penalty clauses at Ford in 1969.

The 'left' leaders cannot be relied on to give a consistent lead. They will act militantly only to the extent that the rank and file takes a strong initiative.

There is an urgent need to build up systematically rank and file confidence, especially as Ford

New pay battle looms at Ford

workers are likely to be in the forefront of the battle against the Tories' anti-union legislation early next year. Militants should begin now to put out intensive propaganda and to hold regular mass meetings.

Further, to enable the more militant plants to give a lead to the less militant ones, it would be good strategy to have individual factory meetings especially at Dagenham to decide on strike action. At last February's huge mass meeting at Dagenham, the militant sections were outvoted by apathetic sections and by those on massive overtime

Flout policy

The cause of unity is not helped if production workers, who don't get much overtime, see tool-room or maintenance workers continuously flout the AEF policy, recently reiterated by the union National Committee, of no more than 30 hours' overtime a month.

Ford militants, in addition to the claim for 'parity' with the Midlands, likely to be £14, should also fight for the other aspect of 'parity' — a levelling up of those on lower rates, that is a levelling up of production rates to skilled rates.

In the weeks and months ahead the energy of Ford workers must be unleashed and the following demands strenuously fought for:

1. 'Parity' of earnings with Midlands' car workers—including 'parity' between production and skilled workers.
2. Equal pay for women.
3. Mutuality on all work standards.
4. Cost of living index.
5. The right of stewards to demand higher wages with production increases.
6. Five days' work or five days' pay.
7. Higher shift premium —time and a half for all shift work (two and three shifts).

Tories fan the flames of race hate to divide and weaken the labour movement



THE TURN of the 20th century saw the first mass immigration of Eastern-European Jews fleeing from persecution. They came to Britain, the traditional haven of all men persecuted in their own countries.

But the tolerance of many notable figures in the Tory Party did not extend very far and, for the first time, racialism became an important political issue in British politics.

Speeches were made referring to Jews as dirty, lazy, criminal, verminous — the usual list of accusations made against nearly all immigrants.

Just as now, it was argued that the great Anglo-Saxon race was in danger of being polluted by the aliens.

Noel Billing MP, summed up much of the feeling in the Conservative Party when he said: 'All that is clean in the British character has been debased by the type of alien that has invaded us. They have completely debased our morals and, I make bold to say, debased the Treasury bench'.

This worthy gentleman was also responsible for giving the world a chilling foretaste of the Nazis by suggesting that all Jews should be forced to wear a badge, marking them off from the pure, lilywhite English.

Great unrest

This period was one of great social and political unrest. The hard-pressed ruling class was only too willing to encourage any ideas that were likely to divide the working class and reduce its effectiveness in fighting the bosses.

This had always been the ruling class tactic with immigrant Irish labour.

The hundreds of thousands of Irishmen forced to come to Britain to find work were used in many cases to divide a previously militant group of workers. A good example was the South Wales coalfields and steelworks where not only Irish but also Scots labour was deliberately brought in to create tension among the workers.

Such tactics did have some success. For many years the population of Glasgow held an annual demonstration that ended with a game called 'Hunting the Barney'.

But by the early 20th century it had become necessary to organise dislike of foreigners into a more specific ideology. Fear and contempt were built up, based in most cases upon differences in colour of skin but often simply on differences in language.

In this way, the word 'primitive' came to be indiscriminately applied to all non-white people throughout the world. This use of the word became widely accepted.

Such racialist ideas and movements were not confined to Britain.

NEXT WEEK:
a special centre spread on how to fight the anti-union laws. Order extra copies now

"LET 'EM ALL COME!" IS THE RADICAL CRY.

The Radicals, by their obstruction to the Aliens Bill, are evidently glad to see all foreigners who are criminals; who suffer from loathsome diseases; who are turned out in disgrace by their fellow countrymen; who are paupers; who fill our streets with profligacy and disorder.

THE RADICAL WELCOMES THEM ALL.

The Unionist Government wants to keep these creatures out of Great Britain.

Tory propaganda at the turn of the century



Powell spreads similar racist abuse today

In the aftermath of World War I, racist and anti-semitic organisations became important in nearly every country of Europe, particularly in Germany, France and Eastern Europe.

In the depths of its most massive crisis yet, capitalism turned in its desperation to the weapon of racialism and spawned the monster of fascism.

It is important to note that all such ideas as fascism and racialism developed as a last-ditch attempt to resist marxism and the power of the labour movement. Racialist ideas were deliberately stirred up and spread in an attempt to split the working class and weaken the trade unions.

The fact that, in creating fascism, big business almost destroyed world civilisation only shows to what extremes such men are prepared to go to prevent socialism.

In England itself, the labour movement proved too strong and big business was never forced to resort to open fascism as was the case in Germany and Italy. The only important movement was Mosley's Union Movement which was smashed by the united and determined resistance of the London working class, although

Mosley did have a substantial amount of influential support, including the Daily Mail.

The Second World War resulted in the end of Britain as a major power. After the war, under the pressure of rapidly growing independence movements, Britain dissolved her Empire.

This was not done willingly or peacefully and Britain provoked colonial wars in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus and Aden. But the end result was the same.

Black influx

This momentous event was soon linked with another of almost equal importance — the influx of a large number of black people into Britain. Because of a growing shortage of labour, British industrialists actively encouraged workers from the former colonies to come to Britain to sell their labour-power.

Starting with a trickle in the mid-1950s this movement grew considerably until the early 1960s. For the first time in its history, Britain contained a sizeable minority of black inhabitants.

These two factors—Britain's decline as a world power and the arrival of black people for the first time in Britain — gave the racists the chance they had been waiting for. Relying on an education and a culture that had systematically represented non-white people as either cunning and cruel or totally ignorant and childlike, many British people were only too ready to give some acceptance to racist ideas.

Racist tinge

It is only necessary to look back over the last 30 years at the way in which non-white people have been portrayed in books and films in Britain. From the use of children's toys called 'gollywogs' through innocent games like 'eeny meeny miney mo, catch a nigger by his toe, make him squeal and let him go', to the portrayal of Red Indians as ignorant savages intent only on drinking the superior white man's firewater, the whole of British culture is tinged with this inherently racist content.

Little wonder then that some people subscribed to the myths of the racists.

And before immigration began the only contact British people had had with non-whites was as soldiers in the colonies.

All of these factors, made worse by the economic troubles that hit Britain in the 1960s, combined to create a fertile soil for racist ideas to work in.

By 1970, under the skilful stoking of men like Enoch Powell, racialism became one of the most important problems facing the British left.

NEXT WEEK:
how to fight the menace

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



'A DEVELOPMENT of the productive forces is the absolute practical premise of communism because without it want is generalised, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive again.' By 'all the old crap' Marx meant classes, inequality, class struggles and war.

On a world scale this problem has been solved. The material basis for socialism exists but as a result of the course of capitalist development it is very unevenly distributed.

For example, in the USA output per man-hour, averaged for all sectors of the economy, rose from 37 units in 1870 to 100 units in 1913 (taken as base line), to 208 units in 1938 and to nearly 400 units in 1963.

On the other hand in most of the 'under-developed' countries overall productivity remains very low. It has been kept low by the competitive power of the developed capitalist countries and by the transfer of resources from the 'under-developed' to the 'developed' by imperialism.

A Chinese economist published a book in 1950 giving these figures. 'In the USA there was an average of about 600 times more industrial capital per head (of the population) than in China, or more than 900 times if manufacturing capital alone were considered.'

Even making every allowance for industrial development since 1950 it is clear that the basis for a classless society in an isolated China does not exist.

The same argument applies to the rest of the 'Third World', that is to two-thirds of mankind. What does exist is the possibility of an international socialism and this requires the growth of an international revolutionary movement.

Fundamental

Such a movement must be based on the industrial working classes. This is not a question of dogma.

It is fundamental to the marxist analysis of society and follows from the actual life situation of the modern workers as compared to that of all previous exploited classes.

While it is the case that the low level of the productivity of labour was the basic reason for inequality and exploitation in pre-capitalist societies there was also another reason.

In pre-industrialised societies the working people, whether slaves, serfs or 'free' peasants, normally worked in fairly small groups isolated from similar groups widely scattered over the countryside. This made it very difficult for them to think in collective terms and still more difficult for them to act as a class.

As Marx, writing of the French peasantry, noted 'insofar as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life... from that of other classes, and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class.'

'Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no unity, no national union, and no political organisation, they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interests... They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented.'

Collective will

Slaves, serfs, peasants could and often did revolt, burn the big houses and kill lords, priests and lawyers. What they could not do, except for short periods in exceptional circumstances, was to impose their rule, as a class, on society.

Either the old rulers regained control or others took their place. For the cultivators had sooner or later to disperse to their plots or starve. Professional rulers arose to 'represent' them.

It is the concentration of the modern working class into large units in cities and the enormous development of means of communication that makes possible trade union and political organisation.

They make it possible for the working class, the great majority, to

The workers' vital role

impose its collective will on society. There is no possible substitute. Socialism means a society based on voluntary cooperation between working people. It can neither be established in the absence of a modern working class nor imposed on one from above.

Marx took as his model of working class rule the Paris Commune of 1871. His description of its working is still, in essentials, the outline of a 'workers' state', though the rise of large scale industry has made workers' councils based on productive units more important than area representation.

'The Commune was formed of municipal councillors chosen by universal suffrage... responsible and recallable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men...

Recallable

'The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time... the police was at once stripped of its political attributes and turned into the responsible and at all times recallable agent of the Commune.'

'So were the officials of all other branches of the administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The vested interests and allowances of the high dignitaries disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves... Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and recallable...

'The first decree of the Commune was the abolition of the standing army and the substitution for it of the armed people.'

Such a revolutionary and democratic regime, solidly based on the working class, is the essential instrument for the transition to socialism. To establish it, of course, the capitalist state machine must be eliminated because workers' power is incompatible with any kind of bureaucratic and repressive hierarchy.

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<h1>Seven times Seven</h1>						



SOFTLY, SOFTLY (BBC1, Wednesdays) hit something like its old form last week with a tautly-written script by Alan Plater about a slum landlord.

The programme was praised deservedly for some years for its realism and brilliant characterisation. Its determination to show both cops and robbers as flesh and blood people whose actions and reactions reflect the environment that helped to mould them set the programme apart from the run of the mill police series.

The series' basic role is to plug the 'hard and difficult' job of the police and to act as a public relations department for the modern techniques being introduced to tackle crime. Socialists have no illusions about such programmes—but it's nice when they are entertaining.

Caricatures

But the present series has been below standard. Characterisation has become stereotyped and working class people in particular are treated like cardboard caricatures.

Plater's story had something interesting to say about an important aspect of working-class life—the dreadful housing conditions that face many people and the exploitation of that criminal situation by landlords.

Sergeant Evans, his Welsh chapel conscience stirred by the slums he had seen in the course of a routine inquiry, went after the landlord, and, in police parlance, 'put the frighteners on him'.

In a rousing speech that had me cheering from my armchair, Evans told the landlord that he was worse than 'real criminals' who except that they are outside the law and society and fight on that basis while the landlord's type, through their wealth and privilege, use the law to lie and cheat and live off other people's misfortunes.

Absurd

Great stuff. But then reality hit me like a jet of cold water and I realised how absurd the whole thing was.

Evans went after the landlord on his own bat, without seeking permission from his superiors. And even when they found out, he was lightly ticked off, then given the official go-ahead to fix the young Rachman.

Real life events prove the utter implausibility of the story. In every expose of slum landlordism the police have been seen to be the strong right arm of the Rachmans, either turning a blind eye or 'defending private property' by evicting rebellious tenants.

However much one individual policeman might be shocked by some aspects of society he would never be allowed to 'go it alone', particularly in the highly-disciplined crime squads.

Plater, a committed socialist, was rightly using the medium to attack one of the sores that disfigure working-class life. But in casting a policeman in the role of avenging angel he unfortunately gives a gloss to the police in general and suggests that they act as a mediating force between classes instead of as the upholders and defenders of the rights of the minority.

David East

Profiteers behind drugs scandal

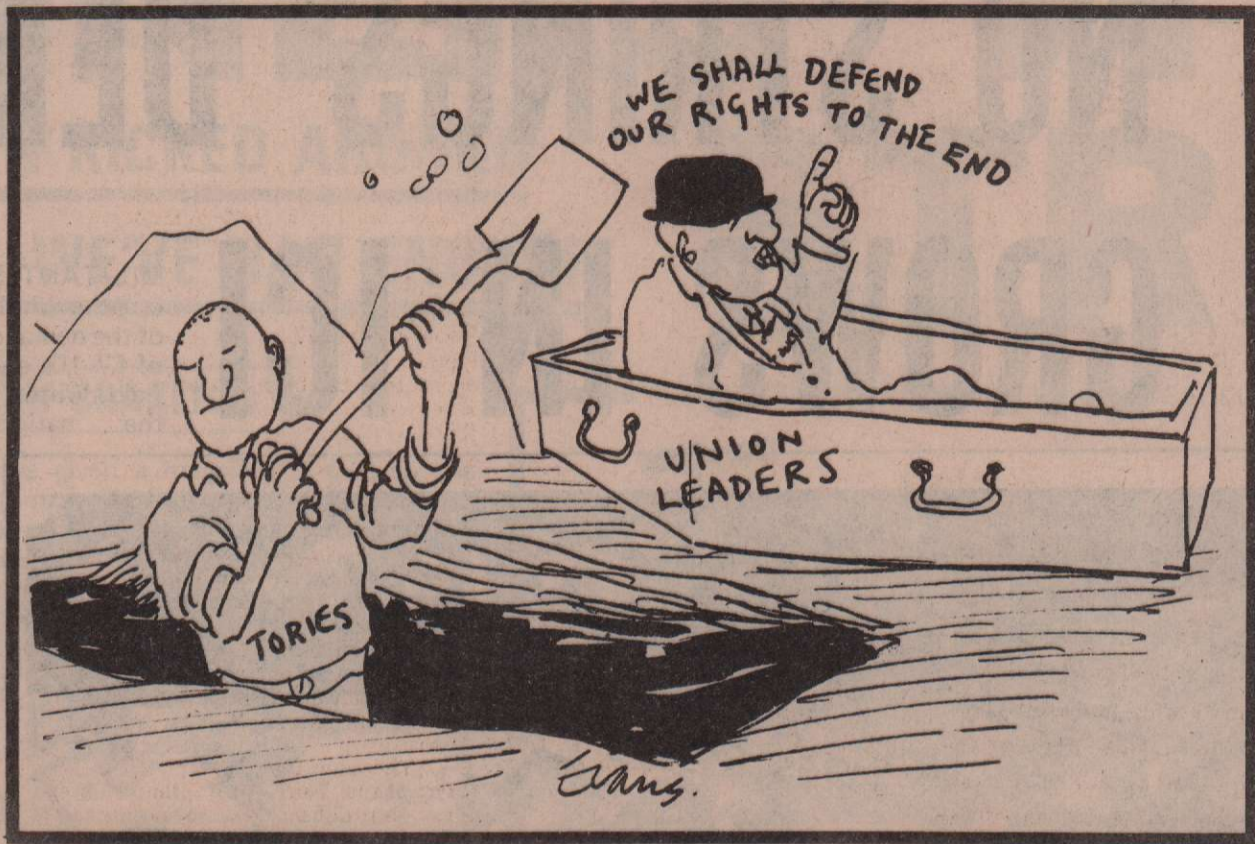
THE SUNDAY TIMES exposed the Great Drug Fraud last week. Here's how it works.

Suppose you go to your doctor about your insomnia. He might prescribe the drug sodium pentobarbitone.

And in fact if he actually wrote that chemical name on the prescription form, then the chemist could give you any of the different makes of capsule containing this drug. But your doctor could prescribe the drug by using one of its brand names.

Then the chemist must, by law, give you this brand and no other. But it appears that some chemists have been substituting a cheaper form of the drug. They have been charging the Health Service, however, as if they had prescribed the dearer drug.

In this way the Health Service has been robbed of about a million pounds a year.



COTTONS COLUMN

Could be deadly

The Sunday Times quite correctly condemned these activities on two counts. Firstly, the Health Service is being robbed.

Secondly, some of the 'substitute' drugs have not been approved by the Committee on Safety of Drugs and there is evidence that they are not up to standard in some cases. Some of them could be downright deadly.

As the article put it: 'If we are to have cheaper drugs then this must be done under government control with full safeguards for the public. The rackets that currently exist benefit nobody except the manufacturer or the chemist concerned.'

But this is only half the story. The whole tenor of the article accepted that since the big companies virtually 'own' the drugs then any 'copies' must be produced by unscrupulous charlatans out to poison the public and help the chemists fleece the Health Service.

By maintaining a monopoly on the production of a drug, by means of patents, the big drug companies can keep their prices artificially high, under the pretence that they need plenty of money to keep their extensive research going. Of course, they do need money for research but do they need the large profits they make?

Expensive hold

Take ICI. In 1968/69 out of a total sales in pharmaceuticals of £25 million, £10 million was profit—which gives what is called a 'percentage margin of profit' of 40 per cent.

This is higher than in any other division of ICI and compares with 14 per cent for the company as a whole.

Apart from these high profits, they need to spend large amounts on advertising as well as research. They have to get 'their' brand names familiar to the doctor so that, rather than prescribe the general name for a drug, the doctor will prescribe only the more expensive branded drug.

We must certainly condemn the administration of untested drugs, and the chemist who dispenses them. But we must also condemn the big drug companies in their attempts to maintain an expensive hold on the Health Service.

Ken Green

THE ESTABLISHMENT has closed ranks to launch a tirade of letters to the press to denounce George (hyphen) Brown. The ex-Foreign Secretary in the Labour government has earned the wrath of the master class by his knockabout abuse of the civil service in his memoirs.

There is nothing new about this. Labour ministers have frequently complained, once they had lost office, about the po-faced public school smoothies who run Whitehall and who do their diplomatic best to obstruct any new measures that conflict with the normal —ie Tory— way of doing things.

But Labour leaders never learn the lesson that they must ruthlessly kick out the top civil servants if they are to introduce even the most timid of reforms. Hugh Gaitskell remarked after the Labour defeat in 1951 that he had not known that so much capital was leaving the country in order to deliberately manufacture a crisis and bring the government down.

Pretty funny, when you remember that Gaitskell was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time! In reality he was a prisoner of the Treasury officials.

But like all Labour ministers, he was a happy prisoner. After all, if you're not prepared to knock the prison down there's not much point in moaning about the jailers.

A WORKER on a Swansea construction site is so thin that his mates constantly chide him 'Don't turn sideways, we can't see you'. The joke has not been lost on him.

Last week the foreman said to him: 'Where were you yesterday—I didn't see you on the site.' Quick as a flash, back came the answer: 'Ah well, that's because I was standing sideways yesterday.'

Hassocks to you

IGNORING the research and advice of experts, the prissy old knee-benders who run the Church of England Ltd have come out in favour of a total ban on 'porno-



Don't say Brown say hyphen

We've been browsing through one book that should be high on their graces' black list. One chapter is about a bloke called Solomon who dwells in some detail on the bodily delights of his lover. There's a chap called Lot whose relationship with his daughters simply cannot be described in a decent family newspaper.

And as for one character given to 'casting his seed upon the ground', he makes young Portnoy seem like a Boy Scout in boxing gloves.

Ban it, bishops, ban it. It's called the Bible.

Money for dirt

MEMO to striking council workers. The Sunday Times had an advertisement for the post of Assistant to the Secretary of the Local Authority Employers' Association. The salary is to be between £4800 and £5350—that's £80 to £90 a week more than the same employers are offering their manual workers.

Cheque on it

HIGH profits imply an efficient business, or so the story goes. Barclays Bank made £72 million in 1969 as against £66 million in 1968, an 18 per cent rise.

They have a slogan for it: Barclayefficiency. But the stories coming out of head office run counter to the slogans for public digestion.

IBM computers have been brought in and can process 70 per cent of

other 30 per cent has to be painfully done by a vast army of clerks, inspectors and managers who tend the whims of the computers.

On one job where six girls were once employed, there are now 230 and they are six months behind. As a result of this chaos, literally millions of pounds are sinking without trace.

In the exchange of cheques between the newly formed Barclays and Martins concern and the new National Westminster outfit, a completely unexplainable £20 million difference has arisen in the first six months of this year.

Meanwhile, get ready to be means tested for that £3 maximum poverty handout . . .

CHAP called Gangle was so anxious to sell his house that he put it on show this week to the general public. It gives us an interesting glimpse into what is laughingly known as 'the other half'.

His small domain has eight bedrooms and is going for £400,000. It also has five bathrooms. Apparently being rich not only gives you the right to a weak bladder, but caters for it.

Don't shoot

SAMPLE joke for after-dinner speakers: Come the counter-revolution and a shop steward and a union official are lined up before the firing squad. 'Any last requests?' asks the captain of the guard.

'Yes, I'd like to be blindfolded,' says the steward. The official hisses at him: 'Stop causing trouble.'

NOTICES

NORTH LONDON IS Women's Group: Sun 8 Nov, 3pm, 380 City Rd N1 (opp Angel tube). Spkrs from E London Claimants Union. All welcome. Facilities for children.

LONDON IS STUDENT meeting to discuss minimum activity programme: Wed 11 Nov 7pm, Main Building LSE. All student members to attend.

TEESSIDE public meeting sponsored by

How to fight Tory union laws. Spkrs: Terry Rodgers (DATA divisional chairman) and Tony Cliff. Mon 16 Nov 7.30pm. Co-op Hall, off Corporation St, Middlesbrough.

CAMDEN IS-CP demo against anti-union laws. Mornington Cres tube. 2.30pm Sat 7 Nov.

SCOTTISH AREA IS One day school, Dundee, 7 Nov, Dundee Labour Club (new venue), Roseangle. Spkr T Cliff: 2pm The Anti-Union Legislation, 4.30pm Imperial-

Socialist Worker

Control key to miners' victory

AS THE MINERS' strike spreads in defiance of the Coal Board's offer and the surrender of the union leaders, the vital question of rank and file control of the strike and the union is coming to the foreground.

National and local leaderships of the NUM have acted undemocratically. They defied the majority vote for strike action. As a result there is a growing demand for control by the members. More and more miners are beginning to see that the

road to victory lies through the maximum participation of the rank and file. This means:

1. Regular mass meetings must be held at each pit to discuss and debate the changing situation. All decisions must be taken through mass meetings and a national delegate conference called to decide on further action.
2. Strike committees must be elected at every pit. Branch officials should not

serve on them by right of their office.

3. Strike committees should organise pickets to visit all pits not yet on strike. They should also call meetings and socials for the strikers' families to help combat the vicious anti-strike propaganda.

The quickest way to win the struggle is for action now. In the face of an all-out strike at a time of a national fuel shortage the Coal Board and the government will be forced to settle in the miners' favour.

500 protest at police attack on black people

by Ginny West

FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE, mainly white, staged a two hour demonstration in Notting Hill last Saturday in support of black people who have been suffering vicious attacks from police.

Many black people supported the demonstration, but stayed away for fear of more reprisals.

Already 25 people, most of them black, and associated with organisations like the Black Panther movement, have been arrested and charged with anything from assaulting a police officer to attempted murder of a police officer.

These charges arose out of a demonstration in West London on 9 August held to publicise police harassment of black people.

Nineteen black people were arrested on the demonstration, and some two months later 11 other people were picked up and charged with 'incitement to riot', 'assault' and 'obstruction'.

Most of the black organisations are centred on London. The tactic used recently by the police has been to cream off the leadership of those organisations by fixing charges against them.

Only a minute fraction of the cases of complaints against policemen are ever found proved. The National Council for Civil Liberties is snowed under with 5000 complaints.

In a document handed out at the demonstration from the People's Centre at Notting Hill, cases of police harassment were quoted: 'We see increasing attacks against places such as the Metro Youth Club, where large numbers of young black people cannot meet without being questioned and searched.'

Provoke trouble

'On Friday 23 October, large numbers of plain clothes police tried to provoke trouble outside the club. They would not say they were police, although they were searching people and threatened to close the club down.'

'A black worker is now facing an attempted murder charge arising out of his arrest for incitement to riot on a demonstration he didn't even attend.'

'The Mangrove Restaurant will probably be closed down shortly. It has been raided regularly by police since January 1969.'

Another picket was held on Saturday at Harlesden Police Station, where members of the Brent Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, and members of IS were protesting against victimisation of black people in the area.

One man found that a number of car keys had been attached to his key ring by the police. He was then charged with car theft.

The chairman of Brent CARD has been charged with peddling drink and fined £75. He claims this was a frame-up.

The next hearing of the case against the people arrested after the 9 August demonstration in Portnall Rd is on 11 November at 10am.

'NO STRINGS' DEMAND GROWS IN ICI

by Dick Williams

MILITANT SUPPORT is mounting throughout the whole of the ICI combine in support of the demand for an across the board increase of £7 10s a week. Resolutions from Huddersfield, Wilton and Doncaster have been sent to the national negotiators demanding the increase.

The resolutions have been passed at union branch and factory meetings with record attendances.

At Doncaster TGWU branch 9/2703, more than 600 members attended to discuss the demand.

ICI workers realise that the increases in pay from the Weekly Staff Agreement (the ICI productivity deal) will not cover the rising prices and the welfare cuts from Barber's budget.

PROFITABLE

ICI is one of the most profitable firms in Britain. They made £107 million profit last year.

They will get £1½ million bonus this year from the cut in Corporation Tax.

The total claim amounts to £24½ million a year. ICI can clearly afford to pay.

Despite a slight decrease in profit in the first half of the year, Sir Peter Allen, ICI chairman, handed out a 3d per share increase to shareholders.

Over the last 10 years sales per worker have gone up 2½ times while wages in relation to sales have gone down by a third.

It is no wonder that the Prices and Incomes Board said: 'The company certainly has its pay system under control.'

PARITY

It is time that ICI workers broke that effective control. There is talk throughout the ICI combine of parity with the motor industry.

There is an urgent need to build up support in every ICI plant for the £7 10s claim. Resolutions from all plants should be sent to the national negotiators as soon as possible.

To ensure effective rank and file control over the negotiations it is essential to rebuild the combine committee.

ICI in their television adverts call themselves the Pathfinders. ICI workers are determined to make ICI pathfinders in wages.

IS PUBLIC MEETING: THE BATTLE FOR HIGHER WAGES, Productivity deals and Anti-trade union legislation. Reg Cross (Convenor Huddersfield ICI) and an IS speaker. Sunday 15 November, 7.30 pm, King George V, Wheatley Hall Road, (near ICI Fibres), Doncaster.

CLEANERS SACKED

WOMEN cleaners at the Board of Trade offices in London came out on strike on Tuesday to demand the reinstatement of two sacked shop stewards. The strikers have taken part in the growing campaign to organise cleaners and have recently joined the TGWU.

The stewards were dismissed by their employers, Strand Cleaning Co, for alleged inadequacy of their work. Five other women have been threatened with the sack.

BUILDERS STRIKE

FIVE HUNDRED construction workers on the Beckton Sewage Works site in East London stopped work for the day on Tuesday in protest at the government's anti-strike proposals and in support of the strike by local council workers. The workers also voted to support the national strike on 8 December and to refuse to complete building work on new sewage plant until the council workers get their pay increase.



Angry residents of Hackney, East London, barricaded roads on Tuesday night in protest at mounting rubbish

Scots strike over jobless

GLASGOW:- The official strike by 100,000 Scottish workers will go ahead on 11 November in spite of a witchhunt by the press and leading industrialists.

The strike has been called by the Clyde committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in protest against rising unemployment. The October figures underline the gravity of the situation: Scottish unemployment is at its highest since the war.

The strike is also in protest at the government's anti-union proposals.

There is also growing support for the one-day strike against the Tory laws called for 8 December. Strong delegations from Scotland will attend the London conference on 14 November called by the Liaison committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to discuss the one-day strike.

Credentials for the 14 November conference are available from J Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Road, Ilford, Essex.

Support for council workers brings Bristol to a halt

by Martin Barker

BRISTOL is in the grip of a mini-general strike of council workers. All the schools are closed, the Polytechnic was closed for three weeks until the strike committee allowed it to re-open and the university is fast shutting down.

The Trades Council has threatened to call out the dockgate and airport workers.

Support for the strikers is enormous. Militant mums have demanded that the council 'pay up and open up'. IS members collecting signatures for a TGWU petition had hardly a single refusal.

Determined

Originally the local TGWU officials wanted only selective strikes, but a mass meeting voted for 'one out, all out'. Since then there have been two marches, the second of which tried to invade the council house, seat of government of Gervase Walker, head of the Tory Council, director of Lazards Bank and personal friend of Edward Heath.

The strikers' determination is growing. Many of them are learning the connection between this strike, the Industrial Relations Bill and the social service cuts.

One striker, a street repairer, summed up the budget proposals: 'It's a bloody shame - it's all for the rich'.

One member of the strike committee, Fred Healy, told us: 'If Heath continues like this, the council workers' strike will

become an annual event. Everyone sees protests over 55s, but there are no visible protests over rising prices.

'If our members get a living wage they won't have to go cap in hand to Mr Barber for a means test.'

Nor did he have any faith in Jack Scamp's enquiry. 'When an independent enquiry recommended that school kitchen ladies get 3s more an hour, the local authority ignored it.' In other words, they only support 'independent' enquiries when they are not independent!

Jim Wall, also on the strike committee, explained the stubbornness of the Tories: 'Although the Tories have only formally proposed anti-union legislation, they are actually implementing it by blackmailing councils to stand firm against 55s and picking on the weakest union which can't economically harm the country.'

Ken Wellesby, strike committee member rounded it off: 'It's not only a trade union fight but a battle against the Tories. If they crush us, other industries will be hit.'

'We are fighting for the freedom to withdraw our labour. If we lose now, we'll lose all along the line.'

DUSTMEN FINED

TWO Hackney (E London) dustmen were fined £20 each this week for dumping rubbish on the Town Hall steps during a protest demonstration by workers and housewives last weekend.

Len Stubbs, chairman of the Hackney branch of the Public Employees Union, commented: 'Is this justice, when a person can commit a far greater offence and receive a much smaller fine? It seems anyone may do this except a striker.'

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