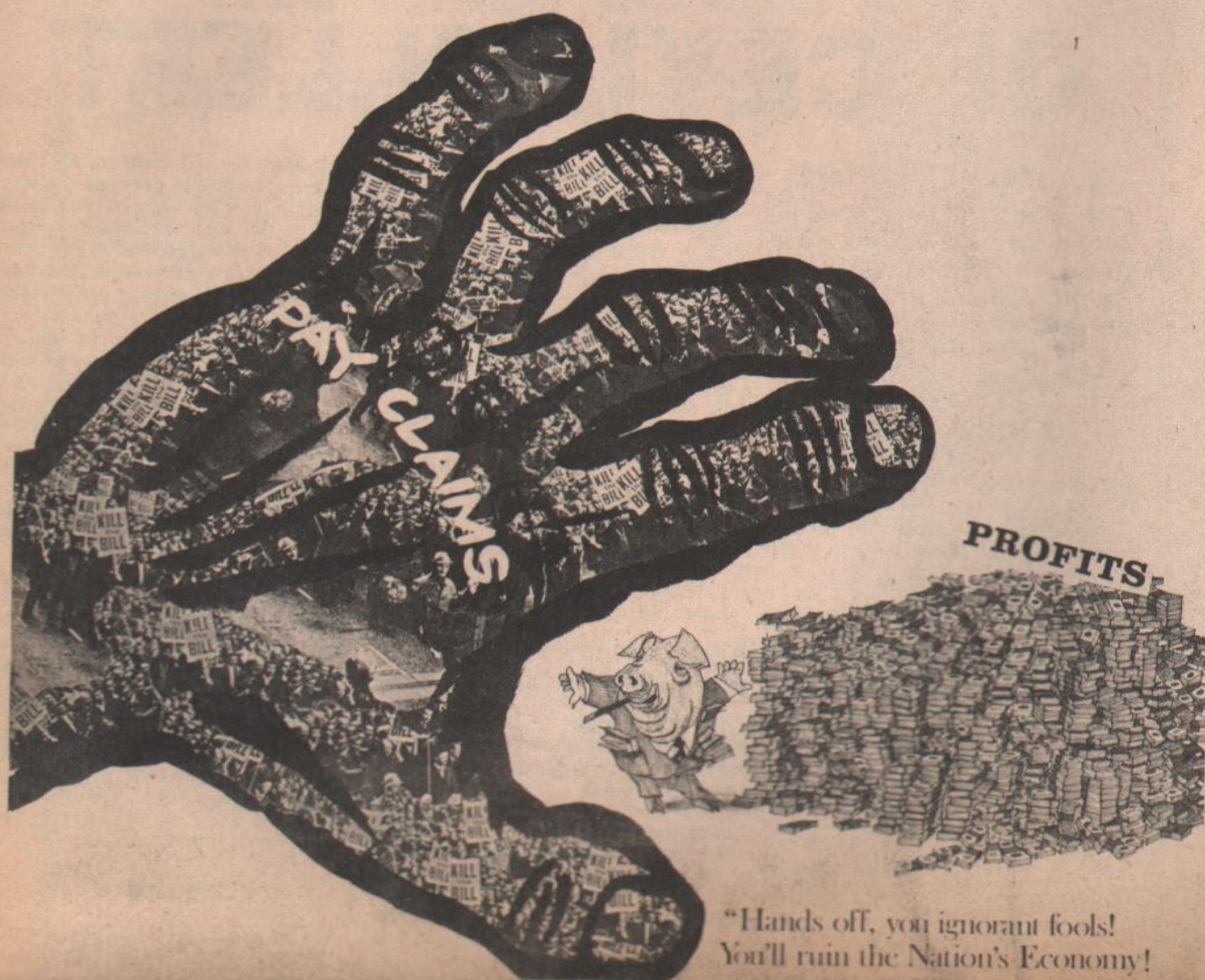


# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 218 1 MAY 1971 2½p



## May Day '71 —fight Tory offensive

MAY DAY has traditionally been the day when working people internationally have reaffirmed their solidarity with one another. For 81 years workers have used this day to express their determination to fight together to improve their conditions and ultimately to transform society.

Rarely has such fighting spirit been needed as today. The Tory offensive against the gains workers have been able to make over the last 25 years is moving one stage further forward.

We have already had savage cuts in welfare services and sharp rises in health charges. The anti-union Bill has almost finished its passage into law. And now the third stage of the offensive is the deliberate boosting of unemployment.

The Times on Monday spoke of 'reliance on unemployment as the chief weapon of economic policy' of the government. There are already 800,000 jobless. And even the government's own advisers reckon there will be more than a million in the dole queues by winter.

What's worse, these figures underestimate the true extent of joblessness. Many married women have not paid for full insurance stamps and do not bother to register when out of work. So while the official figure is 3½ per cent unemployed, a more realistic figure is the one for male workers alone—and this is now 4.6 per cent.

In many parts of the country—the North-east, Scotland, the South-west, Northern Ireland—the situation is even worse. In these areas the growing numbers on the dole have no hope at all of more work.

### Accident

For years the press, television and the leaders of both major parties have been telling us that capitalist society has solved all its old problems. Unemployment was a thing of the past, an accident that well-intentioned government could easily cure.

Now hundreds of thousands of working people are discovering otherwise. Unemployment is being used alongside the anti-union Bill to hammer wages. That makes it all the more urgent for workers still employed to take the initiative in fighting back against the government.

May Day 1971 must mark the day when working people declare their determination to end this rotten system for good.

## May Day March

Saturday 1 May  
Assemble, Victoria Embankment near Charing Cross Station  
March off at 2.30pm to rally in Hyde Park  
Called by London Trade Union May Day March Committee

ALL LONDON IS MEMBERS MUST SUPPORT WITH BANNERS ASSEMBLE 1.45pm

## V&G: A SCANDAL IN HIGH PLACES

by PAUL FOOT

THE SMELL of scandal hangs over the City of London from the disclosures about the Vehicle and General Insurance Company.

Stockbrokers, insurance brokers, financiers and merchant bankers are reeling from the stench. Scotland Yard detectives have made inquiries, a tribunal will investigate the matter, and there is talk of prosecution of some City gentlemen under the Official Secrets Act.

Clear away the bombast and two simple facts stand out.

Most people in the Board of Trade and most people in the City of London, including even the directors of Vehicle and General, knew for several months before its eventual collapse that the company was on the rocks.

The 800,000 policy holders of Vehicle and General were allowed, if not actively encouraged, to continue their investment and their premiums without so much as a whisper of proper warning from the company's bankers, the company's directors, the moguls of the British Insurance Association or the government.

While city slickers were selling their V&G shares at a fat profit and washing their hands of the whole miserable business, hundreds of thousands of ordinary people were renewing annual policies which the experts knew could not possibly survive for more than a few months.

Consider the strange role of Keyser Ulman, respectable merchant bankers to Vehicle and General. In September last year, five months before its final collapse, Keyser Ulman sold all their shares (about 103,000 of them) in Vehicle and General at the handsome price of 70p each.

The chairman of Keyser Ulman was (and is) Mr Edward Du Cann, Tory MP for Taunton and former chairman of the Conservative Party. Du Cann is one of the richest men on the Tory benches.

He is a director of a string of insurance,

banking and shipping companies, including Martins Bank. His personal fortune can be counted in hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Yet despite the sale of their client's shares, Keyser Ulman continued to advise Vehicle and General on financial matters, such as the payment of a half-yearly dividend last October.

Keyser Ulman's investment director, Richard Good, was quite frank as to the reason for the bank's sale of V&G shares when he told the Daily Express on 9 March (more than a fortnight after V&G's eventual collapse):

'We saw in V&G exactly what the British Insurance Association and the Department of Trade and Industry must have seen—that its balance sheet indicated serious liquidity problems.'

Then Mr Roland Franklin, Keyser Ulman's finance chief explained why his bank did not formally dissociate themselves from V&G. 'We felt this might worsen the situation,' he said.

### No warning

In other words, the bank knew that V&G was going bust, and promptly sold all their shares at a good price. Meanwhile, they continued to act as official advisers to V&G without murmuring so much as a word of warning to policyholders or to anyone else.

Two months later another 176,000 V&G shares were sold by a group calling themselves C&O Nominees. No one knows who these gamblers were, but it is a fair bet that they did not include any V&G policyholders.

Mr Reggie Burr, V&G's finance director,



Trade Minister John Davies: 'no interference in free enterprise'

also saw which way the wind was blowing. In the 18 months up to December 1968, Mr Burr unloaded some 120,000 of his shares in his own company.

Managing director Tony Hunt also got rid of 50,000. In the meantime, and in the two years following, Mr Burr and Mr Hunt had nothing but encouragement and euphoria to pass onto their policyholders about the prospects for V&G.

Similarly, from early in 1970, Board of Trade officials knew perfectly well that V&G was finished. The officials would have asked for a suspension order against V&G, had not Mr John Davies, the new Tory Minister for Trade issued an instruction that there was to be no interference from government in private enterprises.

Similarly, too, the British Insurance

Association giants knew only too well how badly their newest recruit was coping with their problems. Yet not a whisper came from these sanctimonious insurers about the wretched prospect for V&G policyholders.

But what of the 'Fourth Estate', the vigilant watchdogs of the public interest—the national press? No part of the newspapers is so thickly staffed as the city offices. Yet, with one or two minor exceptions, the press miserably failed so much as to squeak a warning.

### Brave words

Nine days before the V&G bankruptcy was announced, the Daily Express City Editor trumpeted, under a huge headline: DEEDS NOT WORDS COUNT FOR V&G: 'You name the malady, and V&G is supposed to have it. But there's no basis for any of the rumours ... The company's difficulties are probably little worse than those of any others in the inflation-hit UK market.'

Brave words for a brave newspaper! And now, after weeks of cover-up, it looks as though the persistent questioning of one lone MP will stir up a 'scandal'. There will be a lot of inquiring, a lot of rhetoric and a few minor heads (perhaps even Mr John Davies') will roll.

In all the fuss, very few people are likely to point to the real scandal—the preferential treatment allowed to a small band of rich men at the expense of masses of ordinary ones.

The reason could be that among bankers, insurers, brokers, and Tory Ministers such scandal is common practice.

Threat to steel workers' jobs: page 3

# Socialist Worker

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

## Making the workers pay for the crisis

A HIGH LEVEL and a rising trend of unemployment are an integral part of the government's short-term economic plan rather than a regretted side-effect. The words of a socialist agitator? No, the considered opinion of the highly respectable economics editor of The Times.

Tory ministers, of course, claim quite the opposite. Chancellor Barber, for instance, admitted in a radio interview at the weekend, that unemployment 'is a waste of resources and imposes a very considerable hardship on a number of people'. But he put the blame for unemployment on 'the absurdly high level of many of the pay settlements'. 'The men,' he claimed, 'are pricing themselves out of a job.'

Barber is either ignorant or being deliberately deceitful. For the present level of wage increases is just about sufficient to cover rises in the cost of living. Because a third of any wage increase goes straight back to the government in taxes and deductions, a 13 per cent wage increase is needed to keep up with prices that are rising at about 10 per cent a year.

Nor have rising wages been the cause of rising prices as Barber and Heath pretend. The National Institute of Economic Research recently carried out an investigation into the causes of rising prices. It concluded that prices first started shooting up in 1967-69 and that the cause was 'import prices and indirect taxes', which rose as a result of government policy. Indeed, so weak are Barber's arguments that, according to The Times, even among government policy makers 'there is mild official embarrassment at the technical weaknesses of the Chancellor's theoretical explanation'.

What really worries the government is that, unless it can use unemployment to hold down wages, British capitalism could once again find itself in a crisis situation. It fears that unless workers take a cut in their real buying power, there will be a balance of payments crisis at the end of this year or the beginning of the next.

In spite of government talk, the cause of balance of payments problems will not be due to a refusal of British workers to 'pay their way'. In nearly every one of the past 10 years, workers have created more than enough goods that have been sold abroad to pay for imports into this country. Yet there have been repeated balance of payments crises. The reason is that in addition to imports, goods sold abroad have to cover the cost of big business investments overseas and the maintenance of troops to protect such investments.

As soon as such a deficit seems likely, large firms will send their money abroad in order to protect themselves against losses and to profit from any devaluation of the pound. By doing so they will bring about the crisis they foresee.

The government is dedicated to the preservation of 'free enterprise'. The last thing it would ever think of doing would be to stop the 'freedom' of the 2 per cent of the population who own 80 per cent of the industrial wealth moving that wealth wherever they wish. Indeed, it knows it is impossible to prevent them moving it without physically taking it out of their hands. For they also own the mass of imports and exports moving in and out of this country every day. They can easily evade any government restrictions by a few accounting tricks.

That is why the Labour government also refused to take action against them to protect the balance of payments. Both Labour and Tories have preferred to try to solve British capitalism's problems in the only other way possible—by hitting at the working class.

For workers, the only alternative is the difficult and painstaking task of building up a mass movement that will put an end to the big business system for once and for all. This movement will be built out of a real fight to resist the government's attacks. Out of such a fight many ordinary workers will learn that they are strong enough to take on the system as a whole and have the ability to organise to do so.

## 'SOCIALISTS' HELP ASIA MASSACRES

SOCIALISTS throughout the world have been horrified and astounded at events in Pakistan and Ceylon. Horrified by the bloody massacre of people trying desperately to resist exploitation and poverty. Astounded at the blatant way in which the rulers of countries that claim to be 'socialist' have aided in the massacre.

Yahya Khan's government in Pakistan has continued to receive messages of support from the leaders of China even while he has wiped out those fighting for the independence of Bangla Desh. Among those killed were many who thought they were supporters of Chairman Mao. But Mao has not been influenced by such considerations.

Mrs Bandaranaike's government has received Russian MiGs, as well as British tanks and American helicopters, to help murder its opponents. The kind of treatment that used to be reserved for the opponents of Russia's rulers in Eastern Europe—in Budapest, Prague and Gdansk—is now being meted out by the same forces to the opponents of its allies in the underdeveloped countries.

Such grim facts refute many of the arguments made by the supporters of Mao or Brezhnev in the past. Some socialists have believed that whatever Brezhnev did in Eastern Europe was justified because his policies were in opposition to those of American imperialism. Others have seen Mao as the leader of the struggle of the 'Third World' and argued in favour of following his policies.

But the fight against oppression is being retarded by Mao's influence in Bengal and is being put down by Brezhnev's airforce in Ceylon. The lesson has to be learnt now. No reliance can be placed on the rulers of the so-called 'socialist' states in the world-wide fight against exploitation. A movement has to be built in every country (including Russia and China) based on the real needs of the international working class, and not on the interests and desires of Brezhnev or Mao.

## Countryside revolts over government measures

# FAKE MARXISTS AID REPRESSION OF CEYLON LEFT

by Edward Crawford

THE UPRISING in Ceylon, savagely smashed with the aid of Russia, Britain and the United States, has been denounced by the government as the work of outside elements from North Korea.

This is nonsense, the typical reaction of a ruling class that refuses to admit that an uprising can be caused by the grievances of the people.

The real reasons are rather more complex than the 'conspiracy theory' of Mrs Bandaranaike and her 'socialist' coalition partners would have us believe.

Ceylon, unlike almost every other underdeveloped country, has a high literacy rate. As in Burma, every village had its resident Buddhist monk whose job was to teach the children to read and write.

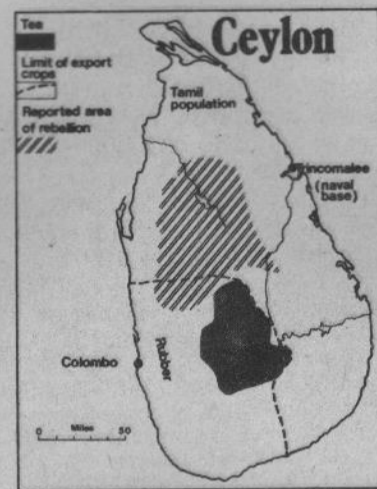
In addition there has been a considerable expansion of education since independence, with a large university in Colombo that turns out thousands of graduates every year. There are few jobs for these young men, particularly if they come from peasant stock in the backlands.

### Job rivalry

Much of the communal trouble in Ceylon between the Sinhalese, the original inhabitants, and the Tamils, invaders from South India who settled in the north of the island some 1000 years ago, stems from this rivalry over jobs.

The economy of Ceylon is in crisis at the moment. The only significant exports are tea and rubber. The world demand for the first is stagnant and rubber is under fierce competition from synthetics. Prices for both these products are falling.

So with living standards under attack, the jobless graduates returned to the villages and organised the people there. The rebellion has taken place in the areas that are poor, where tea and rubber are not produced and that were once the centres of the great Sinhalese civilisation of 1000



years ago.

The areas are arid and there have been attempts recently to expand the amount of irrigated land. They are covered with scrub, secondary jungle and patches of paddy fields—ideal guerrilla country.

The main traditional left wing group in Ceylon was not the Communist Party but the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja (LSSP). The Ceylonese CP was very small in 1938 and all the Ceylonese students who were at the London School of Economics at the time became Trotskyists.

They went back to Ceylon and took over the LSSP. Up until 1953 when the LSSP agitation was defeated in the so-called 'Great Hartal', it seemed quite revolutionary. It remained part of the so-called Fourth International until 1965, when it was expelled.

The LSSP had become a tame, reformist, social democratic party that for peculiar historical reasons happened to call itself Trotskyist. This party is now part of the government trying to organise the workers into factory guards against the insurgents.

The guerrillas—the JVP or National Liberation Front—were formed in 1965 and supported the government in the recent elections. They worked hard for them and became rather quiet immediately afterwards because they were afraid of an army coup.

### LETTERS

## Infantile attacks on realistic Communist Party

ACCORDING to your article (10 April) on the unsatisfactory way in which the Ford strike was settled, many workers voted to accept the agreement because it was hailed as a victory by Sid Harraway chairman of the Ford convenors and 'a leading Communist Party member'.

In your article on the ending of the postal workers' strike you commented that many active members of the UPW were surprised by the role of 'Communist Party members' of the executive, and you went on to single out the chairman, Maurice Styles, for more specific and personal abuse. Mr Styles, you said, was particularly feeble and made a special point of thanking the police for their help with the Hyde Park demonstrations.

You appear to be suggesting that Mr Harraway should have described the Ford settlement as a defeat, and that Mr Styles should have used his position for abusing the police. Such an infantile and irresponsible approach would explain why the trade union rank and file is so reluctant to entrust IS members with positions of responsibility.

What would it have done for the morale of the Ford workers if the leader of their rank and file committee had dismissed their nine week strike as a losing battle? What would it have done for the unity of the postal workers if their chairman had indulged in revolutionary, anti-police, phrasemongering?

Your continual snide references to 'Communist Party members', and your personal abuse of named Communists, would appear to be a case of sour grapes. You would be better employed in discovering why the trade union rank and file continues to place confidence in members of the small and much maligned Communist Party.

It could be that their brand of marxism takes more account of real people in objective situations instead of the fantastic human material especially created by IS imagination (no prizes for giving the source of this last quote, but you ought to read it more often).—A L. PARSONS, Wellingborough, Northants.

### History and the workers

A FEW COMMENTS on David East's articles on Tudor England. I will not dwell on their factual inaccuracies except to say that they were manifold, but attempt to be more constructive.

The articles explained rightly that the history of foreign diplomacy and royal marriages has nothing to do with the history of the ordinary working people. He attempted to explain what was happening in industry at the time: the gradual breakdown of the feudal order in preparation for the 17th century civil war which witnessed the triumph of the new bourgeois class and the capitalist order.

This is all very important, but what of the Tudor worker? What were his rewards from the system? It must not only be said that the 16th century working people were poor and wretched, but also that real living standards had declined fantastically over those of the previous century.

The only wage-price index we have (that of Phelps-Brown and Hopkins) indicated that the 15th century was the hey-

It soon became clear to them that their hopes in the government were quite unjustified. They have taken up arms as the economic situation worsens and their supporters in the countryside become desperate. They have little support among the urban workers in Colombo and few guns.

The 'progressive' powers, China and Russia, support Mrs Bandaranaike, the Chinese only diplomatically, while the Russians have sent MiGs, the Indians destroyers and the Americans helicopters.

The country has been divided into six military districts and civilian government suspended. An appalling reign of terror has opened, with the army shooting people out of hand.

What happens next can be foreseen with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. First the rebellion will be wiped out in blood though some small areas of resistance may remain.

Then the government will shift sharply to the right and soon kick out the LSSP which, because it is based on the workers of Colombo, can only go so far in accepting the austerity measures. The local capitalists will try to put the cost of the collapsing economy on to the workers.

### Treachery

Eventually the conservative UNP will win the elections or the army will take over. Then the workers' organisations, the trade unions and the LSSP, will be destroyed. When the workers fight back there will be no support from the peasants of the backlands, so isolated by the treachery of their social democratic, so-called Trotskyist leaders.

Already the various Trotskyist splinter groups that refused to go along with the LSSP are being swept into detention. They are dangerous to the regime because they base themselves on the task of building a working class party that can mobilise the peasantry in support.

The brave comrades of the JVP, who have realised the futility of a rebellion that is not led by the working class even in an underdeveloped country, are doomed to a bloody defeat.

day of the English labourer. Our ancestors could expect meat every day and regular work. They enjoyed much more discretion as to what hours they worked (no clocking on or off) and how they worked, than workers do today, and more public holidays too, (called Saints Days).

After the 15th century, population increased but feudal technology failed to keep pace. Living standards plummeted, never again to reach the same standards until 1860. The whole Tudor period and far beyond must be viewed as one of the utmost misery for the working people.

As industrialisation proceeded and drained from them every ounce of strength they possessed, the number of hours worked, holidays, conditions of work and real income steadily declined. They reached such low levels that in some towns, Glasgow for example, life expectancy fell to 15 years for the labourer, (it was something nearer 50 for the upper classes). It is a fact almost never stated in our history books that all through Britain's 'glorious industrial revolution' the workers who realised Britain's new industrial wealth, reaped none of its benefits and were actually worse off than the 15th century peasant who was supposedly living in the 'dark ages'.

Don't bother with bourgeois history, it is written with a motive behind it and by vested interests, Henry VIII, Burleigh, Somerset—they are not our ancestors, but their oppressors. If we want a history of the workers we must write it ourselves.—SUSAN BRULEY, Tadworth, Surrey.

# BIG THREAT TO STEEL JOBS

## Men sacrificed to provide cheap service for private industry

STEELWORKS employees of the nationalised British Steel Corporation are now right in the firing line of the employers' onslaught against the working class. Since the day in July 1967 when the state took over financial responsibility for the ailing and investment-starved bulk steel industry, 12,000 men have been made redundant.

But to this figure another 30,000 should be added, arising from the process known insultingly as 'natural wastage'. In reality this represents a rundown in jobs for younger men, as recruitment is cut back when older men retire. The normal turnover of labour runs at 12 per cent in a year and assists the management with a hidden rundown in manpower.

The latest announcement adds 7,550 to this figure in the next two years, which Kenneth Robinson, the BSC's Director of Social Policy, estimates will actually be 10,000. Robinson's department, which was set up to phase the rundown of men with the provision of alternative jobs, has been crudely sidestepped by the present crash redundancy programme. BSC further predicts that another 20,000 men will become redundant by 1975, giving a total loss of jobs of 70,000 from 1965 to 1975.

To many steelworkers, the management's excuse that orders have been cut by the Rolls-Royce crash and Ford strike now looks very feeble. The suddenness of the switch from boom to slump conditions at some works seemed deliberate.

The fact that in Scunthorpe one works was kept on overtime at full blast while two others were reduced by one-third or a half appeared like an artificial slump created by management. This gave BSC the chance to isolate well-organised plants and get rid of some militants in the general orgy of dismissals.

The total is 32,000 less than the cutback of 102,000 which the private management boards of the industry decided on in the Benson Report just prior to nationalisation. As the present directors of the state steel industry came, almost to a man, from the old private boards of steel directors, we can predict that at least another 30,000 jobs will be lost to steel workers, over and above that announced, by 1975.

Faced with this massacre of jobs, workers should have no illusions that nationalisation under capitalism is in their interests. As with the mines and railways, they are discovering that schemes of modernisation and profitability are carried out at the expense of the working class.

With the government's recent refusal to allow a full market price increase in steel, it becomes clear that yet another state industry is being run at a deficit to be met by the labour force, in order to provide

by PETER INGHAM, steel industry correspondent

a cheap product to private industry.

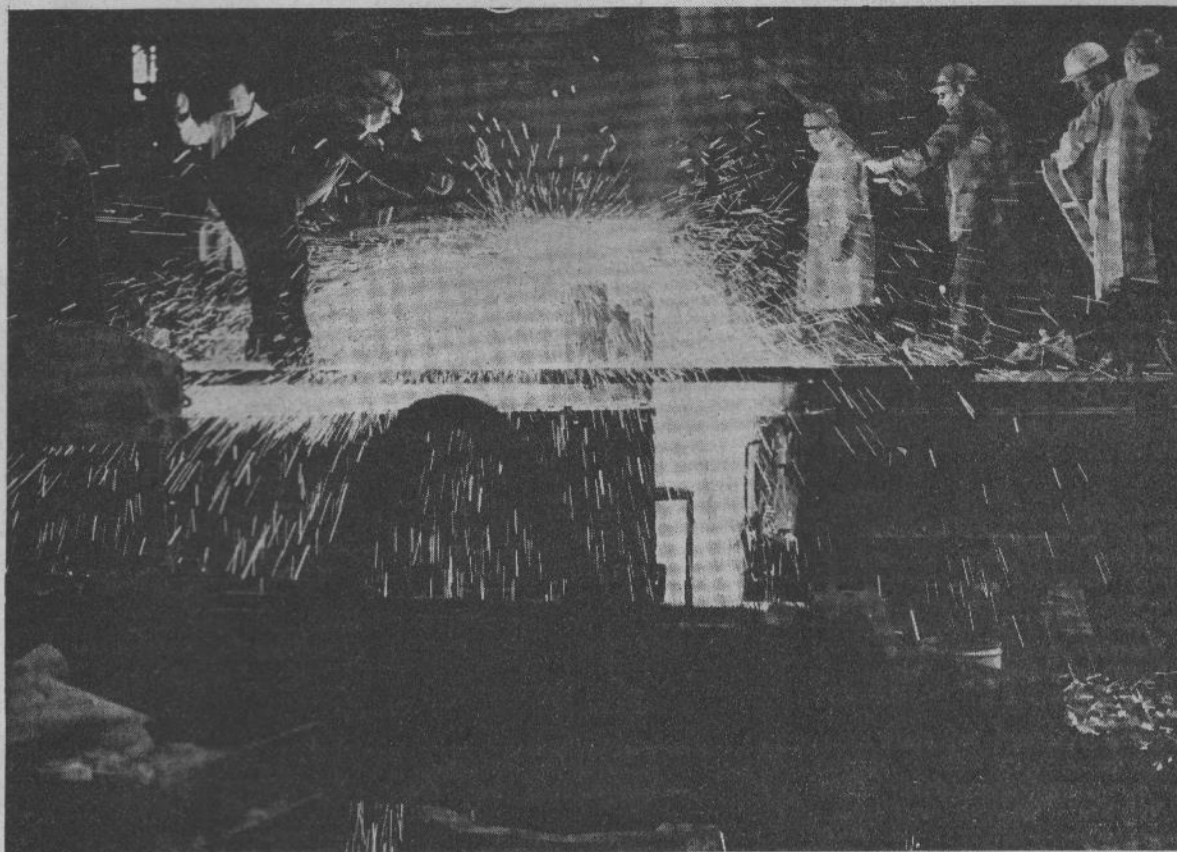
The campaign among some steel workers against hiving off profitable sections of the industry to the old private owners should be seen in this context, especially as the leadership of the main production union, BISAKTA (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association), is clearly supporting such a campaign in order to avoid mounting a real fight against the redundancies.

A reversion to private ownership would be a backward step, but to accept the redundancies under nationalisation is equally damaging to workers' interests.

### BLAMING

The absolute priority must be a struggle around the demand No Redundancies and Five Days Work or Five Days Pay, work sharing and a shorter working day. The reactionary leadership of BISAKTA, renowned for labelling any dissident members as Communists and for dismissing militant branch officials with the same excuse, is blaming the guaranteed five day week agreement as the cause of the sackings.

They have a consistent record of collaboration with the employers. They do not intend to fight redundancy, having accepted it in principle as necessary to placing the industry on a sound economic footing.



Steel workers: many areas will become ghost towns

The rank and file think otherwise. In Scunthorpe, demands for a 32 hour week are being raised. In Sheffield, technical members of BISAKTA are beginning a campaign for more state controlled investment in the South Yorkshire area, despite official union disapproval.

Whatever campaigns are started, the priority for success is a link up of the rank and file, at branch, works and regional level, to create a mass movement of steel workers against BSC and government policies. Such a movement must unite the members of the 16 different unions within the industry.

It will undoubtedly be opposed by the leadership of the production workers, whose length of service and seniority in the industry holds out promises of fat redundancy cheques. But the older men must not be allowed to discard the younger generation on the scrap heap.

They must join in a struggle for safeguards, around these demands:

1. No phasing out, without the phasing in of new jobs at similar rates of pay.
2. No overtime.
3. No more productivity bargaining while redundancies persist and unemployment exists.
4. No hiving off.
5. Nationalisation under workers' control.

Such a campaign would expose

the futility of the 'worker-director' scheme which was a sop thrown to the militants at the time of nationalisation. In no way have these advocates of workers' participation proved to be any use to the trade union membership, when confronted with issues like redundancy.

The stupidity of the BISAKTA MP Eddie Griffiths needs to be exposed. His published comment on the redundancies was to complain that Scottish steelworkers should be made to suffer a greater share of the sackings, as they were getting off lightly compared with their English and Welsh colleagues!

### GHOST TOWNS

This is not the time however for bickering. Unless steelworkers fight the redundancies at rank and file level, whole areas like Irlam, Rotherham and Corby will become ghost-towns, reminiscent of the 1930s, when unemployment in the industry averaged about 50 per cent.

Those who remain in a job will be so tied up in productivity deals, in job evaluation, in effort rating and work measurement, that they will lose the big pay packets they have gained from tonnage bonuses in times of full production.

So lengthy is the process of creating the proposed large scale integrated steel works on greenfield sites, and so great the capital

required, that BSC is not going to featherbed those workers who stay in a job. They will have to pay for the years of non-productive development costs out of their wages.

Payment by results will become a thing of the past, and the incentive of seniority offered to the old 'hand and eye' steelmelters of the past will no longer be applied to the chemists and computer operators who will take their places.

A fight against redundancies now is also the key factor to the fight to control shop floor negotiation on wages and conditions in the future. If it is not waged, then BISAKTA will persist in its attempts to become a 'company union', protected by the new Industrial Relations legislation.

Unfortunately for the BISAKTA executive, many of the newly recruited white collar workers are proving much more militant than the older manual workers, haunted by memories of the pre-war depression. The decision of the executive, ratified by a ballot, to set up a national staff committee that will keep the white collar militants off the executive, indicates the fear of BISAKTA's leaders that this militancy may spread.

If the steelworkers are to win anything in this situation, the militants must take up the job that their leaders are so scandalously neglecting.

MORE PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS UNDER ATTACK

## Railmen need militant policy to stop sackings

by JOHN FIELD, NUR

TODAY, British railwaymen are facing tremendous problems. The general outlook is depressing. They see their industry crushed with an unfair financial burden. Railways are threatened. The railway capacity is being reduced. More cutting is planned, with all its acute human problems.

There is considerable anxiety about future work in almost every department. Railway workshops seem rapidly to be declining in importance and potentialities. Many men are being displaced. There is a real sense of insecurity among thousands of railwaymen.

This disturbing analysis of Britain's railway system was made, not in 1971, but in 1962, in the National Union of Railwaymen's official report on the Beeching Plan to cut the railways to shreds. Now, nine years and a Labour government later, these words are just as applicable.

Mainline workers are faced with speed-up and redundancies, railway shopmen are told to accept works study and shift work, or else closure will be the result. All railwaymen are told to wait for wage rises 'until the railways show a profit'.

For passengers, the news is no better. Massive fare rises have been making head lines for the last 10 years and the number

of passenger stations has been cut from 5,060 in 1959 to 2,511 in 1969 with further vicious cuts still to come.

A national transport system should be organised in order to provide an adequate service and provide adequate pay and conditions for those who work in the industry. But the powerful men who dominate industry are opposed to anything which may be seen to threaten their power.

This is the reason why in 1953 profitable long-distance road haulage was denationalised, and why the present government is talking about denationalising the British Rail hotels. Meanwhile, the unprofitable railways are 'streamlined' to meet the needs of big business.

### Huge debts

For it is not business that suffers from the cuts in passenger services and the closure of stations. British Road Services and National Carriers Ltd ensure that freight is given the door-to-door treatment.

Meanwhile, the people who live in isolated villages and towns are left with neither road nor rail systems of public transport. That freight traffic is more important to British Rail can be seen from the following statistics for 1968:

Income from passenger traffic:	£185,200,000.
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Income from freight traffic:	£262,400,000.
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The rise in container traffic will help to weight rail transport even further in favour of freight, as opposed to passenger traffic.

The railways are also crippled by the huge debt that is still being paid off from 1948, when they were nationalised.

In spite of the disadvantages that the railways faced in 1948 when they were nationalised—a lot of rolling stock and plant destroyed during the war, what little assets that were undamaged were obsolete—between 1948 and 1953 the industry showed a working surplus each year. For the whole period of 1948-53, the surplus added up to £266.7m for the whole undertaking (railways, workshops, road freight, etc.)

But thanks to interest charges for this period of £272,300,000 the total deficit was £27,300,000. This meant that at the very time that it was essential for the railways to be built up after the damage of years of private mismanagement and war, the moneylenders and government were responsible for seeing that no such thing took place.

The biggest railway union, the NUR, has recognised from the outset that wide vested interests are ranged against railwaymen.

'The greatest and most persistent opposition will come from private vested interests in the road transport and the constituent sections of the motor industry,' said the NUR pamphlet, 'Planning Transport for You'.

The answer was, the pamphlet concluded, a 'future Labour government', plus a policy of opposition to the Tory Beeching proposals which culminated in a three-day political strike against Beeching's Axe in 1963.

### Vicious form

Six years of Labour government did not help railwaymen in exactly the way that militant workers expected. The Beeching policy of closures and run-downs of mainline and workshops continued, often in a new and more vicious form—the productivity approach.

The failure of the NUR to take decisive action against the Labour government's incomes policy led directly to the introduction of wide scale productivity dealing in the railways.

Railwaymen, demoralised by the sell-out of the union leadership in the 1966 strike, had little choice but to accept the restructuring on the industry, even though it was accepted with resentment.

What is the socialist answer? Firstly, we should be demanding that all debts of British Rail are written off. The money-

lenders and previous owners have no right to expect a comfortable life at our expense.

Secondly, we must reverse the priorities of public transport—it is a service, not a source of income for bureaucrats or cheap carriage for big business.

Thirdly, we should advocate an end to second class wages and conditions for railwaymen.

Fourthly, where redundancies are unavoidable, they must be placed under rank and file trade union control, so that every worker is aware of and agrees with the policy of 'who goes and why'.

This raises the question of how such a programme can be made acceptable to the majority of railwaymen and fought for successfully.

### Petty jealousy

The mixture of unions, with all the petty jealousy between officials of the various unions that is a result of this, has led in the past to officials worrying more about whether their membership is larger than its competitors than fighting the employers.

This means, basically, that militant railwaymen will have to start from the very beginning—building up rank and file unity of rail workers in addition to fighting for their position within the trade unions themselves.

# 'Aid': fraud that helps ro



Bombay: brash neon advertising for western comfort while the poor sleep out on the pavement

With Britain in its present economic mess, the right wing says frequently that the country could economise by cutting down on overseas 'aid'. But such aid is a fraud, a method to maintain capitalism's stranglehold on the impoverished people of the underdeveloped nations.

Any understanding of aid and its uses must start from an appreciation of colonialism and imperialism. The riches that enabled Western Europe to become the first industrialised area of the world came from what is now known as the Third World.

As Karl Marx wrote: 'The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder flowed back to the mother-country and transformed themselves into capital'. This wealth allowed the merchant classes to begin the Industrial Revolution.

Between 1760 and 1815 it is estimated that Britain stole between £500 million and £1000 million worth of treasure from India. The effects of this external boost to the British economy cannot be underestimated.

But this massive robbery did not just have drastic effects in Britain and Western Europe. Even greater and more far-reaching results followed in the unwilling 'donor' countries themselves.

By breaking up the age-old patterns of their agricultural economy and by forcing a shift to the production of exportable crops western capitalism destroyed the self-sufficiency of the old rural societies.

## Worst of both worlds

The hard-pressed people of the colonies were thrust into a half-modern half-ancient world. Their exploitation was multiplied, yet its fruits in no sense were used to increase their productive wealth.

They lost their time-honoured means of livelihood, their arts and crafts, yet there was no modern industry to provide new ones in their place. They suffered from the worst features of both the feudal and the capitalist worlds, allied to the impact of foreign imperialist domination as well.

Economic growth in Western Europe was achieved at the expense of economic stagnation in the colonies.

When British invaders took over India in the 18th century, it was an important agricultural and manufacturing nation. The interests of the British manufacturers demanded that native Indian industry be destroyed and that Indian agriculture be diverted into growing crops solely for export to Britain.

The Indian economy was distorted and artificially prevented from advancing. And what was true of India was equally true of every other colony.

The general economic situation in 1945 at the dawn of the 'Independence Era' was one of gross disproportion. The overwhelming mass of manufacturing industry was in Europe and North America, while extractive industries, such as mining and agriculture for export, were the dominant feature of the Third World. Such conditions left these countries totally at the mercy of the international market.

## Disastrous results

Many of these countries are virtual 'monocultures—that is, their economy is based around the growth or production and export of one crop or product alone. For example, 99 per cent of Mauritius' exports are sugar or direct by-products of sugar. This means that any downward movement in the world price of sugar can have disastrous results for Mauritius, leading to mass unemployment and economic depression.

This is the overall background against which any discussion of economic 'aid' has to take place. The economies of the Third World have been artificially distorted in the interests of imperialism, a fact that is made obvious by a glance at the average national

# Thin Wor

by MARTIN TOMKINSON

incomes per person of various countries. The figures are for 1964:

	Per capita N.I. in \$	Per capita consumption of coals in bags	No. of inhabitants per doctor
US	2700	8772	690
Britain	1365	5079	840
Sweden	2025	4320	960
India	80	161	5800
Nigeria	90	38	34,000
Brazil	130	364	2700

But the situation is not a stagnant one. It might have been expected that in the last 20 years the economies of the Third World countries would have grown faster than those of the advanced capitalist countries.



John F. Kennedy: 'Foreign aid is a method by which the United States maintains a position of influence and control around the world'.

In fact, the opposite is the case. The gap between the standards of living of people in the Third World and of people in countries like Britain is growing rather than being narrowed. The following tables shows changes in the Index of Per Capita Gross Domestic Product from 1953-64.

	(1958=100)		
	Index 1953	Index 1964	Change
Rumania	79	168	+ 89
USSR	65	131	+ 69
USA	101	117	+ 146
Japan	77	191	+ 114
W. Germany	75	131	+ 56
Italy	80	136	+ 56
Ceylon	99	101	+ 2
Uganda	97	105	+ 9
India	95	112	+ 17
Brazil	87	113	+ 28

As the World Economic Survey for 1963 summed up the situation: 'In

1950 production 10 times greater than in the decade before 1960 it was 10 times more therefore is worse in terms, these countries and poorer.

The idea of 'aid' was a response to the world situation of colonial power. Forced reliance on political independence countries like India and, joined by others, have to hide their interests behind 'charity and gifts far more sinister of charity.

The over-existence of economic make as much simultaneously the whole of the world's riches but not America's puppet regime Turkey, South Africa and Guatemala.

The aid countries is of nature and being a static minority.

Exactly the same is known as the Second World War amounts of money Western Europe desperate fight for a revolution of society.

But this was against the power of America and a far from potentially more Europe.

This has been of all aid ever known as a weapon in the classes to capture for their own whole world.

As John F. Kennedy said: 'Foreign aid is a method by which the United States maintains a position of influence and control around the world'.

Since World War II capitalist countries and the struggle has been intensified. This means a search for ever new gimmicks and intentions in just such a game. For the last few years have been spending year on foreign defence and 1 per cent of the United States Trade and Investment estimates as necessary for the Third World.

## 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 per 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 workers.

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 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

#### SCOTLAND

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

#### NORTH EAST

Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Tees-side (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

#### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/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

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name .....

Address .....

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

# Vicious circle

# Killing the Bill: film that speaks for the shop floor

WHY on earth wasn't this made before? This was my main reaction when I saw Cinema Action's film, *Killing the Bill*, now available for use by socialist and trade union organisations.

*Killing the Bill* is a vital weapon for militants. It is not a film of the struggle from the outside but an effective voice of socialist trade unionism on the shop floor. It is not a film-maker who speaks in this film, but the militants themselves who speak out to their fellow workers.

The film has been made in the months following the Tory victory in close co-operation with militants in a number of factories and unions. It examines the background to the Industrial Relations Bill, as well as the Bill itself.

A quick succession of images establishes the rise of industrial struggle in Britain, the class battles in Europe and the courageous fight against imperialism in Vietnam.

Mike Cooley of DATA, the draughtsmen's and technicians' section of the AUEW, then explains why the ruling class needs to use the state to attack the workers at the present time. His explanation of the capitalist crisis is clear and concise, and brings a number of attacks—rising unemployment and productivity deals—into focus.

## Profits threatened

The film tries to show that what is at stake in strike action is the right of 7 per cent of the population to dispose of 84 per cent of the wealth. This is why the employers are attacking.

Their profits are threatened. So, May Hobbs of the Women Cleaners tells us: 'They're not only having a go at the working class grown-ups, they're having a go at the kids and all'.

Using newsreel, photos and headlines from papers like *Socialist Worker*, their own film and the comments of militants like Tom Lanaan of Ford, Dagenham, Cinema Action shows the range of the attacks and finally lets the militants take apart the Tory Bill itself.

All the time the point of view is the rank and file's, not the union big-wigs'. And in conclusion, the film links the struggle to defend the system—the struggle for socialism.

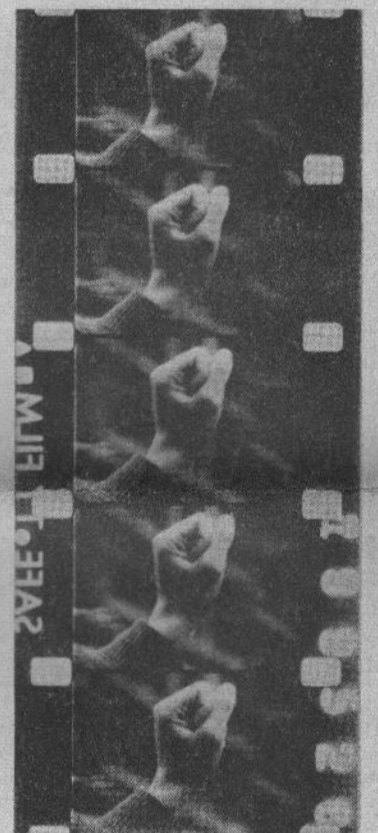
There is no doubt this film can do as much as hundreds of leaflets or articles in *Socialist Worker* to bring our case home to working people. Because it is not just a prop for a trade-union campaign, but a weapon of socialist consciousness, it will be invaluable for some time to come.

## New tool

Film, after all, is a much more live means of communication than the printed word. The ruling class certainly understand this. They rely much less on the press than before.

Revolutionaries can not—and don't need to—adopt every new fad of the media men. But film is an essential revolutionary tool. How revolutionary are we, if our means of propaganda have barely escaped from the last century?

Indeed, even *Killing the Bill* could be criticised for translating the socialist newspaper and public meeting too directly on to the screen. It is only a beginning, in more senses than one, of the use of



Still from *Killing the Bill*

film in the new revolutionary movement.

But for trade union branches, International Socialists meetings, Councils of Action and other local bodies, the first step is to make sure this film is widely shown in every area.

Cinema Action will come to your area with equipment and show it if you fix up a number of showings and can pay a few pounds expenses. Phone them at 01-624 5386 or write to 33 Alexandra Road, London NW8.

**MARTIN SHAW**

## Postal workers and the Tory offensive

by PAUL FOOT  
8p post free  
from  
IS BOOKS  
6 Cottons Gardens  
London E2 8DN



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But even then appearances are deceptive. Most of what is known as aid consists of loans at far from generous rates of interest.

Between the years 1956-66 the external debts of the Third World countries rose from \$9.7 billion to \$41.5 billion. This means that much of the aid received is used up to pay off old debts.

In 1966, no less than 44 per cent of all aid was needed to finance past debts. This effectively halves the amount of aid received in that year.

Furthermore, a large amount of the alleged aid is tied to purchases from the donating country. This means that the receiving government cannot spend the money the way it wants to but has to do as the donating country requires.

Third World countries usually have to pay substantially more than the competitive world market price for equipment used in aid-financed projects. For example, a recent survey showed that American iron and steel prices were 40-50 per cent higher than most international prices.

## Rot their bodies

In these and many other ways, the real value and importance of aid is reduced to almost total insignificance. But it is far from insignificant for industry in the donor countries.

In 1968 it was possible to buy the following drinks made with imported concentrates in Karachi, Pakistan: Bubble Up, Canada Dry, Citra, Coca Cola, Double Kola, Kola Kola, Hoffman's Mission, Pepsi Cola, Perri Cola and Seven Up.

At the same time there were only three sources of bottled milk supply in the city, of which two are commercial and one is publicly owned, but of limited application. Because of the irrationality of the capitalist system and

the 'generosity' of these countries, Pakistanis go without milk but can rot their bodies with any one of a dozen different artificial American drinks.

But this is still only part of the picture. Private investment in the Third World countries brings back far greater amounts than are ever given in aid.

In one year, 1959, American big business made \$775 million profit out of the countries of South America—\$200 million was reinvested to make profits for the future and no less than \$575 million went straight into the pockets of investors back in America.

Between 1950-60, the United States recorded outgoings of \$20 billion and receipts of \$25 billion for private investment. That is a clear gain of \$5 billion—no wonder the United States can afford to give away a little aid.

Finally, and most importantly, the western capitalist countries prevent the economies of Third World countries from developing by their opposition to free trade. That is, each country protects its own agriculture and industries by means of devices like preferential tariffs and quotas.

Inevitably, the capitalist countries are in a strong position to do this. In recent years there has been a glut of primary products like sugar, coffee and cocoa, the kind of products that most Third World countries depend on for export.

It has been estimated that due to this deterioration of the terms of trade the Third World countries have lost 17 per cent of their income. In the same period, primary products as a whole declined from making up 54 per cent of the total value of world trade down to 42 per cent.

It has been worked out that the combined effects of the various barriers to trade in primary commodities amounts to more than \$4000 million a year. This constitutes nearly 70 per cent of the value of all aid.

To describe what the developed

capitalist countries give to the Third World countries as aid is to make words meaningless. Aid is just one more weapon in the arsenal of countries that dominate the world markets.

## Gap gets bigger

The nature of capitalism is the same the world over. The strong and wealthy dominate and rule over the weak and the poor. Having robbed and plundered their way through 200 years of history, western capitalism now has to dress up its intentions in a different guise.

The gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries grows every year, while the capitalist class sits back and smiles. Only when we throw out the profiteering parasites in every country will we be able to tackle the problem of poverty.

Capitalist 'aid'—that is, exploitation—helps not one jot in tackling this problem. On the contrary, it makes it worse



# of poverty and profits

# When the men of property killed the King

## Capitalists won power by bloody revolution

To most people, the English Civil War, in which Charles I lost his head and England became a republic, is the 'Puritan Revolution'. Preaching, Bible-reading, Sunday observance and a strict moral code, Oliver Cromwell and the unpopular rule of his Major Generals: these are the features which are best known and most often taught as history. If the Civil War was about religion only, then the revolutionaries failed, for England did not become a Puritan society.

When Charles II was restored in 1660, the Anglican church was given pride of place, and those with different views were forbidden to hold public office or go to university. At the Restoration, too, a loose and licentious style of court life, which made fun of the straight-laced Puritans, became fashionable.

But religion was only on the surface of the revolution which transformed England in these years. It is in the interests of the middle class, as it was then—the capitalist ruling class of today—to make it seem as though the revolution was about religion, and that it failed.

The real meaning of the English Civil War is that it brought this capitalist class to power, and removed all the obstacles to the expansion of trade and manufacture which led to the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution meant the creation of the working class as we know it today.

It is these facts—that the English capitalists won power by violent revolution, and not by 'peaceful transition' or 'gradualism'—that are constantly ignored or denied.

### Changing

England in the 17th-century was a changing society. In the towns, the merchants and manufacturers were developing trade and industry. The traders were already reaching out for colonies in North America and the West Indies.

Thousands of small craftsmen were producing cloth and other goods for rich manufacturers who exported them, while industries such as mining and metallurgy were developing as more manufacturers invested capital in larger businesses.

But the development of capitalism was not limited to the towns. In the countryside, the old feudal relationships of lord and serf had passed away, to be replaced by the commercial relationship between landlord and tenant, who were both interested in the profits to be made from grain and wool.

An ambitious landlord had little use for his old feudal rights and duties. What he needed was the power to do as he liked with 'his' land—to raise rents, evict small tenants if larger ones would pay better, to make large farms out of small and to enclose cornfields for pasture if they would be more profitable that way.

### Markets

The merchants and the landlords, therefore, were both chiefly interested in profits and the market. In the Civil War, the political lead was taken mainly by the landed gentlemen, who made up the majority of the House of Commons, but they were acting also in the interests of the merchants—the interests of private property and profits.

The struggle centred on the rights and privileges of parliament, especially the House of Commons. This was not what we would call a democratic body, even in the very limited sense in which parliament is today.

Very few people, mostly landowners and the rich town corporations, had the right to vote, and even then seats in the House of Commons



Oliver Cromwell: Lord Protector of the republic that sealed victory of the new capitalist class

### First of three articles by NORAH CARLIN

The complaint of M, Tenter-hooke the Projector, and Sir Thomas Dodger the Patentee



If any aske, what things these Monsters be,  
Tis a Projector, and a Patentee :

Such, as like Vermin or e this Land did cawle,  
And grew forich, they'gaind the Devil and all.

An anti-monopoly cartoon hinting at corruption between the court and its hangers-on.

were often controlled by one influential lord or gentleman. Nor did the revolution make parliament more democratic, though for a short time votes were given to men with £200 worth of land or goods.

After the Restoration and in the 18th century, the House of Commons was controlled even more tightly by the great landowners.

But parliament was very important to the middle class landowners and merchants because they wanted to use it as an instrument to control the king. They hoped, by using parliament, to stop him from interfering with their property and with their running of local government.

Charles I was not an 'absolute monarch' in the sense that Louis XIV of France was a few years later. He had no standing army to keep order, no bureaucracy of paid officials to carry out his will, and his power to tax his subjects' property was traditionally limited by parliament's right to consent to taxes.

He was not an old-style feudal king either, since he governed his

subjects directly, and not through a class of barons.

But Charles used his powers to interfere very extensively with the activities of middle-class property owners. He tried to control trade in the interests of the state, he set up monopolies in industry so that his courtiers could take a cut in the profits, and he collected large fines from landlords who had enclosed land and evicted tenants.

### Exploit

Most of all, Charles tried to interfere with the right of his middle class subjects to oppress and exploit the poor. By fining enclosing landlords, he was protecting the peasants. By ordering the Justices of the Peace to provide poor relief, he was providing for the unemployed.

By ordering full wages to be paid to cloth workers in times of slump, he was interfering with the employer's right to 'hire and fire'. One of his leading advisers, Thomas Wentworth, said that the king's policy should be

to protect 'the poor and innocent from the rich and insolent'.

The king was not trying to protect the poor out of kindness. He wanted to increase his own power, to rule more effectively, more absolutely and to do this he tried to show that he and he alone could control the balance of classes in society. He had in reality nothing to offer the peasants, the small craftsmen and the wage-earners except to go on in the same state of poverty and submission.

These were policies the middle class could not accept. They were beginning to hold the balance of power in society in their own hands, and they were not going to surrender it to the king. Against Charles I they raised the slogans of 'liberty' and 'property'—to them, of course, these two words meant the same thing.

Religion was for both sides a valuable weapon in this struggle. Charles and William Laud, his Archbishop of Canterbury, tried to use the Anglican church—to which every subject, in theory, belonged—to enforce uniformity, obedience and respect for authority.

Against this, the Puritans argued for a more democratic church government, but whether they were for Presbyterianism or Congregationalism what they meant was that the middle class should control the church as well as the state.

This does not mean that religion

was an insincere 'cover' for ulterior motives. Most 17th century men saw society in religious terms and religion was coloured by their view of society.

The supporters of the king believed in traditional authority, and this meant the authority of bishops and priests in religious matters as well as the power of the king. The Puritans thought traditional authority was useless, whether it came between the individual and his god or the individual and his profits.

Many of the ideas which were part and parcel of the Puritans' religion show their basically middle-class values. A sober and thrifty life enabled the small capitalist to reinvest his profits as well as to feel that he was one of God's elect.

Hard work was glorified mainly as a weapon against the 'idle poor'—all the poor ought to be employed making profits for themselves or for masters, especially for masters. Sunday observance was stressed as an alternative to the many 'holy days' which interrupted production

### Hindrance

The most significant thing about these practical ideas was that they could be separated from religion altogether. The middle class did not need a Presbyterian or Congregationalist church in order to reinvest their profits.

They did not need Oliver Cromwell in order to become capitalist employers of the poor, and they did not need the rule of the saints to transform rural society into a capitalist farmers' and landlords'dream. They could even live with the Anglican church, if they were not forced to be members.

In fact, they found the revolutionary atmosphere of the years 1649 to 1660 more than a hindrance than a help in their activities. Oliver Cromwell did not succeed in providing a stable government in church or state, and did not command the respect of a crowned king. Worse still, the hopes aroused by the revolution had given rise to 'extreme' religious and political tendencies.

From the Fifth Monarchy Men, who wanted the Kingdom of God on Earth now, to the Levellers and Diggers, who wanted a new society based on democracy or communism, such tendencies won widespread support among the very classes the revolutionaries were determined to control and oppress.

In 1660, therefore, the king, the bishops and the House of Lords were restored—not as before, but with limited powers. Their job was to provide stability, on which the middle class could build from the gains they had won in the revolution. What they built was society as we know it today.

Next week: the importance of the Levellers and Diggers

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



## Jack's not all right

PHIL WOODS' play 'In Place of Strife' had its last performance at the Bolton Octagon Theatre last week. This year, instead of doing their usual 'safe' documentary on local history, they stepped into the lions' den and dealt with the highly controversial subject, the Industrial Relations Bill.

As the theatre depends on the Arts Council and especially the Bolton Borough Council for money, this was no mean feat, for the play came out very clearly against the Tory legislation. However, the play did bend over backwards (almost toppling at times) to give both sides of the case and because of this somewhat misguided view of 'fair play' the production loses a lot of the passion and militancy inherent in the working class fight for its basic right to strike.

The play takes place in a National Industrial Relations Court some months after the Bill has become law and deals with the trial of Jack Mann, the first trade unionist to be prosecuted for causing an illegal strike. Jack is accused of calling his mates out in defence of the closed shop that has operated at his factory for years and now is illegal.

Jack pleads 'guilty' and calls as his defence witnesses some of the many heroes and heroines of the British labour movement. The Tolpuddle Martyrs, Annie Besant's match girls, the London dockers and the Taff Vale strikers all testify again and again that the only way the working class has achieved any improvements in conditions and wages has been through their heroic fight against their bosses and their only weapon has been their right to withdraw their labour.

### Agreement

A skit on Panorama where Robin Day interviews Carr, Barbara Castle and Lord Donovan shows them for what they are: all quibbling about the dotted i's and crossed t's of the Bill but all in fundamental agreement about the need to chain the working class. If this came as a surprise to the audience it comes as no surprise to rank and file trade unionists.

The case for the 'other side' is shown with a sketch of the 1956 BOAC/DATA strike, where Rookes, a DATA member, demands the right to opt out of his union. When faced with his shop steward's ultimatum of 'Rejoin or we'll strike', he demands that BOAC protect his 'democratic' right. But the bosses, knowing which side their bread is buttered, sack him.

Rookes ends up suing the shop stewards for 'intimidation' and winning his case. Although Jack puts forward the argument that if you allow people to opt out of their unions it weakens the workers' solidarity, he does so rather half-heartedly. This example, perhaps the most credible, as it is so recent and no one can level the charge 'well-that-was-in-the-bad-old days, things-have-changed-since-then' at it, is notched up as a victory for the other side.

The finale shows the bosses and the workers singing that it has always been a fight between 'them' and 'us' and will always be so. It is left to the audience to add that it will be so until the working class wins its final battle, the fight for freedom and socialism.

Wendy Henry



# COTTONS COLUMN

ONE of the most striking characteristics of the Tory councillor is his resilience. Consider, for instance, the case of Mr David Thornton. Mr Thornton was elected as Tory councillor for Havering in the Greater London Council elections in 1967. According to the local press, he was a 'whizz-kid', a man who would soon put London to rights.

Right away, young David shot into the headlines. He became assistant to the arch-reactionary deputy-chairman of the Inner London Education Authority, Seton Forbes-Cockell. And he was appointed to the special committee looking into the building of the Greater London new town at Thamesmead.

In that capacity he met Geoffrey Rippon, MP, chairman of Holland Hannen and Cubitts, the builders and civil engineers. Mr Rippon (now 'our man in Europe') was a former Tory leader on the LCC, and he liked Mr Thornton very much indeed. Before long, Holland, Hannen and Cubitts got the contract to build the first part of Thamesmead.

No one was surprised, either, when the brilliant young shipping agent became prospective Tory candidate for the parliamentary constituency of Romford. But then things started to go wrong. David got 'ill', and found he couldn't pay the instalments on the spacious house he had settled into with his new wife, the daughter of a rich Surrey Conservative.

He got into debt, and eventually had to resign in disgrace both from his seat on the GLC and from his prospective candidature at Romford.

When the Tories came to select another candidate at Romford, they insisted that their man should have at least £20,000 in the bank. It seemed that David was finished. But today he is one of the happiest men in the country.

The source of his pleasure is the



RIPPON: likes Foulness

government's decision to build the third British airport at Foulness. For Mr Thornton is managing director of a company called Thames Aeroport Group, a consortium of builders, engineers and hoteliers who want to develop Foulness as a deep-water sea port and airport.

Everybody assumes that Thames Aeroport will merge their plans with the other big consortium, the Thames Estuary Company, which plans to develop Foulness. And everyone will get a slice of the biggest development cake in the history of building profits.

Oh, by the way, the main building firm in Mr Thornton's consortium is Holland, Hannen and Cubitts.

ON the day that Barclays Bank received the Queen's Award to Industry, they announced they had taken a 50 per cent stake in Frontier Management, an 'off-shore' fund organisation registered in Bermuda. The group, similar to the pirate organisations with which Bernie Cornfield and Reggie Maudling were connected, has had trouble selling its 'high yield' units since the collapse of other off-shore outfits.

It seems that Queenie recognises the merits of modern pirates as did her Tudor namesake.

### Low-down

THE Minister for Transport has announced a new boss for London dockers. Lord Aldington, formerly Tory MP Toby Low, is to become chairman of the Port of London Authority from 1 July.

The noble lord has the national interest in mind. Unlike the present chairman, Lord Simon, he will not consider the job as a full-time one and will take home less than the current rate for the job, £16,015, which is thought to be a trifle in excess of the average docker's income.

In case you are concerned that the Aldington family will be plunged into financial difficulties by his patriotic gesture, be reassured. Lord Aldington is also deputy chairman of the General Electric Company which pays him something in the region of £22,500 a year. And he has 17 other directorships, including two banks and two insurance firms, that help keep the wolf from the door.

### Backhanders

THE LOLLY still rolls into the Tory coffers. Just published figures show generous donations to Tory Party funds from big business in the last financial year:

National Westminster Bank £5000. Baring Brothers £10,252. Joseph Lucas £12,000. Birmid Qualcast £4950. Arthur (hic) Guinness £15,000.

Rank, Hovis and McDougall, the bread monopoly, are clearly feeling a bit browned off with the Tories. Not a crumb was offered last year. But the firm knows which side its bread is marged on: it gave £15,000 to Aims of Industry and £3500 to the Economic League.



RENE CUTFORTH is the greatest radio reporter of all time, a world-weary radical with a voice rinsed in raw whisky and rasped by endless cigarettes. I remember from my distant youth his brilliant reporting of the Korean war, reporting that painted a dreadful picture of the plight of the people caught between two rival power blocs.

On Sunday, in A Reporter Returns to Korea, Cutforth and a BBC1 camera crew returned to South Korea and compared the war-ravaged country of 1951 to the modern industrialised society of today.

I watched casually at first, thinking that Cutforth was giving us an uncritical documentary, hampered by the problem of South Korea being a 'friendly' nation that the BBC must not upset. But I became gradually aware that he was cleverly and brilliantly demolishing the Western myths of the war and the propaganda that portrays modern South Korea as a haven of democracy compared to the 'communist' dictatorship in the North.

Cutforth showed that once the North Korean army had been defeated by the 'United Nations' the Americans went hell-for-leather for the China border, napalming and laying waste to the countryside in a dress rehearsal for later barbarities in Vietnam.

The famous incident involving the 'Glorious Gloucesters', who defended a Korean hill against the Chinese army, was recalled, their heroism rather muted by Cutforth's laconic reminder that they wiped out three whole battalions of Chinese.

South Korea today is an 'economic miracle' made possible by the investments of US imperialism. Huge fortunes are being made by the local business class from the exploitation of peasants driven by poverty into towns choked by traffic and pollution.

Cutforth showed us young girls in a wig factory, working long hours for £4 a week and the drab dormitory lives of bus conductresses who get two days off a month and earn £2 a week.

Cleverest of all was Cutforth's handling of the new leader, General Pak, described as a considerable improvement on his predecessor Syngman Ree, the hideous dictator removed by massive urban demonstrations. But a few sentences and camera shots quickly established Pak as an autocrat who refuses any pretence at democracy, maintained in power by a thuggish police force and a corrupt, high-living top civil service.

But it was all done so gently, so ironically that the BBC chiefs and supporters of General Pak would be hard put to it to complain of bias or unfair criticism. The programme was a fascinating example of how to bend the unwritten laws of censorship. Hats off to Cutforth.

MY HAT remains firmly in place for John Morgan, who reported from Poland last Thursday for This Week. The wobbling of the new regime in Warsaw, that has to attempt to appear liberal for a while, gave Morgan the opportunity to interview some of the shipyard workers involved in the uprising at the end of last year.

Did Mr Morgan speak to them about what socialism means, why a 'workers' party' uses troops and tanks to murder them, what control they have over their jobs and the party in a 'socialist' society?

Of course not. Morgan is a middle-class Englishman, with other priorities. Will your increased wages enable you to enjoy a 'better life' with motor cars and television sets? he asked. Stay at home, Mr Morgan, stay at home.

David East

# Socialist Worker

## PO bosses' get-tough policy

by MARTIN AUTON, UPW

LIVERPOOL Post Office bosses are adopting a 'get tough' policy towards mail service workers. Men who would have been retained as employees before the seven-week strike are now being dismissed, particularly if they have not been in the service for any length of time.

Even workers who have been genuinely sick and have produced doctors' notes are being sacked for 'too many

absences'.

The policy is having its effect on morale. Some men who should be under medical supervision have admitted openly to 'being scared to go sick' for fear of the sack.

This attitude is causing concern to many staff representatives who do not seem to receive the support from local Union of Post Office Workers' leaders that they might expect.

The policy of management aggress-

ion, combined with the not unexpected appointment of Bill Rylands as the new Post Office chairman, is designed to reduce to a minimum any opposition to the outcome of the inquiry into the pay dispute.

It is important that postal workers see this policy for what it is. They must take the initiative to retain the solidarity they achieved during the strike and stand firm against attacks on their rights.

# 'BINDING AGREEMENTS': JENKINS BOWS TO TORY BILL

MR CLIVE JENKINS' union, the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, is not opposed to legally binding agreements. This disgraceful fact has emerged from discussions that senior officials of his union have had with Britain's largest company, ICI.

Replying to the question 'What are your present policies/views on legally binding agreements?' his union said that they were 'Not opposed to legally binding agreements'. Two other white collar unions interviewed stated that they were completely opposed to such agreements. These unions are DATA and the ACTSS, respectively the technicians' section of the Engineering Union and the clerical section of the Transport Workers.

The information is contained in a document printed by ICI and called 'Trade Unions, Questions and Answers'. It was produced in November 1970 and has had a private and restricted circulation until this issue of Socialist Worker.

This scandalous private admission by ASTMS is completely contrary to the union's public statements. It shows that 'left wing' trade union leaders say one thing on public platforms and quite the opposite to the employers.

The Tory government's Industrial Relations Bill proposes to make agreements legally enforceable. This has been widely condemned by active trade unionists and even Vic Feather of the TUC has spoken out against it.

Quite rightly, they have pointed out that if legally binding agreements are introduced, any unofficial strikes, go slows, overtime bans, will be illegal. This would result in the leaders of such strikes being prosecuted by the courts and fined an unlimited amount of damages. Any refusal to pay would result in prison sentences.

### NO COMMENT

It is to these kind of legally binding agreements that ASTMS are 'not opposed'. We rang ASTMS to ask for their comments on this matter.

We were first told that Mr Roger Lyons, the National Officer who deals with ICI, was 'not in the office', secondly that Mr Davison, an Assistant General Secretary was at 'a meeting' and finally that Mr Alan Brown, the editor of the union journal 'was not available'. No comment could be got from the union.

Many people consider ASTMS is a left wing union. This assumption is based on the public speeches of its leading officials. The president of the union is Mr Ian Mikardo, MP, who is often referred to as 'left wing' by national newspapers. The union's recent conduct, however, should dispel any such assumptions.

On 18 March it refused to instruct its members in engineering to join with the AUEW, TGWU and DATA in having a one day strike against the Industrial Relations Bill. Many of its members worked on this day and at the Austin factory at Longbridge in Birmingham, one of its local officials stood on the picket line urging his members

### SW Reporter

to cross it and report for work.

No disciplinary action has been taken against him and as a result the chairman of the West Midlands Divisional Council of ASTMS has resigned in disgust.

Two major agreements have been signed recently that must be considered among the worst ever negotiated. At Birds Eye Foods, Mr D Mathison, another national officer of ASTMS, agreed on 19 April that his union could not negotiate with the management on pensions, progress pay, redundancy provisions and holidays.

He also undertook that the union would allow:

Actual salaries and actual terms and conditions of employment ... to be determined by the principles of the company's policy.

That the company could talk to ASTMS members over the heads of the union.

That no 'pressure' will be brought on non-union members to join.

That the company has the unchallenged right to employ whom it likes and that the local representatives will only be protected against victimisation providing they keep to the procedure agreement and 'take all necessary steps to prevent any breach' of that agreement.

The union also agreed to discipline any of its members who broke these agreements. In other words, unofficial strike leaders can be disciplined by the company and the union may not necessarily defend them.

On 31 March, the same Mr Mathison signed an agreement at Pilkingtons. This is the notorious company that sacked more than 600 strikers last year and is still refusing to re-employ them.

This agreement also states that union representatives must behave themselves and that to help in this process, the company and ASTMS will 'jointly undertake to provide suitable training for representatives' in order that they can carry out 'their responsibilities in the best interests of the union members and the company'.

In addition to accepting that there is no fundamental difference between the interests of the company and the union, the agreement also says: 'The union accepts that the company reserves the right to pay a foreman or a group of foremen more than the agreed salary.' This is simply a charter for 'blue eyed boys'.



A speaker addressing last Saturday's Liaison-Committee conference

## NO TRUCK WITH UNION LAWS SAYS MEETING

NEARLY 700 delegates attended last Saturday's London conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. They represented 150 trade union branches, 31 trades councils, 53 shop stewards' committees and 19 union district committees.

The conference decided to campaign for non-co-operation with the Tory government's anti-trade union legislation and to try to mobilise all possible solidarity action in support of any trade unionists victimised by the law. It decided to fight for:

1. Non registration.
2. Refusal to enter into legally binding contracts.
3. Non-co-operation with the Commission on Industrial Relations, the National Industrial Relations Court or its local tribunals.
4. Non-co-operation with the agency shop and for the maintenance of 100 per cent trade unionism.
5. Continued support for the Bridlington principles which control changes of trade union membership.
6. An unqualified commitment from the Labour Party to repeal the Bill, should it become law.

It also supported the building of local action committees to fight for such measures.

But the standing orders committee of the conference refused to allow discussion on a demand for a national strike of defiance the day after the Bill becomes law. This was moved by a Scottish car worker. Instead the conference decided to try to get the September TUC to organise industrial action against the Bill.

There is no doubt that if the decisions on non-co-operation were fought for and applied, then the Industrial Relations Bill could be made unworkable. But it would have been more effective if other demands had been included in the final statement. These should have committed the dele-

gates to support strikes, continue with the backing of goods and to assist with sympathy strikes

The speech of Eddie Marsden, the Communist Party General Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union proved that the effective implementation of these proposals will be very difficult. He attacked those delegates who criticised 'left wing' trade union leaders like Hugh Scanlon, Jack Jones and Clive Jenkins. He refused to condemn the role of Scanlon and Jones in selling out the recent Ford dispute by accepting a two year no-strike clause.

WANDSWORTH IS public mtg: Duncan Hallas on the Minority Movement and the General Strike. 8pm The Spotted Dog, nr Wandsworth Town Hall, Thurs 6 May. THE FIGHT against the Tories: After Croydon, the way ahead. Spkrs: Tony Cliff and Gerry Caughey. Tues 4 May 8pm. The Mitre Hotel, Dale Street, Liverpool 1. GREENFORD IS public mtg: Weds 6 May 8pm. Fight the Tory Offensive. Speaker: Duncan Hallas. Methodist Church Hall, Greenford Bldy, nxt to Greenford Hall. SHEFFIELD IS public mtg on redundancy and unemployment and how to fight it. Spkr: Dave Peers, Newcastle IS. Sun 2 May 7.30pm Brunswick Hotel, Haymarket.

## Crackdown hits Halewood

by JOHN PINDER

Halewood shop steward THE LEVEL of unemployment in Liverpool is mentioned repeatedly by the local Ford management in a blatant attempt to undermine the solidarity of the workers.

Superintendents and foremen are stationed to watch canteens to ensure that nobody goes in one minute before lunchtime. And the clocks are watched closely to make sure that workers do not touch their cards one second before clocking-off time.

Shop stewards have been refused permission to leave their departments on union business. It has been suggested that they should use their own time, not the company's. This is not possible in a giant plant like Halewood with a mere 45 minutes for lunch.

In various departments, where men have questioned job timing, they have been told by supervisors either to start work or clock-off and go home. No discussion is allowed on manning unless the men initially accept supervision's interpretation and start work. Workers are not even allowed to contact their stewards.

### Trying to provoke

In the Metal Stamping and Body department, at least one section of workers has been called to the superintendent's office and told that a much higher quality is required of them and that the general quality level throughout the section has got to be improved.

All this reflects the changed attitude of the Ford management who are trying to provoke a 'Pilkington-style' situation soon after the end of the nine-week strike.

Since work resumed and the men have met the stiffer resistance of the management, there has been growing disgust at the role of union leaders Scanlon and Jones for the agreement they forced through removing the right to strike.

There is widespread support for the call for immediate mass meetings to take decisions without official interference on what line to take to combat the management attack. And there is a demand for increased rank and file participation in future union negotiations.

### NOTICES

ADMINISTRATIVE Secretary required for International Socialists. The job calls for political commitment, discretion, fast accurate typing and ability to operate an office routine— filing, duplicating, etc. Salary by agreement. To start as soon as possible. Applications from IS members only. If interested phone 01-739 1878 immediately and forward application to 6 Cottons Gardens E2. MANAGER for IS Books required, to start 1 August. To be responsible for running of bookshop, keeping accounts and distribution of IS pamphlets and leaflets. Clerical experience necessary. Salary and hours by agreement. Applications, from members only, by phone to 01-739 1878 with written letter to 6 Cottons Gardens E2. MAY DAY march and meeting addressed by Jim Higgins, POEU executive (in personal capacity). Organised by Swansea Trades Council. Starts Dyfatty Lights, Saturday 2pm. RANK & FILE teachers mtg: post-conference, what next? Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 30 April, 8pm. TOTTENHAM IS: Chris Harman on Unemployment. 8pm Thursday 6 May, Red Lion corner Tottenham High Rd/Lansdowne Rd All welcome. OXFORD IS public mtg: Kill the Bill— Kick out the Tories. Bernadette Devlin, MP and Roger Rosewell. Wednesday 5 May. Cape of Good Hope, The Plain.

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