

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 196 21 NOVEMBER 1970 6d

**Union for
the jobless**

Special interview with Joe Kenyon of the Claimants' and Unemployed Workers' Union — see centre pages

'All out 8 December' say 1750 militants



Morning Star picture

1750 trade unionists sent out a united call for nationwide strike action on 8 December against the Tories' anti-union laws. Delegates from trade unions and trades councils from all parts of Britain packed the Friends House in London last Saturday for the biggest and most militant workers' meeting in 25 years. The conference was called by the Liaison Comm-

ittee for the Defence of Trade Unions which this week announced details of a big London demonstration on 8 December. It will march from London Wall, Smithfield Market at 10am to Hyde Park. Division A of SOGAT has booked Central Hall, Westminster for a public meeting following a mass lobby of parliament. CONFERENCE REPORT BACK PAGE.

Tories get their priorities right

TENS of thousands have died in the dreadful floods and havoc in East Pakistan.

Aid flows in from all over the world to help the stricken people. The British Tory government dips gingerly into its purse and sends a miserable, insult-

ing £30,000.

What an indictment of this rotten government. Last week it handed out £42m of taxpayers' money to save the bankrupt bosses of Rolls-Royce.

When arrogant John Davies, Minister for Trade and Industry, spoke contempt-

uously of no more government aid for 'lame ducks' he meant the poor and the unemployed — not the profiteers of private industry.

The disgusting handout to the Pakistanis further underlines the real priorities of this reactionary bosses' regime.

MORE THREATS TO JOBS AND PAY

A QUICK READING of the editorial and financial columns of the posh papers would convince most workers of the need for united action to defeat the government's anti-strike laws.

For all the big business pundits are obsessed with one thing: How to stop workers winning improved pay and conditions (or how to 'prevent wage inflation' as they put it).

The favourable trend in the balance of payments has not brought the bosses much joy. They fear this might rapidly be reversed as prices continue to soar.

So they discuss how to keep down wages and make workers accept speed-up and worsening conditions.

Top ruling circles are arguing over three different ways to tackle their problems. All are against the interests and welfare of working people.

The first approach is the one the Tories are attempting to use now. The aim is to take on and defeat one section of workers to prove to the rest of the labour movement that 'militancy does not pay'.

This method received a heavy setback with the victory of the council workers.

Too strong

The Tories are backing their strategy with union legislation. They want to cow workers into submission by making it impossible for the rank and file to organise.

But some leading Tories fear that trade unionists are strong enough to resist such attacks. They are talking about a second weapon: a 'restriction in the money supply' or 'deflation'.

They mean a deliberate increase in the already high level of unemployment. The dole queue is an old Tory method used to browbeat those with jobs into accepting low wages and bad conditions.

A third approach being canvassed by some businessmen and economists is to repeat the experience of the last six years with a wage freeze or incomes policy.

They hope that workers who are fed up with struggling to keep up with prices can be conned into accepting a limitation on wage increases in the hope that prices will then be kept down.

Some Labour politicians and Vic Feather of the TUC have fallen for

Is the wage freeze coming back?

this line.

But workers should not be fooled. We had an 'incomes policy' under the Labour government.

At the end of it, lower paid workers found themselves worse off than before.

It is impossible to freeze 'all incomes' and prices under the present system. You cannot freeze prices when they are rising all over the world.

If you freeze dividends, shareholders get the money back as a 'capital gain' and the value of their property goes on rising. But a wage increase that is passed up in 'the national interest' is lost for ever.

The bosses hope that by black-

Turn to back page

CONFERENCE ON ANTI-UNION LAWS

The International Socialists are holding a conference on 5 December in Birmingham to hammer out a strategy for fighting the anti-union laws and democratising the unions. It is open to IS industrial workers and close industrial sympathisers.

Please send me credentials:

NAME

ADDRESS

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UNION

Send to IS Secretary 6 Cottons Gdns London E28DN.

The paper that fights anti-union laws

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN
Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 2639 (business)

Make Tory laws a dead duck

THE CONFERENCE called last weekend by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions showed the spirited determination of many militant workers to fight the government's anti-union laws.

It is beginning to look as though the one-day national strike against the government on 8 December could be highly successful, the biggest political workers' demonstration in the last 25 years.

The task now is to bridge the gap between the militants and the rest of the rank and file trade unionists. Every section of the trade union movement must be drawn into the struggle.

Leaflets, posters and broadsheets must be produced to explain how the law will restrict the powers of the rank and file. Mass meetings have to be held in order that ordinary workers see the fight as their fight, not one engineered on their behalf.

But, let's be frank, a one-day strike, however successful, will not defeat the government's plans. 8 December must be just the start of a long-term campaign.

The best way to stop the passage of the Tory laws is to make it clear that the entire labour movement will resist them lock, stock and barrel if the government should ever try to use them.

United stand essential

What is needed to smash the Bill is a demonstration NOW that the trade union movement will stand united behind any group of workers attacked under any part of the proposals if they become law.

The Tories would be forced to rethink if a significant number of trade union leaders were to declare now that, in the event of the legislation coming into force, they would:

1. Announce their refusal to register with the Registrar for the unions or assist in the work of the Industrial Court.
2. State that they would refuse to pay any fines imposed under the new laws or accept any cooling-off periods or strike ballots.
3. Refuse to accept any legally-binding contracts.
4. Tell their members that all disputes would be immediately declared official to stop rank and file members or shop stewards being penalised.

United action such as this by the whole trade union movement would make the government's Bill a dead duck. Faced by millions of defiant workers, the Tories would have to back down. They are not prepared for a complete showdown yet — they are still hoping for the support of some leading union spokesmen. After all, an important part of the legislation is to strengthen union officials, to make them the policeman on the industrial beat.

No union leaders can support openly the government's plans. But most of them have yet to make a firm declaration of opposition.

The 'high point' of the TUC's campaign will be a protest meeting in the Albert Hall in London (well, it keeps them off the streets). Even the more militant engineering union, the AUEW, is not calling a national delegate meeting to consider action until February.

The task of fighting the Bill rests with rank and file militants. They must make the great mass of workers understand the real meaning of the Tory laws and must agitate for action against them.

They must work to build powerful Councils of Action to link the rank and file nationally and to put the maximum pressure on the executives. Many union leaders would like to denounce the Bill verbally without having to take part in a real struggle against it.

Only concerted action from below can expose and prevent such dangerous hesitation.

THE SAD SPECTACLE OF LAWRENCE DALY

PERHAPS the sorriest spectacle of the last week was that of 'left' union leader Lawrence Daly being protected from the anger of striking miners by a line of policemen. Even more pitiful was his willingness later to make witch-hunting references to 'intimidation and violence by a minority of miners'.

When Daly stood for national office in the Miners' Union two years ago it was on a militant platform. He spoke of a policy of guerrilla strikes at the most profitable pits to halt the decline of the industry.

Yet the unofficial strike in support of the underpaid surface workers a year later got no backing from Daly. He said such action was 'premature'.

This year, in a national ballot, a clear majority voted for action, despite massive counterpressures from the press and the NCB publicity machine. An open campaign for the strike by Daly (something permissible within the constitution of the NUM) would have galvanised the most reluctant sections.

Daly preferred to remain within the confines of 'respectability' defined by his fellow union officials. Like so many other left-speaking union leaders, he was so used to manoeuvring in a bureaucratic set-up that he had completely lost contact with the forces that had put him in office.

The only way to ensure that any union leader, whatever his record before he is elected, remains on the path of militancy, is the development of an organised rank and file movement in the industry strong enough to criticise and call him to order.

Many on the left still do not see this. They still regard criticism of harmful actions by Daly (or a Scanlon or a Jones) as weakening the left. The Morning Star, for instance, still has not commented on Daly's conduct.

Such complacency makes it easier for former militants to drift to the right once in union office. How many more times do we have to see this happen before the lesson is learnt?

White collar anger at arrogant bosses MAGAZINE MEN IN JOBS BATTLE AT THE MIRROR

by BILL MacGREGOR

THE GREAT WAVE of militant protest among workers on the shop floor against the employers' offensive is spreading to the white collar legions. I am one of the members of the National Union of Journalists taking part in an unprecedented revolt of magazine journalists employed by IPC-Reed International, which publishes the Daily Mirror as well as hundreds of consumer and specialist journals.

IPC's paper palace has, among other things, three publishing divisions, Magazines (consumer) Business Press (specialist) and Books. As well as being Father of the Chapel, looking after my own 'parish', I am also elected spokesman for chapels throughout Business Press, representing some 800 National Union of Journalists members on closures and redundancies.

During the past two weeks I have never, in nearly 30 years in journalism, encountered such anger and indignation among colleagues, such acute awareness of the shabby deal we have been handed out over the years by a management that seems to have abdicated its responsibilities, not only to the public, but to its employees.

SPARKED OFF

The anger and the militant activity were sparked off by a management decision to merge Science Journal with New Scientist despite an offer from the Financial Times to buy Science Journal for £80,000.

After many emergency meetings of lay union officers, Dorset House Chapel, where Science Journal is published, voted by a formidable majority to stage a one-day token protest strike, which took place on Tuesday 10 November.

The day before, a full meeting of the 4000-strong Magazine and Book branch of the NUJ passed unanimously two strongly-worded resolutions, one demanding speedy action against IPC management policy of closures and mergers without any consultation with staff.

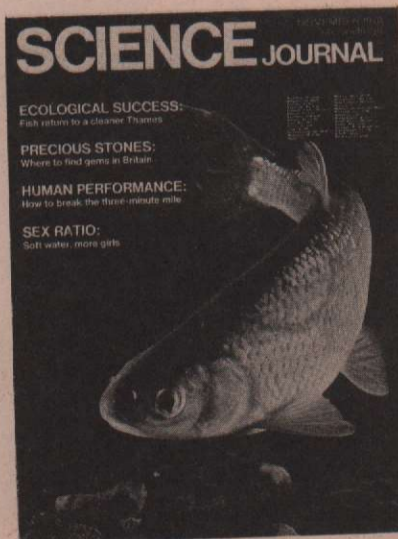
The two motions had already received overwhelming support from Business Press chapels. One of the resolutions calls for a Monopolies Commission inquiry into the structure and working of IPC, and draws the government's attention specifically to what we call the Great Science Journal Scandal — a cold-blooded cynical act of slaughter which shows monopoly working at its worst.

MASS MEETING

The other resolution, in calling for a mass meeting of all journalists throughout IPC, including magazines, business press and books division, put up certain specific proposals demanding a major say for journalists in any management plans to close down or merge journals and a clear warning to management that industrial action will follow if they reject the proposals.

The monopolies resolution protests against the 'continuing anti-social, short-sighted acts of IPC management in closing and merging journals without due consideration for the welfare of those involved.'

By getting such a resolution so enthusiastically passed by a group of trade unionists not normally involved or committed, by our success in achieving Fleet Street coverage for our resolution and by tirelessly keeping up the pressure on the cardboard tycoons, IPC might be com-



Science Journal:
'Better dead than pink'

pelled to think very carefully in future before they deprive their employees of a living.

And there are encouraging signs that the 'chapel floor' rank and file will not be silenced by the inactivity on the part of their distant relations in Acorn House, the stately headquarters of the NUJ.

TRIGGERED

The revolt of the Business Press NUJ members is not something that has been created overnight, even though the present protest wave may have been triggered off by the Science Journal scandal.

I have seen the revolt grow out of the roots and indignation at the cavalier, often downright arrogant, attitudes of management who have with pig-headed obstinacy refused to consult with journalists on the question of closures or mergers.

All we normally get is a curt announcement, maybe two days in advance, that a certain magazine is being closed or merged. Management call this 'consultation and communication'.

IPC bosses have got away with murder in the past, but they have over-reached themselves in displaying too openly their contempt for the semi-creative workers, the journalists, who produce the magazines.

The first demonstrations against the moguls came from my own chapel at Bowling Green Lane, which I led out on strike last June for two days as a protest against closures and redundancies and

management's autocratic refusal to consult beforehand.

Such militant action came as something of a shock to IPC management, so used to having everything their own way and it even shook the plastic towers of Acorn House.

The strike had a few salutary short-term effects. Senior management immediately called for a confidential report from me on the state of labour-management relations in my own particular company. They got it, but the main issues were evaded by both union leaders and management.

BASIC DEMANDS

Our main demand was simply that journalists had the right to be consulted in matters vitally affecting their future, and if necessary out of date management 'rights' had to be removed.

And now practically every journalist in the business press division wholeheartedly endorses the basic demands which we struck for last summer.

There is a growing feeling among these journalists that they are being cheated as well as ignored and despised, that they are being pushed into a corner by management. Journalists are now clamouring for a real say in managing the magazines in whose creation they play such a vital role.

The men at the top in IPC have been exposed as bandits, too absorbed in their squalid internal power struggles to be able to fulfil their obligations to the public and to their employees as a publishing concern whose main function is to publish.

Science Journal magazine, fulfilling a real communications need in the vital area of scientific knowledge, was beginning to show a profit after some years of anticipated loss, under the progressive editorship of Robin Clarke.

SLAUGHTER

He put up an admirable fight against the cynical slaughter of his journal, but IPC preferred it 'dead rather than pink', in the words of The Spectator.

Even now IPC has given no satisfactory reason for merging and refusing to sell. But journalists, though deeply grieved, are not wasting time over funeral orations: instead we are taking action to fight the disease that kills.

There can no longer be any doubt about the militant feeling of our ordinary members and there can be even less doubt that the militant leadership is there on the chapel floors.

As with shop floor power in factories, so with chapel power in journalism: cometh the hour, cometh the men — and women.

March against warmongers

'UNITE against the Nuclear Alliances': this is the call which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is making to the British left in its European Campaign, building up to a demonstration on 28 November.

We in CND have argued the case for the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact for many years. We have regarded these alliances as instruments with which the great powers are able to exercise their might over the smaller nations of Europe and restrict their degree of national independence.

The colonels' coup in Greece was made possible with NATO guns, served NATO's interests and is protected within the framework of American imperialism in Western Europe. The invasion of Czechoslovakia served Soviet interests rather than Czechoslovak interests and would not have been possible but for the existence of the Warsaw Pact machinery as an agency of Soviet domination

in Eastern Europe.

We appeal to readers of Socialist Worker who share our abhorrence at Western protection of the Greek dictatorship and at the same time deplore the stifling of an independent socialist Czechoslovakia, to join us on 28 November and make our demonstration a massive expression of opposition to the repressive activities of the great powers.

We assemble at 1pm opposite the Czechoslovak Embassy and march via the Greek Embassy to Trafalgar Square to listen to Czechoslovak and Greek speakers (including Melina Mercouri and Jiri Pelikan) put the case for the dismantlement of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

MERVYN

RICE, CND, 14 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

The November/December issue of International Socialism, the theoretical journal of the International Socialists, has just appeared. It contains a broad range of articles of interest to serious revolutionary socialists.

Jim Higgins, a leading member of IS, as well as a recently elected lay member of the Post Office Engineering Union executive, writes on the experiences of the Minority Movement of the 1920s. He describes the rise and decline of this important rank and file movement of 40 years ago.

Ian Birchall assesses the literary and political work of the famous French left-wing writer, Jean-Paul Sartre, whose trilogy, Roads to Freedom is currently being serialised on television.

Copies are available as 3s each (3s 6d post paid) from the Business Manager, IS magazine, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Men cough their guts out because year after year they have lived in the mining villages in terrible conditions

Miners say union must be changed

JOHNNIE LEVER is 22. He is a miner in Doncaster. His father went down the pit, and his grandfather before him. Johnnie went to the pit at the age of 15 years, his grandfather at the age of 13 years. Johnnie now works at the pit as a fitter.

The Lever family live in one of the oldest kind of pit houses in Stainforth, just outside Doncaster. Built in 1921, they are just a little more progressively designed than the old 19th century back-to-backs.

The living room is virtually the only place you can live. All the other rooms are freezing cold and damp. Cramped and shabby, the room has its central point: a fitted oven and open fire similar to the old-fashioned Aga cookers.

The open coke fire blazes away all day, and Grandad Lever boils the kettle on it and cooks toast in the morning over it. In the morning he gets up early to rake out the ashes and make the fire again so the house can be warm.

In Stainforth, row upon row of identical houses stand, ugly against the November grey skies. On a drizzling, cold day, the sight is not designed to raise the spirit, rather to depress it.

It's strange that a strike took place last year at nearly the same time. When winter sets in the ugliness is more strongly emphasised.

Few cars were parked outside the houses. The shops in the high road were drab, the goods, dull and uninspired.

Lifeless

The faces of the people were worn and tired out. Eyes were lifeless, as if years of such existence had worn down resistance and now there was nothing to do but resign themselves to the ugliness.

It has been a well-known saying for years in the pit villages that men don't need alarm clocks to wake them in the morning. The coughing at 4 and 5am sees to that.

Men coughing their guts out, sometimes spitting blood, because year after year they have lived in these mining villages, in terrible conditions, breathing in the black, poisonous dust.

Doncaster is a relatively new pit town and the houses for the most part are reasonable. They are not good by any standards, but they are better than the old pit houses. The rents are higher too.

Johnnie Lever's grandfather pays £1 6s a week for his pit house out of the £6 6s pension money he receives. He is 72 years old.

He gets money from the Coal Board that just about pays for the coal when it is delivered at 10s a



Angry miners seen heckling union officials in Barnsley last week.

GINNY WEST REPORTS FROM YORKSHIRE



ROBENS; £50 a week more pay as miners fight for £5. It is ample reward for red-baiting and witch-hunting

time. It does not come free any more.

He spent 52 years at the pit. He was there when pit ponies were used and when men had to crawl something like three miles to the coal face before starting work.

This year, miners in Doncaster came out on strike in solidarity with others all over the country. Men who were receiving higher pay came out in support of the lower paid.

Amid the press howlings and Lord Robens' 'Red Scare' to side-track from the plight of these men, Doncaster miners struggled on in one of their most militant battles yet.

Wavered

Pickets have been accused of extreme violence, smear campaigns have issued forth from the NCB and the officials of the miners' union have wavered yet again, finally selling the men out.

As far as 'red control' of the dispute was concerned, the miners I spoke to found it laughable. One said: 'If it was the 'reds' let's join them'.

The press and television have had a fine time searching for reds. Robens, in an interview with the notorious Sheffield Telegraph hinted at 'Moscow Gold' when he said about Doncaster's striking pitmen: 'They seem to have a lot of money to do it with

from somewhere'.

In fact the money belongs to branches who own the money, raised by a small levy on a voluntary basis. It is a well-known practice of branches—and Robens knows it.

The black baron himself is shortly to get a £2,500 a year pay increase, and his contract is to be renewed. 'The government are delighted with the way he has handled the strike,' says the Times.

The NUM leaders have played a sad role in the strike. The attitude of Doncaster miners was one of disillusionment and bitterness.

They will not trust Lawrence Daly in the future. Last year he argued that the strike was premature, and then he was given the benefit of the doubt. He will not be so lucky again.

Any lack of solidarity up to now which resulted in some pits going back to work last week was because of the miners leaders' failure to give a consistent lead.

Lawrence Daly and other supposedly left-wing leaders said before the strike: 'This is a make it or break it strike'. 'If we don't win this one,' they said, 'we will be weaker for the future, for redundancy payments, better conditions and so on.'

Worried

If they had really felt the strike was so vital, they had a duty to fight for a stoppage after a majority vote in its favour. Instead, they hid behind the constitution of the union.

They are bureaucrats entrenched in constitutionalism, worried about the safety of their jobs, which they hold for life, wanting to please the right wing because they do not wish to be forced into a position where they resign over principles.

Several of the miners I spoke to said that the dustmen's strike had been an incentive to go ahead with their struggle. When a couple of dustcarts passed a picket in the Barnsley area there were resounding cheers.

The pickets have shown great

courage. There were police at hand on every picket, which is reminiscent of the Pilkington strike.

Totally unfounded allegations of violence by pickets were lapped up by the Tory press.

The struggle is not over. There is every possibility that the Doncaster lads will decide to go on fighting.

The spirit of the miners has never been so high. They feel there is a definite need to change the union, to break the old constitution which is used by the right wing to obstruct militants.

Anyone who believes that a majority has to be two-thirds and not 51 per cent must be standing on his head.

It is rank and file miners who have built the union. It is rank and file miners who have led and organised the strike.

They must campaign now for an effective grass-roots movement that will blast aside the present undemocratic union structure and weld it into an effective fighting force, responsive to the members at every level.

The fact that miners can fight, can rise above the ugliness and squalor of their conditions and jobs is a searing inspiration to us all.

Ballot result next week

MINERS throughout Britain have been voting this week on the latest pay offer from the National Coal Board. The result is expected to be announced by the end of next week.

Productivity Dealing and the Miners' Next Step

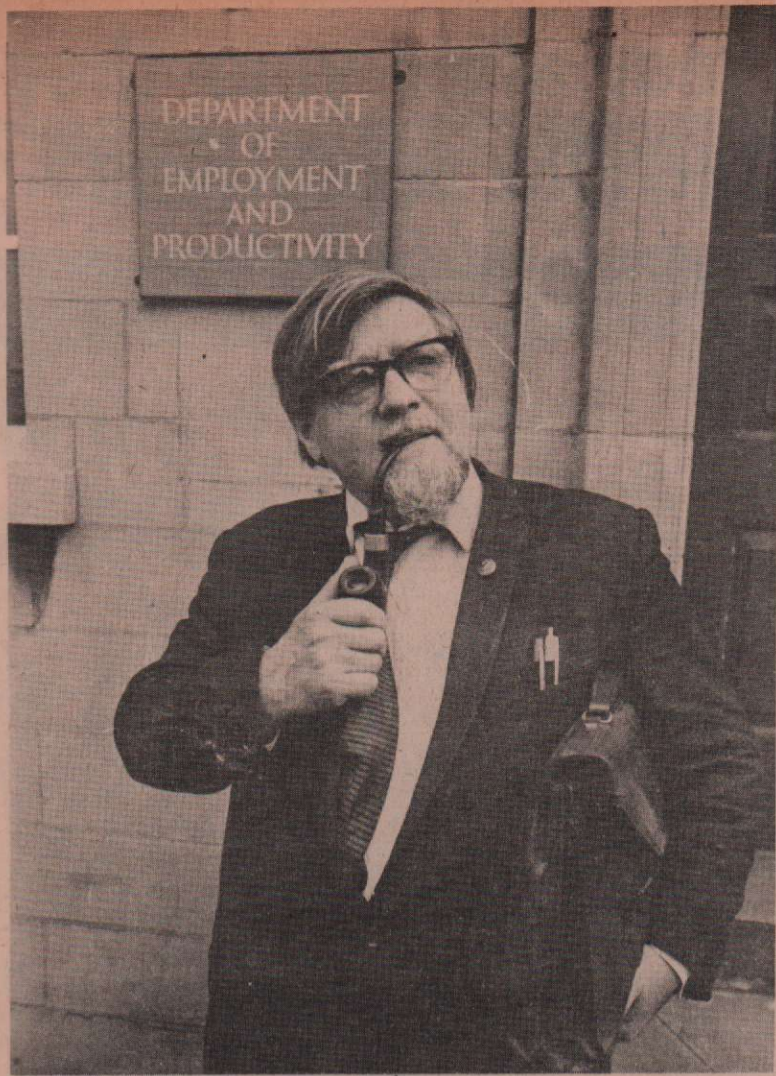
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CUWU secretary Joe Kenyon. Picture: Syndication International

The union that fights for people with no jobs and no hope...

JOE KENYON talks to Socialist Worker

DID YOU EVER READ about the poorhouses of the early 19th century? The standard of living in those hell-holes was so bad that no one outside wanted to go in and it was just high enough to keep the people inside alive.

The present-day Social Security system has been compared with the old poor law. The attitude of many people to those living on Social Security has been expressed by a Yorkshire Labour MP: 'Let them get to work or starve.'

The 'security' the system offers is negligible. It often forces people to beg for what, by law, they should be able to claim. It humiliates people, frustrates them and keeps them on the lowest subsistence level.

Joe Kenyon, secretary of the Claimants' and Unemployed Workers' Union calls the social security officers 'a load of thieves'. They must be pretty nasty people, or they wouldn't survive in a job like that, where they see numerous poor, neglected and suffering people day after day.

They defend the system and make it more difficult for people to get their rightful money,' he said.

'But it's not just the individuals at the SS office who are to blame. It is definite government policy to give the people as little as possible, to never tell them their true rights for fear that claims will be made, to demoralise and crush them, so that for so many it is unbearably hard to live.'

Emily Hardingham is a 64 year old widow who lives in Bristol. She has been threatened with prison if she does not pay an old income tax bill for £16 19s. She cannot pay.

Starve and freeze to death

Her income is £6 15s a week, which includes widow's pension and social security benefit. Her rent is £6 3s 8d fortnightly. In desperation she wrote Joe Kenyon a sad, bitter letter:

'It's hard when you bring a family up ... in poverty ... today we can't "live" we "linger" ... it's hard on myself, a widow. A man from the SS came and said he did not help people with tax problems. It's not only that we old ones will freeze to death this winter, we shall also starve.'

'If the winter is very bad, Joe, I am afraid it will mean illness for many others like me. What can we widows do?'

Snowed under with requests

Ever since he started the union last April, Joe has been dashing around the country to fight on behalf of those who had been badly treated and, in many cases, cheated by the Social Security officials. He is snowed under with applications for assistance from Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cornwall, Kent and the union is growing fast.

'The response from people has been magnificent', he said. 'All they need is someone to stand behind them. So many people have been tricked by the SS.'

'They don't know their full rights to claim either. There are printed forms that should be available in every post office giving details of people's rights for claiming. A couple of months ago I went round seven post offices in Yorkshire asking for these lists, but not one of them had any.'

'Many people don't know they

can claim for bedding, clothing, decorating materials, essential items of furniture and hire purchase debts.

'When demands are made for clothing, the SS will always try and cheat you. A decent pair of shoes costs £5 nowadays. Try asking the SS for £5 and they will probably faint with shock.'

'Many people who claim for shoes get £2.'

There are people who belong to the union who are in full time employment, but still need to apply to Social Security for benefit. One man in Wakefield had three children of school age. He pays £3 7s a week rent and his gross pay per week is £13.

He has a daughter aged 15 who is pregnant and can't work. Because she is 15 he gets no allowance for her. Because he is in full-time employment he gets no help from the SS.

An appeal was lodged. Instead of dealing with the problem themselves, the SS officers slipped out of responsibility yet again.

They contacted the Women's Voluntary Service, and they sent someone round to give the girl some cast-off clothes.

'I soon told 'em,' said Joe. 'The girl wants new clothes, I said, not someone else's cast-off knickers.'

'Another man, married with four children and living in South Yorkshire, is an ex-miner like me. He hasn't been able to work for 10 years. He has TB and a slipped disc.'

'He earned £4 2 this is all they've had since. This is 'wages stop' and they only give him money he's earned working, even if he would be earning more now.'

This man has a son, who is 15 and his grown-up ran away after he because she was a party. She got into police and is now family have to support

Gavel not

Joe said: 'They give them nothing, but to the child care very graciously. Tins of baby food per day, to feed 1 1/2 years. The welfare undernourished'

'The officials apply the wages who has been several years. They have a problem with this case even allow the right to visit the daughter. Social Security their 'prisoner of war' and rehabilitation'

Where to contact

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION of Claimants Unions was set up in Birmingham on 21 March 1970. It aims to communicate and co-ordinate activities between Claimants Unions on the basis of a minimum policy charter.

THE CLAIMANTS' CHARTER

1. The right to adequate income without means test for all people.
2. A free welfare state for all with its services controlled by the people who use it.
3. No secrets and the right to full information.
4. No distinction between so-called 'deserving' and 'undeserving'.

Unions Affiliated Under This Charter:
Birmingham: 74a Stratford Road, Spark-Brook

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 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.

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-

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Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

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

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1906: when trade union MPs fought for the right to strike

AS THE TORY GOVERNMENT prepare to publish their Industrial Relations Bill, a deep split is developing in the working-class movement about the method of opposing it. Faint hearts from the TUC General Council downwards are inclined to accept that the Bill will become law and to limit their opposition to a lukewarm 'propaganda campaign'. Others, more confident of the strength and power of the trade union movement, and more acutely aware of the real significance of the Bill, are determined to fight it until it is withdrawn.

by
PAUL FOOT

The militants can take some comfort from history. The Industrial Relations Bill seeks to replace the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, which was introduced by trade union pressure.

The Act was the first major legislation introduced by the new Liberal Government elected in January 1906.

For more than four years the trade unions had been fighting for legislation which would protect them from the Taff Vale judgment of 1901 in which the Law Lords had found the railway trade union liable to the Taff Vale railway company for £23,000 damages as a result of a strike.

The Taff Vale judgment greatly strengthened the Labour Representation Committee which had been formed in 1900 to get trade unionists into parliament.

In the 1906 election, 29 Labour members were elected, all of them trade unionists. They assumed that the Liberal government would carry out their election pledges and support a Bill introduced by David Shackleton, Labour MP for Clitheroe, to remove trade unions from legal liability.

Compromise

But Sir John Walton, an elegant Liberal barrister from Leeds South introduced a compromise. His Bill, he said, would remove trade unions from the law of conspiracy and would allow peaceful picketing. But it would not remove the unions from all legal liability, if 'wrongful actions' were specifically authorised by the union leaderships.

The Labour leaders protested and Richard Bell, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and MP for Derby, stated the case bluntly:

'All the arguments about giving a privilege to trade unions overlook the fact that trade unions are not analogous to any other institutions. It is no use for anyone to say that we engage in a strike without intending to injure anyone.

'A strike must injure the employer in his business, his profits and the progress of the industry. It is not denied that we cannot escape the fact that we are engaged in conflict.

'What is the employer doing? He is determined to injure the workman by preventing him from earning his livelihood, to the extent that he is entitled to. The unions are therefore entitled to special legislation.'

Revolt

By a freak of parliamentary fortune, the government's difficulties were made worse two days later. In the ballot for private members' Bills, Mr Walter Hudson, the new member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, eight times President of the Congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, had come out top. He introduced 'Shackleton's Bill' as a private member's Bill.

A back-bench revolt in the Liberal Party forced the government to retreat. Mr Tom Dobson, Liberal MP for Plymouth, managing director of a big family firm of timber merchants, referred to the

real forces behind the Bill:

'Unless the government accepts this Bill, the agitation will continue until working men have secured what they want. The government might with their majority throw out their Bill, but it will mean the commencement of a fresh area of agitation which must in the end prevail.'

The vote on Hudson's Bill's second reading was carried by 416 votes to 66.

During the summer, the Liberal back-benchers, put pressure on the government to drop their original proposals. On 1 November, Sir John Walton admitted ruefully that the government had changed its mind and opted for complete legal immunity of trade unions. The Conservative Right was furious and the Bill was fought line by line.

By 9 November the Conservatives had surrendered to the inevitable. On 4 December, the Bill passed through the Lords.

The trade union and Labour leaders in 1906 were in most respects every bit as grovelling and cautious on industrial and other issues as their successors are today. Yet they realised three crucial aspects about trade union legislation which appear to have escaped the 'corridors of power' men who currently control the TUC:

Reactionary

1. Any jurisdiction over agreements between employers and unions by law courts automatically works to the disadvantage of trade unions. The law courts are intrinsically reactionary.

2. Opening the locks of trade union safes to the judges threatens the very existence of trade unions. The most ominous sentence in Carr's Consultative Document is that which makes trade unions liable for broken agreements 'to the full extent of their funds'.

Trade union leaders in the early 1900s knew only too well, from experience, that the moment the judges got their hands on trade union funds, they doled out monstrously high awards, which corroded the very foundation of union strength.

3. The real power in society is class power. If the very existence of trade unions' right to strike and to fund their strikes is threatened by the court, the challenge must be met with class power.

Thus it was that collaborators and renegades like Shackleton, Brace and Hardie, with 29 MPs and two million members, managed to defeat a proposal of a Liberal government.

It is hard to credit the possibility that the current trade union leadership, with some 280 Labour MPs and more than 10 million members will allow an even more reactionary measure than Sir John Walton's to pass through the Commons without a real fight or even the threat of one.

and little

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... rent a week to allowance on his has now stopped daughter of 19 she had a baby sick of the pov- trouble with the in prison. The port the baby.

them

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at the Claimants

- Birmingham 11.
 - East London: 41 Fieldgate Mansions, Myrtle St., London E.1.
 - West London: 10 Silchester Road, London W.11.
 - North London: 17 Duncombe Road, London N.19.
 - Manchester: 9 Boland Street, Manchester 14.
 - Brighton & Hove: 15 Sussex Road, Hove, Sussex.
 - Liverpool: 119 Westminster Road, Kirkdale, Liverpool 4.
 - North Staffs: 21 Victoria Street, Basford, Stoke-on-Trent.
- Joe Kenyon's address is: 120 Standhill Crescent, New Lodge, Barnsley, Yorkshire.

have the strange idea that men who have been working hard all their lives, and who have been kicked out of their job, need to be taught how to work again. The centres are just a form of cheap labour.

'Men are sent there to work a 40 hour week, with board and lodging, and at the end of the week they get the princely sum of 26s,' Joe said.

'In one case that I know, a man called Mr Clayton was unemployed for 12 months. He had been drawing £5 11s a week, and his rent was £4. His wife was forced to work.

'He was told that if he didn't go to the rehabilitation centre he would be brought before a magistrate and charged with 'failing to maintain himself'.

'Mr Clayton had been a docker for 10 years and was made redun-

dant after a take-over. He then applied for five different jobs but didn't get them.

'In desperation he placed an advertisement in a local Kent paper offering himself for work, but to no avail.

'He was sent to the rehabilitation centre. He was separated from his wife who remained in Kent, and she had to keep the flat on her small wage.'

Mr Clayton was completely misled by the SS. Prosecution for failing to maintain oneself can only be brought against someone who is refusing to work when suitable employment is waiting for him.

Joe Kenyon offered to go down to talk to the men at the centre. As soon as the officials there got wind of this they found Mr Clayton a job, and they sent him home.

Seen evictions and death

Joe has been threatened and bribed since he began the union, but he says he has had too many knocks in his time to be frightened. A militant socialist, Joe used to work down the pit until a fall crushed his leg so he was forced to go on the dole.

'I've known poverty,' he said. 'I've seen bailiffs knock at the door, people being evicted, people dying in misery and cold. I don't want this to happen any more, that's why I'm fighting.

'People have always been told that to work makes you a better

man. The harder you work the better you are. That's bloody rubbish. People should think a little more about why people have to work so hard to live on a meagre pittance.

'Why are jobs so boring, so tiring? Why are working people used as doormats all their lives to be thrown on the rubbish tip at the end of it?

'The answer is quite simple: the few who own the factories, make money by exploiting workers to produce goods, and not giving them what those goods are truly worth.

'Men who for one reason or another cannot work are not parasites if they want a little money with which to live. It is inhuman to say so.

'Unemployment usually arises because men are made redundant by bosses who want to make a little more money by saving on wages. Others lose jobs because they suffer from industrial diseases, TB, cancer, heart conditions, or industrial accidents that mutilate limbs.

Joe added: 'The attitude of the government is: Don't give them too much or they will all want to come, and that would never do. The rich get richer and the poor poorer.

'What I would like to see is everyone, the whole 600,000 unemployed, and the thousands who rely on supplementary benefit, demand everything that they are entitled to. To appeal time and again if they don't get it, and to demand and demand. That will expose the system in the end.'



Port employers not happy with early results of Devlin deal

LONDON DOCKS have been operating the productivity deal, Devlin Stage Two, for six weeks. Shiftwork and increased flexibility have already undermined working conditions.

Dockers now work a two-shift system, with an early shift starting at 7 am and a late one stretching well into the evening.

In spite of the general disruption of dockers' lives this entails, the employers are not satisfied. It is becoming clear that Devlin Stage Two is far from living up to their expectations.

Many of the usual 'productivity' tricks can only be applied with great difficulty in the docks. Each ship presents a new problem with different shaped holds and different types of cargo. Dockwork has many unique features. Time-and-motion study and similar techniques can only be applied with great difficulty.

The employers have tried a simple idea to make less men do more work. They have reduced the size of work gangs from 13 to 10 men.

But the employers have not attempted so far to enforce new work standards. So 10 men are not doing the work of 13.

The reluctance of the employers to press for new standards is due to strong rank and file and shop stewards

organisation. London dockers will resist further worsening of conditions that a greater work load would bring about.

The employers will try to gain the lost penny of Devlin. A large part of the agreement stresses the need for 'optimum efficiency in manpower'. This means more work per man in order to increase employers' profits.

Another section enables disciplinary proceedings to be taken against dockers 'not achieving a satisfactory level of throughput'. The level is defined by the employers.

Records are probably kept of gang productivity. The difference between gangs could be used at a later date to force all gangs to work faster than is normal or healthy.

While dockers are fighting to defend their conditions, the employers are merrily chalking up increased profit. Last year Scruttons, a London stevedoring company, made more than £½ million in profits, and Smith-Coggins made more than £300,000.

The next few months will underline the dockers' need to maintain their organisation and strength if they are to face the continued employers' offensive against work conditions.

DAVE FISH

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



'MODERN CAPITALIST SOCIETY with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society which has conjured up such gigantic means of production and exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodic returns put the existence of the entire capitalist society on its trial, each time more threateningly.'

Or do they?

At times the capitalist system has looked very much like Marx's picture. At other times, and notably in the last 25 years, it has looked very different.

It follows that either Marx's analysis of capitalism is wrong in some important respects or, as will be argued here, that the system does in fact have the tendency to increasingly severe crises but that this tendency has been modified by the action of certain other factors.

Marx believed that there were two basic reasons making economic crises inevitable under capitalism. First a periodic tendency to produce more goods than could be sold - 'overproduction' - second a tendency for the rate of profit to decline.

Imagine a capitalist society in which there is no accumulation of capital. Each year the same quantity and value of goods is produced.

The techniques of production do not change because inventions are not put to use. All the goods produced are sold at their values.

The total income goes, in the first instance, to the capitalists. They have to purchase, from one another, raw materials to replace those used in production and have to replace the wear and tear on buildings and machinery (fixed capital). Then they have to pay wages.

Crisis

All the rest of the income represents surplus value. It is the property of the capitalists and provided that they spend all of it on consumer goods there can never be any question of overproduction.

Now imagine, still under simple reproduction, that some of the capitalists do not spend all their income. This will immediately precipitate a crisis of 'overproduction'.

These capitalists, having sold goods, no longer make the full equivalent purchases. The result is a slump in demand and a fall in the rate of profit.

Such a system never did or could exist. Yet it illustrates one of the central problems of capitalism.

There is no overall plan of production and yet, somehow or other, there has to be an 'invisible hand' which directs production and consumption in such a way as to preserve an exact balance.

Central

With the simple reproduction scheme this is not too difficult. But this scheme ignores the central driving force of the capitalist system - the accumulation of capital.

'Accumulate, accumulate', wrote Marx, 'this is Moses and the prophets'. The capitalist, individual or corporate, has no choice in the matter. Competition compels each firm to attempt to expand by re-investing a major part of the surplus value available to it.

Surplus value is converted into capital. Some of it is used to pay additional wages (variable capital), much of it is used to buy additional machinery and buildings (fixed capital).

Also it will be necessary to buy extra raw materials and pay for extra depreciation. Marx lumped together all these expenditures except wages under the heading of constant capital. Accumulation means a rapid growth of the constant capital employed in production.

The system's driving force

This has a number of consequences, one of which is especially important. Capital accumulation must, other things being equal, drive up the demand for labour power. The effect of this is summarised by the economist, P.M. Sweezy:

'Now when the demand for any commodity increases, its price also increases; and this entails a deviation of price from value. We know that in the case of an ordinary commodity, say cotton cloth, this will set certain forces in motion to bring the price back into conformity with its value: cotton cloth manufacturers will make abnormally high profits, capitalists from outside will be induced to enter the industry, the supply of cotton cloth will be expanded, price will fall until it is once again equal to value and profits are normal.'

Striking

'Having stated the general principle in this way we are at once impressed by a striking fact: labour power is no ordinary commodity! There are no capitalists who can turn to producing labour power in case its price goes up; in fact there is no 'labour power industry' at all in the sense that there is a cotton cloth industry In capitalism generally, the equilibrating mechanism of supply and demand is lacking in the case of labour power.'

Unless some offsetting factors can be found, real wages must rise rapidly as capital accumulation proceeds, and, as they rise, surplus value will be eroded until finally nothing is left of it.

Various offsetting factors have been important in practice. Immigration of labour on a massive scale has existed at most times in the history of capitalism. Millions and tens of millions of working men and women have been drawn from 'underdeveloped' areas into the capitalist heartlands.

But most important is the substitution of 'dead labour' for living labour, the raising of the productivity of labour by the use of more and more fixed capital per man.

This increase is what Marx called the 'organic composition of capital'. Forced on the capitalists by the need to offset the rise in the demand for labour power in the course of accumulation, it has another important result.

The rate of profit - the ratio of surplus value to total capital (constant plus variable capital) - must tend to decline as more and more constant capital is employed unless there is always a more than proportionate rise in the productivity of labour.



The dockland con trick:

by Roger Protz

A LIVELY fortnightly newspaper called The Port has appeared for the last three and a half years in London's dockland. Aimed at the hearts and minds of the dockworkers, it has a substantial readership and influence.

It is a bosses' paper, pure and simple. It has been one of the chief weapons used by the employers and the Port of London Authority to sell the Devlin package of speed-up, shift-working and productivity to the workers.

The Port has set out to build an 'independent' image. It encourages readers' views and welcomes workers' criticism of the employers.

This image of 'impartiality' is very useful. The hard-hitting editorial line - attacking strikes, unofficial action, pushing new schemes that mean redundancy and speed-up - appears to come from fair-minded, liberal men who are above the crude struggle between management and labour.

In fact, The Port is about as 'independent' of the bosses as the Daily Express and Daily Telegraph are of the Tory Party.

Enlighten, educate

The paper was the dream child of Mr Dudley Perkins, Director-General of the Port of London Authority. His aims, according to a public relations pamphlet boosting the paper's achievements, were:

To improve labour relations and the general efficiency of the docks of the PLA.

To enlighten, educate and encourage the reader and promote common sense and trust in the industry (what a delightfully Dickensian turn of phrase Mr Perkins has) and to gain acceptance by the dock workers of inevitable changes in the methods of cargo handling.

It was no accident that the paper appeared at a crucial time for the docks' bosses. They were determined to steam ahead with the Devlin proposals that would end the system of casual work and replace it with new techniques designed drastically to reduce the labour force.

A weakened, dispersed and demoralised labour force would, they hoped, dampen down trade union

'independent' bosses' paper



SIMON and PERKINS
Horny-handed dockers

militancy and allow them to introduce such modern and highly profitable methods as container berths.

Perkins instructed Herbert Lloyd PLA public relations officer to examine the possibility of producing a dockland paper.

Mr Lloyd chose a team of men famous for their years of devoted work in the docks, shifting barges, lifting bales, turning up on the stones early every morning for eight hours' slog in sunshine or in rain.

Men such as Geoffrey Goodman, industrial editor of the Daily Mirror and now chairman and editorial director of The Port, Dudley Perkins and Lloyd himself of the PLA, both directors and Douglas Brown of Anglia Echo Newspapers, now managing director. The PLA owns 45 per cent of the shares in the paper, Anglia Echo 55 per cent.

The PLA underwrites the paper by £68,000 a year, a heavy price to pay for 'improving communications'

The paper later set up a Board of Trustees to safeguard the paper's 'integrity'. Chairman of the board is another horny-handed son of toil, Viscount Simon, chairman of the PLA

He has with him the director-general of the PLA and its chief docks manager, the chairman of the London port employers, Mr Goodman and Mr Brown and (fanfare on trumpets) three union officials.

How typical it all is of patronising, autocratic employers. They sing the praises of a paper that allows dockers to write letters for it but they would turn purple with rage at the suggestion that perhaps a dockers' paper should be edited and controlled by the workers themselves.

The whole exercise is an expensive confidence trick designed by rich and powerful men.

Baffled, bamboozled

They have had some success. The Port has baffled and bamboozled some of its readers into accepting the dangerous provisions of Devlin Stage two. And its grotesque claim to be independent has charmed the ears of those who think it possible to harmonise the relations between bosses and workers.

Listen to Mr Frank Cousins in 1968, then general secretary of the main dockers' union, the TGWU: 'I started to enquire and I discovered it was run by a Board of Trustees; but it was financed by PLA money.'

'It is not a voice to put over the story of the boss or the story of the workers against the boss. I would suggest that this is a system that could be expanded. I think it ought to be looked at quite closely ...'

Ah well, there's one born every minute.

| SUN | MON | TUE | WED | THU | FRI | SAT |
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| Seven Times Seven | | | | | | |

Riding with the Red Cossacks

COMPARED with other great political convulsions, such as the Spanish Civil War or World War I, the Russian revolution of October 1917 has few literary witnesses.

It is pleasing, therefore, to be able to review a new paperback edition of a sympathetic account of the revolution.

Isaac Babel spent seven years after the revolution in active military service and he had little time to write in this period. However, in 1926, he published his famous collection of short stories *Red Cavalry* (Penguin 5s) based on his experiences with Budyonny's Cossacks in the Civil War and, more importantly, in the ill-fated war against Poland of 1920-21.

These stories show brutally and lucidly what one section of Russian society, the Cossacks — in many ways the most backward politically in Russia — underwent as a result of the revolution.

Harrowing

Babel was not in any sense a model Soviet writer. His stories are the exact opposite of the boy-meets-tractor-and-falls-in-love type.

His experiences had been far too harrowing and far too frighteningly real for him to write that kind of rubbish. The men he writes about kill, plunder, rape and show no respect for man, woman or child.

For Babel, the revolution means essentially the long-overdue revolt of the bitterly oppressed Russian peasant. Babel does not shirk from showing the violence of the men he is fighting alongside.

His role as an artist is not to prettify or to justify but to show the Cossacks in their true light as violent, often illiterate peasants, struggling towards a new way of life, a society free from the exploitation they have known and put up with all their lives.

In fact, Babel gains the confidence of his fellow-fighters by reading them a speech of Lenin's, to which these fearsome men listen with almost childlike awe and wonder.

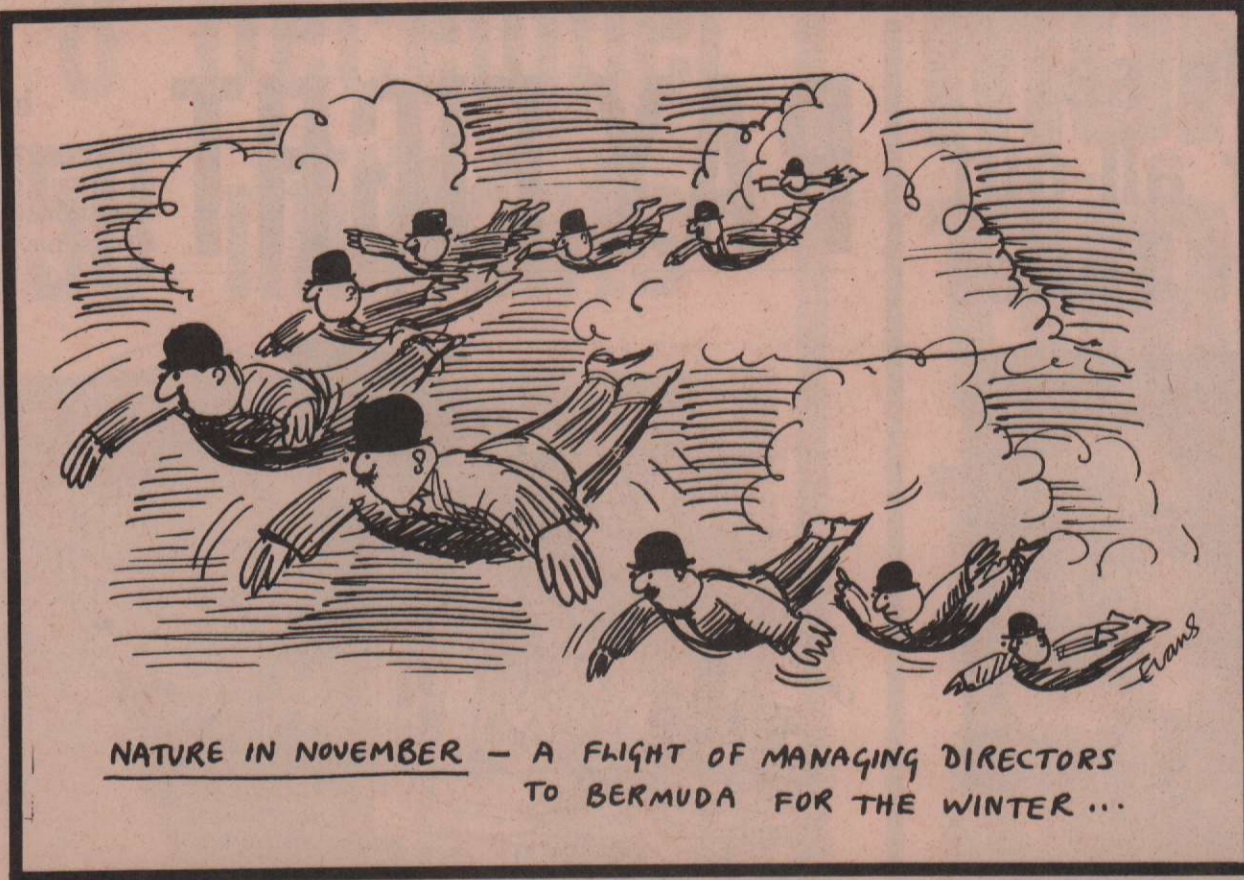
Protection

Inevitably, Babel's picture of life with the Red Cavalry did not please the time-serving Marshal Budyonny and Babel only managed to survive due to the protection of the grand old man of Soviet literature, Maxim Gorky.

But as the pressures towards conformity increased, Babel's pen began to dry up and he wrote very little — some more short stories about old Odessa and several plays before he was arrested and left to perish in one of Stalin's concentration camps.

A massively complex event like the Russian Revolution inevitably has many sides to it. Babel's distinction lies in his ability to show what effect the revolution had on the peasant Cossack hordes.

He is not blind to their weaknesses but is drawn almost magnetically to their stubborn fight against oppression and their capacity for self-sacrifice. As such, his stories are absolutely essential reading for a deeper understanding of the forces underlying the Russian revolution.



NATURE IN NOVEMBER — A FLIGHT OF MANAGING DIRECTORS TO BERMUDA FOR THE WINTER...

COTTONS COLUMN

GEORGE Rowland Stanley Baring, third Earl of Cromer, our next Ambassador to Washington, is also chairman of Baring Bros, the merchant bankers and a director of International Business Machines.

At 29 he was made managing director of Baring Bros—he began as the firm's office boy — after the usual run through at Eton and Cambridge.

One of his first political acts was to support the Suez invasion in 1956. In 1961 he was made Governor of the Bank of England. He is a relative of Harold Macmillan, who was prime minister at the time.

This meteoric rise from office boy to Governor of the Bank of England may not be unconnected with his associations with Royalty. As a Page of Honour, he handed the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret their coronets at the coronation of 1937. He is married to the daughter of Vere Harmsworth, the newspaper baron.

His crowning feat during his career as Governor of the Bank of England was to 'save the pound' by raising £3000m by telephone with his mates in the European and American central banks.

He claims to be hard up but he has just bought a £42,000 villa in Provence.

Baring Bros can afford to keep their chairman in opulent luxury. They built their fortunes by bleeding Egypt and India at the height of the Empire.

Heads you win

WHEN two bullets crashed through the brain of Andre Mizelas, boss of the Andre Bernard hairdressing group as he sat in his sports car in London last week, it put a few thoughts in the minds of those well-groomed gentlemen on the London Stock Exchange.

Overcome with grief at the loss of one of the best known capitalists in the hairdressing business, they immediately marked his company shares up from 1s 9d to 2s 4½d as a



Cromer: Baring right

shares have gone from strength to strength and are now around the 2s 6d mark.

What has particularly moved the stockbrokers is that the demise of Mr Mizelas has opened up the way for a take-over bid from another hairdressing company. Who says that there's no sentiment left in business?

NONSENSE AND GIBBERISH by the bucketful on television last week when the old Gallic peardrop passed away. Our prize for the most ponderously inane remark goes to the commentator who came up with: 'De Gaulle was a great patriot where his own country was concerned'.

Better red...

THE DEATH of Bessie Braddock is a reminder of what happens to genuine socialists when they abandon principles in favour of a parliamentary career.

Mrs Braddock was an early member of the Communist Party and was later a supporter of Nye Bevan in the post-war Labour government. For a time in the early 1950s she supported the extreme left paper *Socialist Outlook*.

But she moved rapidly to the extreme right of the labour movement and became a crude anti-communist, anti-Trotskyist witch-hunter. When she and her husband Jack published their memoirs a few years ago they included, as a special appendix, a full list of socialist and revolutionary organisations banned

She became a legend in her lifetime in Liverpool where she represented the Exchange division in parliament from 1945 until her death. Some admired her for her campaigns against slum housing and poverty in the Mersey city, others were angered by her Tammany Hall style politics, her bullying manner and ignorant political slandering of left-wing opponents.

Dockers will remember Bessie, a small, rotund figure behind the wheel of her big, black motor car with its special loudspeaker, arriving at strike meetings to disrupt the proceedings and denounce as reds and agitators those who favoured strike action.

Born into a socialist household, she retained a life-long hatred for many of the injustices that capitalism thrusts upon working people. But she rejected the fight for a new society and chose the Labour 'reformist' road with all its grisly, anti-working class, anti-trade union results.

The slums and poverty remain in Liverpool. They are a sad epitaph for Bessie Braddock.

OUR FAVOURITE lame duck, Lord Stokes, £42,000 a year boss of British Leyland, last week told his workers that they should not support the 8 December strike against the Tories union laws because they would hit the firm — and BLMC has no political affiliations, he claimed.

Pull the other one, Donald. In 1968/69, BLMC donated £256 to Aims of Industry and £1975 to the Economic League. Both are extreme right-wing groups



THE TELLY PLANNERS certainly made us sinners repent last Sunday. Several hours of showbiz froth on BBC 1 with the Royal Variety Performance, matched on ITV by two cardboard cut-out American cops and robbers programmes, Hawaii Five-O and Mannix.

The two-hour public relations job for Queenie pushed poor old Dr Finlay right off the screen for the evening. A pity, for the painstaking attention to period makes this one of the more viewable soap operas.

But no doubt Finlay, who is given to occasional outbreaks of the dangerous pink flush, will be planning his revenge

Foot and mouth for the Queen — or is she immune?

Perhaps sterilisation for Prince Philip? After all, the Duke was telling us just a week or two ago that three children per family were quite enough and the fourth child is usually a mistake.

Quick flash

Before he commits any further expensive errors, perhaps Phil the Greek should submit to a quick flash of the surgeon's blade

I sounded off against Softly, Softly the other week but I must admit that it stands head, shoulders and torso above the rest of the cop brigade.

Hawaii Five-O is concerned with the exploits of a police department in one of the American empire's outposts.

In keeping with the modern idiom, the plastic heroes spend most of their time screeching around the island in flashy motorcars. The motoring episodes do at least give us some relief from the painful attempts at acting

What I find interesting in the programme is the fact that although based in Hawaii the high-ranking officers are gen-u-ine American boys and local people are allowed only to play underlings and sidekicks.

As for Mannix, this crude, nasty nonsense about a computerised private eye must have men like Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett, who laboured long and hard to turn American detective fiction into a minor art form, spinning in their graves.

Plodding

On BBC 2 on Sundays (repeats on Saturdays) Jean-Paul Sartre's trilogy *Roads to Freedom* is slowly unwinding. At first I became impatient with its plodding style and disinterested in its middle-class characters and their small-time problems at a time of massive social upheavals — the end of the Spanish Civil War and the approach of the Second

Will Mathieu raise the 4000 francs to have his mistress aborted? Or will he do the decent thing and marry her?

Will he join the Communist Party? Will Daniel, the homosexual castrate himself, throw his pussy cat in the Seine or marry Mathieu's mistress as the final, irrevocable act of sado-masochism?

Yes, put like that, it sounds like the scenario for some dreadful X movie. But it is deeper and finer than that and acted with distinction.

I'm hooked now. Why not try it? There are, after all, worse things to do on a Sunday evening.

David East

NOTICES

LEWISHAM IS public meeting: The Employers' Offensive—how to fight productivity deals and anti-union laws. Speakers Tony Cliff (IS) and Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary, AEF. Mon 23 Nov 8pm Charlton House Community Centre, Charlton Village, London SE9.

NW POLY IS: Paul Foot on Tory trade union laws. 1pm, Mon 23 Nov, at NWP, Prince of Wales Rd, Kentish Town, Room B8.

NALGO ACTION for rank and file Nalgo members. Just out — articles on union

democracy, job evaluation. 1s 5d post free from Geoff Wolfe, 27 Sherriff Rd, NW6.

CAMDEN Trades Council Forum on anti-union legislation. Camden Town Hall, 7.30pm, Fri 27 Nov.

IS member requires copies of SW from 1st issue (Sept 68) to Jan 70. Details, price to Box CB21, 6 Cottons Gdns E28DN.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS public meeting: The Common Market, spkrs John Palmer (IS) and Lew Smith (ASW) 8pm Mon 23 Nov Rose & Crown pub Church St N16.

Socialist Worker

Rank and file set the pace for all-out fight against Tories

A FIGHTING determination to smash the Tories' anti-union laws and to make 8 December a nationwide day of strike action highlighted a militant rank and file conference last Saturday.

Called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, it was attended by 1750 delegates. They represented 300 trade union branches, 55 trades councils, 36 district committees, 155 shop stewards' committees and four union executives.

It was the most representative conference of its kind in the post-war period. Hundreds of delegates had to be turned away at the door due to lack of space.

The attendance proves that the need to fight the government-employer offensive is getting across to a growing number of militants in key sectors of industry.

Thunderous

Dockers, miners, engineers, printers, building workers, seamen, teachers, draughtsmen, construction workers and transport workers were just some of the groups represented at the conference.

Thunderous applause greeted all the 24 speakers from the floor. More would have spoken but for lengthy contributions from a packed platform of union leaders and Labour MPs.

The atmosphere was so militant that it soon became clear that the conference had gone beyond the aims of the organisers, mainly Communist Party members.

They see the fight against the government as primarily a protest rather than as a campaign to build powerful grassroots movements throughout industry.

Because of this attitude, there were some rather wishy-washy platitudes about 'unity' with soggy Labour Left MPs and muted criticism of the last Labour government.

A few speakers even trotted out the call for 'a Labour government committed to socialist policies' as the answer to the Tory attack.

Challenged

This attitude was challenged repeatedly by other speakers. Vincent Flynn, general secretary of Division A of the printing union SOGAT, said that both Labour and Tory governments had set out to make the workers pay for the crisis of the system and to cripple shop stewards.

And Janet Harkness, SOGAT executive member and convenor of William Collins' publishing empire in Glasgow, won a standing ovation for a speech that tore into the soggy lefts of the Labour Party and the unions who verbally oppose the Tory Bill but keep quiet when it comes to action.

By contrast, Labour MP Norman



Janet Harkness: standing ovation

Atkinson was jeered and booed for a grotesque contribution in which he stressed the dangers of making the campaign 'too political'. The 8 December strike, he declared, should be against the employers, not the government.

Amazed gasps gave way to fury when he added that the militants should fight the Bill industrially while the Labour Left fought it politically at Westminster.

Declaration

He had to sit down at this point while chairman Bill Jones of the Transport Workers - echoed later by leading Communist Party members - stressed that unity was the keynote and Comrade Atkinson was entitled to his point of view.

The conference ended with the almost unanimous acceptance of a declaration that called for a massive turnout on 8 December, the setting up of local action committees and the demand that the TUC transform its January protest rally into an official day of strike action.

The conference lacked any detailed discussion of a continuing strategy for fighting the Tories beyond 8 December and January, a strategy for breaking the Bill should it become law.

Such a discussion is vital. But the conference was an exciting step forward.

It marked the growing determination of a significant number of workers to fight and not be confined by empty calls for 'unity' with empty windbags who carry the letters MP after their names.

ROGER PROTZ

POWER STATION WORKERS JOIN PAY FIGHT

by COLIN BARKER

POWER STATION WORKERS from all parts of Britain gave their union negotiators a noisy reception last week at a conference called to discuss pay talks with the employers.

Under pressure from rank and file combine committees in the industry, officials of the four main unions in the electricity supply industry agreed to hold a 'delegate' meeting on their talks with the Central Electricity Generating Board.

But the 'delegates' were selected by local union officials, not elected by the rank and file.

The intention was to have a hand-picked group that would take a moderate line and support the officials. But it didn't work out that way.

The mood of the meeting was very militant and chairman Frank Chapple of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union was heckled from the floor.

REJECTED

So far the CEGB has made no offer at all. Officials of the Engineering and Transport Workers unions are pressing for a claim for £10 a week, but they are outnumbered on the negotiating committee by the EPTU and General and Municipal who put in a claim for around £5.

The rank and file combine committee are calling for a 35-hour week, a demand changed by the negotiators to 38 hours. The CEGB rejected any cut in the working week and the union officials accepted this.

As for money, the CEGB has ruled out any large claim as 'unreasonable'. They seem willing to discuss pay rises only on the basis of increased productivity.

The figures they wish to discuss involve a 4.5 per cent rise in productivity over the past year - figures that ignore any productivity rises as a result of work-study programmes introduced into some of the power stations in recent months.

The response of the union full-time negotiators has been to ask the rank and file to support them with unofficial action. They have refused to issue any official calls to action.

The case for a substantial increase in pay is overwhelming. The power workers' jobs are becoming more and more insecure.

Over the past four years the number of stations has fallen from 234 to 193. The number of employees in the industry has dropped in the same period by more than 25,000. Further redundancies are expected.

REDUCE

In addition, the CEGB is attempting to push through a pay and productivity scheme aimed at further reducing the labour force in the industry.

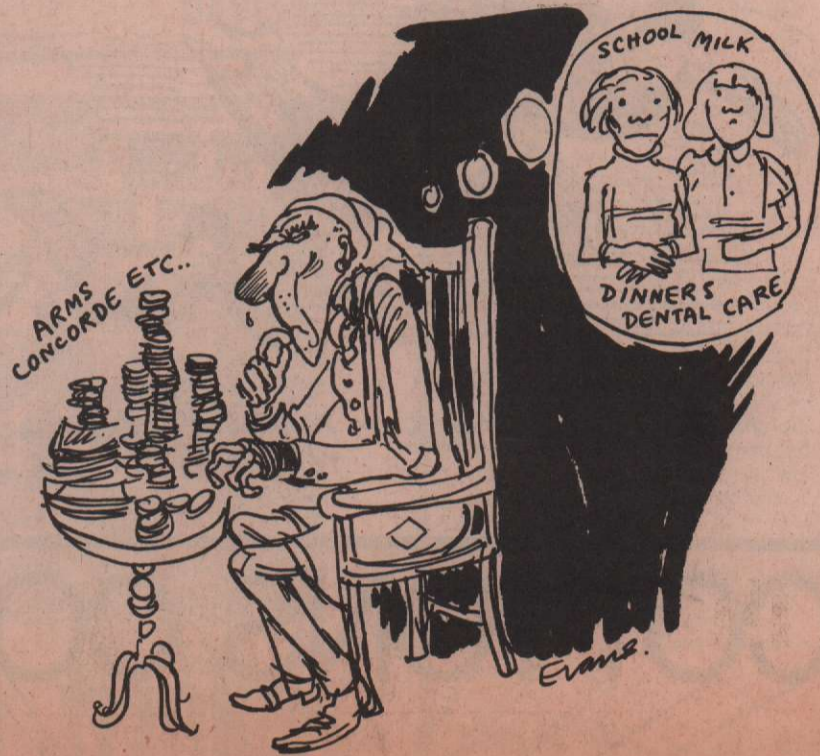
But the output in electricity supply is rising very fast, as are profits. Last year the CEGB made £100 millions in profit.

Wages as a proportion of costs fell from 6.8 per cent to 6.5 per cent over the year 1968-69. More money went from the workers' sweat to the bankers who lend the CEGB capital at fancy interest rates.

The reaction of the rank and file in the industry to the failure of their negotiators to win anything has been swift.

The Manchester Combine Committee last Friday passed a resolution expressing disgust with the officials for lack of leadership. The committee called for a ban on overtime and a work to rule. Similar calls are going out in most of the major areas.

Readers can get further details from ADVANCE, the power workers' rank and file paper, 10d post free from 68 Fountains Road, Stretford, Lancs.



More threats to jobs and pay

FROM PAGE ONE

mailing us with one policy we will rush blindly into accepting another that is equally dangerous to living standards.

It is likely that a mixture of all three policies will be tried: an increase in unemployment, laws against the unions and an attempt at incomes policy.

But the fact that the employing class cannot decide which policy to use means they recognise the possible strength of workers' resistance.

We have to show them that their fears are justified, that organised workers will stand together against an

attack on any one section of our movement.

8 December will be the first test of our ability to demonstrate that strength.

CORRECTION

LAST WEEK Socialist Worker reported that workers at the Rootes-Chrysler plant at Linwood had decided to support the 8 December strike. In fact no such decision has yet been made. We apologise for the error.

Strategy for socialists

THE LONDON REGION of the International Socialists has organised an important debate with two leading members of the Communist Party. The subject is Strategy for Socialism and Monty Johnstone and Barney Davis will represent the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

IS speakers will be Duncan Hallas and Roger Protz. The debate will take place at Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, NW1 on Friday 11 December at 7pm.

Legal fund for Lawrence

MILITANT print workers at the Press Association in Fleet Street have launched a legal defence fund for their Chapel Father (shop steward) John Lawrence.

Mr Lawrence was expelled last week from Division 1 of SOGAT. He had refused to recognise the executive's decision to split from Division A of the union and return to its former title of NATSOPA.

Last week Mr Lawrence's expulsion was frozen by a High Court and this was extended for a further week on Tuesday.

Donations to the legal defence fund should be sent to T Forsyth (Chapel Secretary) 9 Langland House, Edmund Street, London SE5.

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Walkout halts scabbing at Ford

DAGENHAM:- Supervisors at Ford took over the work of suspended torch solderers in the Body Plant last Friday. The scabbing was stopped only by the rest of the shop walking out.

The Ford bosses are giving a glimpse of what life would be like if the Tory union laws came into operation. Management has been encouraged by the government proposals to start to get re-ly tough with the workforce.

But the call for a one-day national strike on 8 December is commanding growing support at Dagenham. B shift on the 45-acre site and workers in the Press Shop have voted to strike against the Tory plans.

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