

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Dockers strike for full ports nationalisation

MORE THAN 30,000 dockers stopped work for 24 hours on Tuesday to support their demand for full nationalisation of all Britain's ports.

It was one of the most significant political demonstrations seen in Britain for many years. Not surprisingly, it was given little coverage by the millionaire press.

When a handful of dockers marched on parliament in 1968 to back Enoch Powell's racist policies, it was headline news. When 30,000 stop work and 500 of them march on parliament to demand full nationalisation with provisions for workers' participation in the running of the ports, the 'free' press doesn't want to know.

The docks Bill now going through parliament is a mockery of the promises made to the dockers' unions. Small ports like Felixstowe, which made £1m profits last year, and the lucrative container berths, are to be left in private hands.

The dockers' strike should be welcomed by all socialists. It is a tremendous political step forward by one of the most militant sections of the working class. They are challenging the private profiteers' right to control the docks.



ONE HUNDRED people took part in a Black Panther demonstration in Brixton, south London, on Sunday. It was held in protest against the arrests of Panther members during a

demonstration outside the American Embassy two weeks ago. They have been held in jail without bail and may now face more serious charges. IS branches from south London

supported the march and Mike Caffoor from the IS national committee pledged the organisation's full support to the Panthers in their struggle against police brutality.

Vital book for all militants

THIS WEEK sees the publication of a book that must be read by every militant trade unionist in industry and every socialist grappling with the increasing attacks on the organised labour movement.

The Employers' Offensive - productivity deals and how to fight them by Tony Cliff is the first major analysis by a writer, committed to the workers' cause, of the spate of dangerous productivity agreements which now involve nearly 30 per cent of Britain's work force.

The author describes more than 100 of these agreements and pins them firmly to an overall picture of big business and the Labour government combining to produce a strategy designed to modernise industry at the workers' expense.

Tony Cliff shows, with extensive factual evidence from the agreements themselves, that time after time productivity deals have led to stagnating wages, worsening conditions, increased work loads and a smaller work force.

And by quoting the employers themselves, he proves that the central feature of these agreements is the need to smash the militant shop floor workers' organisations which spearhead the battle for better wages and conditions.

The drive to impose productivity agreements on the workers spotlights the gulf between capital and labour—our present system geared to maximise the profits of the few at the expense of the many, compared to the possibilities of a planned, humane society controlled by the workers themselves, producing for the needs of the whole community.

The final section of the book contains an important strategy for opposing the introduction of productivity deals and fighting against them in factories where they have been accepted.

This handbook for militants has created tremendous interest prior to publication and advance orders have accounted for almost the entire first printing.

Your factory and work place needs a bulk supply of this book to arm the work force against the most sustained and dangerous threat the trade union movement has ever known.

Don't delay - order copies now: 6s plus 1s post, 12 copies or more 4s 6d each post free.

YES, THE WORKERS SHOULD RUN BRITAIN

by Stephen Marks

THE TORIES' shrieks of rage against the threatened airline strike and the dockers' 24 hour stoppage show clearly the double standards of the advocates of 'free enterprise' and 'democracy'.

The airline workers are demanding that British United Airlines should be taken over by the state-owned BOAC and not by another private firm.

The dockers are protesting about the limited amount of nationalisation and absence of any degree of workers' control in the docks Bill now before parliament.

Tory spokesmen, tamely echoed by the Labour benches, bluster about 'trade unions running the country'. Yet they stay strangely quiet when one mammoth private concern like GEC swallows AEI or when Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, given £20m by the state, double the number of workers to be made redundant.

Rich pastures

It is quite all right for men like Arnold Weinstock to run the country, but not the great majority of people organised in the unions who produce the nation's wealth.

Takeover bids like the BOAC bid for BUA are quite OK for big business as long as both partners are private firms. And nationalisation isn't too bad either as long as loss-making industries are the ones involved.

What really gets the Tories angry is when rich pastures for the private profitmakers get fenced in by the state. BUA is losing money and asked BOAC to take it over.

If BOAC were not state owned the Tories would be the first to howl at the government 'interference'



JENKINS: 'Threatening democracy'

in a private business deal. No matter that when the private airline British Eagle collapsed, many workers lost their entitlement under the firm's private pension scheme.

None of this alters the fact that when a union leader like Clive Jenkins dares to suggest that the workers in the industry should have some say he is 'threatening democracy'.

Of course if some Tory in BUA's staff got up a petition opposing the BOAC takeover, this expression of opinion would be given full coverage in the 'free press'.

But the prize for the most absurd comment in this race by clown politicians to beat each other in the union-bashing game goes to Labour's Roy Mason, who declared it an attack on the 'sovereignty of Parliament'. If anyone still believes that that is where the key decisions which shape our lives are taken, he deserves the politicians that he gets.

He also deserves to get his face rubbed in a story in Tuesday's papers about what happened to another of the sacred decisions of our 'sovereign democratic parliament'—the one to raise a levy on the profits of all commercial TV companies which make more than a

modest £500,000 per year.

Of the mammoth profits the television companies made over the last 10 years, 80 per cent was shelled out to the shareholders. Even the Tories were shamed into putting a special levy on the industry, and last year's budget upped it from £3 to £6 millions to show that the 'sacrifices' were being 'shared'.

Now, after months of bleating from the telly millionaires; Roy Jenkins has announced that the levy will be lifted entirely from all firms making less than £2 millions in profit.

So much for the 'free enterprise' myth of the capitalist getting his just return for the risk he takes in investing his capital in the first place. If it gets too risky, the state will bail you out.

Minor snag

If anyone wants a better example of 'respect for parliament', big business style, let them look at Shell's February announcement of a much trumpeted multi-million new chemicals plant in Cheshire.

Before deciding to give the go-ahead to such a mammoth investment, Shell wanted to get together with its chief competitors, such as ICI and Monsanto, to make sure that none of them were planning any similar project. There was one minor snag: the 1956 Restrictive Practices Act (passed by the Tories) forbids just this sort of cosy get-together.

The result? A request from the National Economic Development Council for the chemical industry that the relevant clause of the Act be repealed.

The chairman of the chemical industry's 'Neddy'? None other than Paul Baran of Shell.

The result? The clause was repealed.

Now you see why some people respect the 'democratic process'.

The private airlines and television are both in their ways good examples of the crudest sort of free-booting profit rakers. They depend on the state to give them their channels or their air routes.

But the example of 'progressive' and 'go-ahead' firms like Shell shows us the real relation between the decisive sectors of big business and the state. The more the big business system gets lost in the madness of its own competitive rat-race, the more it relies on the state

UNITED IRISH DEMONSTRATION

against British imperialism in Northern Ireland

SUNDAY 22 March

Rally Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park 2, 30pm

followed by march to Downing Street

Organised by ICRSC, Clann na h'Eireann and Irish Socialist Union

Mike Cooley, member of the National Executive of the Draughtmen's union
This book should be in possession of every trade unionist who intends defending and improving his members' wages and conditions.

Len Brindle, British Leyland Convener
A concise and thorough explanation of the many pitfalls which exist for workers under the guise of productivity bargaining. A book that every trade unionist ought to read.

the employers' offensive productivity deals and how to fight them by Tony Cliff

Name Organisation
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Send copy/copies. I enclose £ s d

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BLMC workers need a fighting policy to defeat Lord Stokes

by John Setters (AEF)

IN MARCH 1968 the Coventry Engineering Employers Association published a confidential report on 'Wage Drift, Work Measurements and Systems of Payment'.

It was written by a special working party which included five managers from British Leyland factories.

The report explained how the continual rise in earnings of Midlands car workers was due to the piece-work system and especially the operation of the 'mutuality' clause in the national engineering agreement.

This clause, according to the report (p 21) 'has... permitted the shop floor to develop a very strong bargaining position' and 'an extremely wide and easily exploitable opportunity for bargaining and shop floor pressure on piece-work price fixing'.

The report detailed how the continual bargaining over piece-work prices had not only caused wages to rise but increased the power of the shop stewards. It had created militancy among workers, reduced managerial discipline and encouraged the growth and activity of white-collar workers in the fight for maintenance and restoration of differentials.

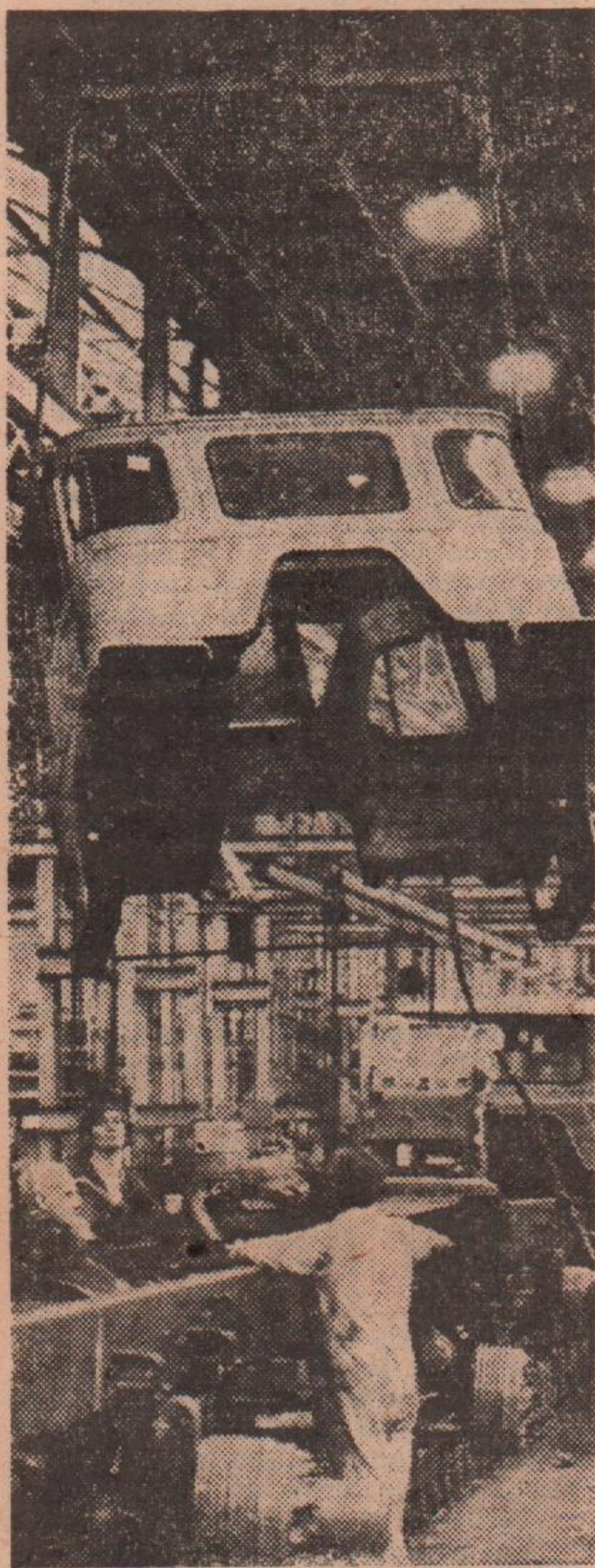
'Get rid of stewards' power'

As a solution to these problems, the report urged that the piece-work system should be abolished and that Measured Day Work should replace it. This is a fixed hourly rate payment system where performance standards are solely determined by management and by work study techniques.

Measured Day Work abolishes the mutuality clause, speeds up production and attempts to push through job evaluation to reduce the number of wage rates. Mutuality means that all job rates have to be 'mutually' agreed between management and workers' representatives.

According to a speaker at a productivity conference organised by the Engineering Employers Federation in January 1968: 'If we can get a simplified wages structure, to a very large degree, we can get rid of the power of the unauthorised shop stewards and the militants inside our factories.'

The employers realise that the



Commercial vehicles being built at BLMC's Leyland plant

mutuality clause must be eliminated. In the Coventry report they do not hesitate to spell out what this means (p 38):

'It would seem, therefore, that in the sense that such proposals (the introduction of MDW) are evidence of an attempt by management to regain the control of system of payment they are likely to meet with the strongest opposition from militant shop stewards. This is a fact which has to be recognised and there is no use pretending that attempts by management to regain control over situations in which they have lost control, will be welcomed by shop



'Sorry you've got problems, your Lordship'. Scanlon (AEF), Stokes, Roberts (NUVB) and Jones (TGWU) one day after the BLMC chairman's tirade against strikers

stewards. These proposals, therefore, are not in the normally accepted sense, saleable...

'In the ultimate, management has to decide whether or not they are prepared to assume control and having so decided, to impress firmly on the employees and the shop stewards their intention to do so.'

The consequences for Ford and Vauxhall workers of MDW can be clearly seen. Hourly wage rates are considerably lower. Only a few weeks ago Ford workers were fighting for a 5s an hour increase to bring them level with the 17s5d an hour earned by Rootes workers at Ryton, Coventry.

The absence of the mutuality clause not only prevents earnings from rising but also means that shop stewards are not allowed to negotiate work speeds and labour manning.

Attempts to change system

British Leyland is the only one of the Big Four motor manufacturers to operate the piece-work payments system in the overwhelming majority of its plants.

For the past few years it has been attempting to change this, but with little success. This failure is particularly important to BLMC's fight to remain competitive.

The growth of huge international motor firms has forced BLMC not only to expand internationally, but also to increase its investment in Britain. In order to achieve this, it is essential for the BLMC owners that MDW is introduced rapidly.

The recent secret report on BLMC prepared by the prominent firm of stockbrokers, Milton, Butler, Priest & Co was concerned with this.

On page 8 it complains that the Corporation's wage structure was 'far too complex' and that 'a very desirable measure would be change from piece rate to hourly rates or weekly wages.'

It went on to welcome the recent appointment of a previous director of the Engineering Employers' Federation, Pat Lowry, as the new director of British Leyland labour relations.

The same report concluded that it would be possible for BLMC to produce £75 million profit per year in the mid 1970s and £100 m profit if the number of strikes could be reduced.

One of the reasons why the stockbrokers urged the immediate purchasing of BLMC shares was 'the very

considerable scope for rationalisation and cost-cutting'.

It is in the search for higher profits that BLMC are determined to introduce MDW, prevent earnings from rising, reduce the power of the shop stewards, weaken trade union organisation and carry out a policy of mass sackings.

At the present time the management are, for example, demanding a cut in the piece work earnings at Morris Radiators, Oxford and are trying to introduce job evaluation into Morris Motors at Cowley and Austin, Longbridge.

These efforts have been supported by the government and many of the so-called 'left' trade union leaders. When Rootes introduced MDW at Linwood, for example, the Transport Workers and Vehicle Builders agreed to the scrapping of the mutuality clause.

The Austin management have recently taken the south toolroom through 'procedure', following the shop stewards' refusal to agree to the introduction of job evaluation. The management have insisted that the shop stewards, by refusing, are breaking the 1968 National Engineering Agreement.

This is the same agreement that the president of the EEF spoke of in his annual address and said:

'Within the agreement, the Federation gained some vital concessions. Certain limitations have been imposed on the sort of claims that unions can bring at plant level. In the future the unions will not be able to pursue claims until they are justified by a measured increase in productivity or efficiency to which the efforts of the work people have contributed or in the case of the introduction of a new or revised comprehensive wage structure based on job evaluation.'

No counter attack from unions

'The Federation have also secured the unions' acceptance of such techniques as job evaluation, work measurement and method study... I think the agreement should be of great benefit to federated firms.'

In 1966 the government assisted BMC in sacking 12000 motor workers. Numerous comments made by financial observers at the time of the 1968 merger, which created BLMC, forecast major redundancies within the following few years.

The vicious attack on militant workers that Lord Stokes launched

in his recent speech to BLMC shareholders, when he blamed motor workers for preventing his company from making any profit, has produced no counter-offensive from either trade union leaders or the leaders of the combine shop stewards' committee.

Both have admitted that 'there is a problem' and both have pledged their determination to try and resolve it.

The combine shop stewards' organisation must be strengthened by the adoption of a militant fighting policy. The need for alternative policies is essential if the farce of the Standard Triumph Liverpool solidarity strike is to be avoided in the future.

Combine's failure aids Stokes

After reluctantly taking the decision to call a one-day token strike for 11 November last year, no fight was made to win support for it in many of the factories. In Austin, Longbridge, for example, it was finally decided to adjourn supporting the solidarity strike pending the result of a government court of enquiry into the dispute.

When this finally reported, it condemned the strike which had demanded parity of earnings with the Midlands and guaranteed payments for lay-offs.

The strike finally ended after 14 weeks for a wage rise of only 30s a week. The failure of the combine to assist the Liverpool strike can only assist Lord Stokes in his determination to act against BLMC workers.

The 10 March meeting of trade union leaders and BLMC combine representatives and the decision to prepare reports on unofficial strikes cannot defend car workers. The grovelling reaction of Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones in quickly organising the national meeting cannot under any circumstances be called 'an historic occasion', as the Morning Star hailed it.

A more appropriate comment came from one Midlands factory convenor: 'I don't', he said, 'see why I should have to go to a meeting called by Lord Stokes just because my union is so gutless as to organise it for him.'

Unity around fighting strategy

The urgent need for BLMC workers is to unite around a policy of counter-offensive to Lord Stokes and the car bosses. Stokes' attack on car workers makes the necessity of such a policy more urgent than ever before.

Such a policy must contain the following points:

1. The strengthening of the BLMC shop stewards' combine committee and the building of links with other car workers, both at home and abroad.
2. Opposition to MDW, job evaluation and mobility of labour, combined with the defence of mutuality as well as the struggle for its extension.
3. For a 'status quo' clause in the procedure, the defence of the shop stewards' organisation and no restriction on the right to strike.
4. No redundancy, no factory closures and no reduction in the size of the labour force.
5. Parity of earnings and full support to all factories in dispute.
6. Five days' work or five days' pay for lay-offs and short time.
7. Nationalisation of British Leyland under workers' control.

Exit the cowboy, waiting for the American dream to become reality

A VITAL ROLE has always been reserved in American life and literature for what is loosely known as 'the American dream'. In a grotesque and distorted form, this is illustrated in the life and methods of American gangsters and criminals, which may well be why such types are so widely admired in American folklore.

Peckinpah's film *The Wild Bunch* (now on general release) is a brilliant attempt to show one particular, small revolution in this bastardised version of the all-pervading 'dream'.

Robbers

The Wild Bunch of the title are a gang of robbers, rapidly being overtaken by the onrush of technology, in this case the motor car and the machine-gun. This element in their lives is sensitively followed through as they flee into Mexico to escape the attentions of an even more unlovely bunch of 'bounty hunters' hired by the railway company to capture them.



Quite by chance the gang becomes involved in the Mexican civil war and similarly by chance they end up by killing the obnoxious counter-revolutionary leader Mapache.

What makes the film so stunningly horrifying is not so much the various sickening acts of violence but rather the merciless exposure that is cast upon the gang's character. Peckinpah's strength lies in the realisation that what is important is to show the violence that stems from the inter-action of character upon a social situation, rather than the abstract violence of an isolated action.

Thus the cold-blooded murder of a wounded member of their own gang appears in itself far more revolting than the mass carnage of the last scene.

Yet, the gang, like all groups of men, have their own moral code—'It's not giving your word, it's who you give it to' as one of them explains. Moreover, each member of the gang follows his own private vision of the 'American dream' by believing that this 'job' will be his last one and that after this he will retire and settle down on a ranch to enjoy the peaceful life that he privately yearns for.

Detail

Peckinpah marks himself off from even the best of the Italian Westerns by his attention to detail in character and total refusal to romanticise. Even the Italian Westerns are built around the invincible, cigar-chewing cult-figure of Clint Eastwood and tend in this sense to echo Hollywood by

removing the films one step further from reality.

That tendency has been so effectively removed from *The Wild Bunch* that the individual actors are made totally irrelevant to the development of the film.

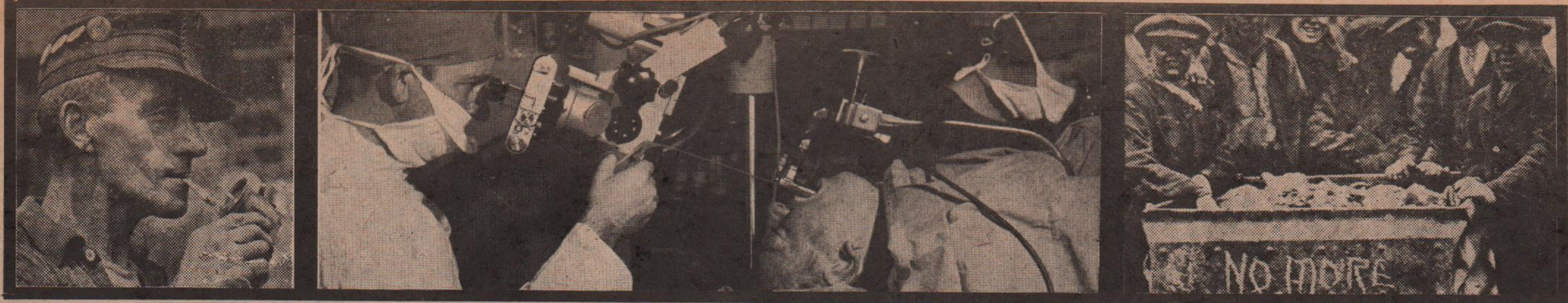
It is thereby underlined that the age of the romantic Billy the Kid figure had to come to an end to be followed by the era of Al Capone and organised crime. As capitalism modernised itself, so crime had to change its methods too.

The twisted, ironic 'American dream' that haunted the imagination of the cowboy-gangster was taken up and reworked by a fresh wave of immigrants, Irish and Italian, who lived in the teeming suburbs of the great cities.

For showing this in magnificent artistic form, I cannot praise this film too highly and thoroughly recommend it to all those with strong stomachs.

MARTIN TOMKINSON

P.S. Have you ordered your copies of 'The Employers' Offensive'? Order form on page 1.



THE KILLERS ON THE SHOP FLOOR

Recent issues of Socialist Worker have examined the increasing toll of injury and death in British factories from the workers' point of view. Here a doctor, experienced in industrial medicine, puts his point of view. . .

by Gerry Dawson

I'VE SPENT a good deal of my life in hospitals. Medicine is rich in experiences of man at his best, showing his natural co-operative instincts, his determination and optimism, his ingenuity and courage.

But the emotion which strikes me most deeply is a disgust at the sense of waste, the certainty that however well health workers do their job, in another part of the same system there is something sabotaging it.

There's a sense that as fast as you clear one chest infection, 10 boys are looking at advertisements which tell you that you're not a man unless you have a roll of tobacco between your teeth.

That as fast as you are screwing calipers on in North London, there is some one bombing kids' legs off in North Vietnam.

Most of all, I find the growing toll of death and disease in the factories and the reluctance, almost inability of bosses to halt it, typical of the cross purposes at which our world works.

British factories are getting more dangerous every year. Some could be justifiably called deathtraps.

Under Wilson, the rate of fatal industrial accidents has gone up faster than the rate of growth. Last year 710 people were killed where they worked, 46 more than the year before and this year the harvest looks like being heavier still.

Twenty-three million days were lost through industrial accidents—the necessary sacrifice of burns, sprains, crush injuries, fractures, eye damage and corrosion made every day to the God Production.

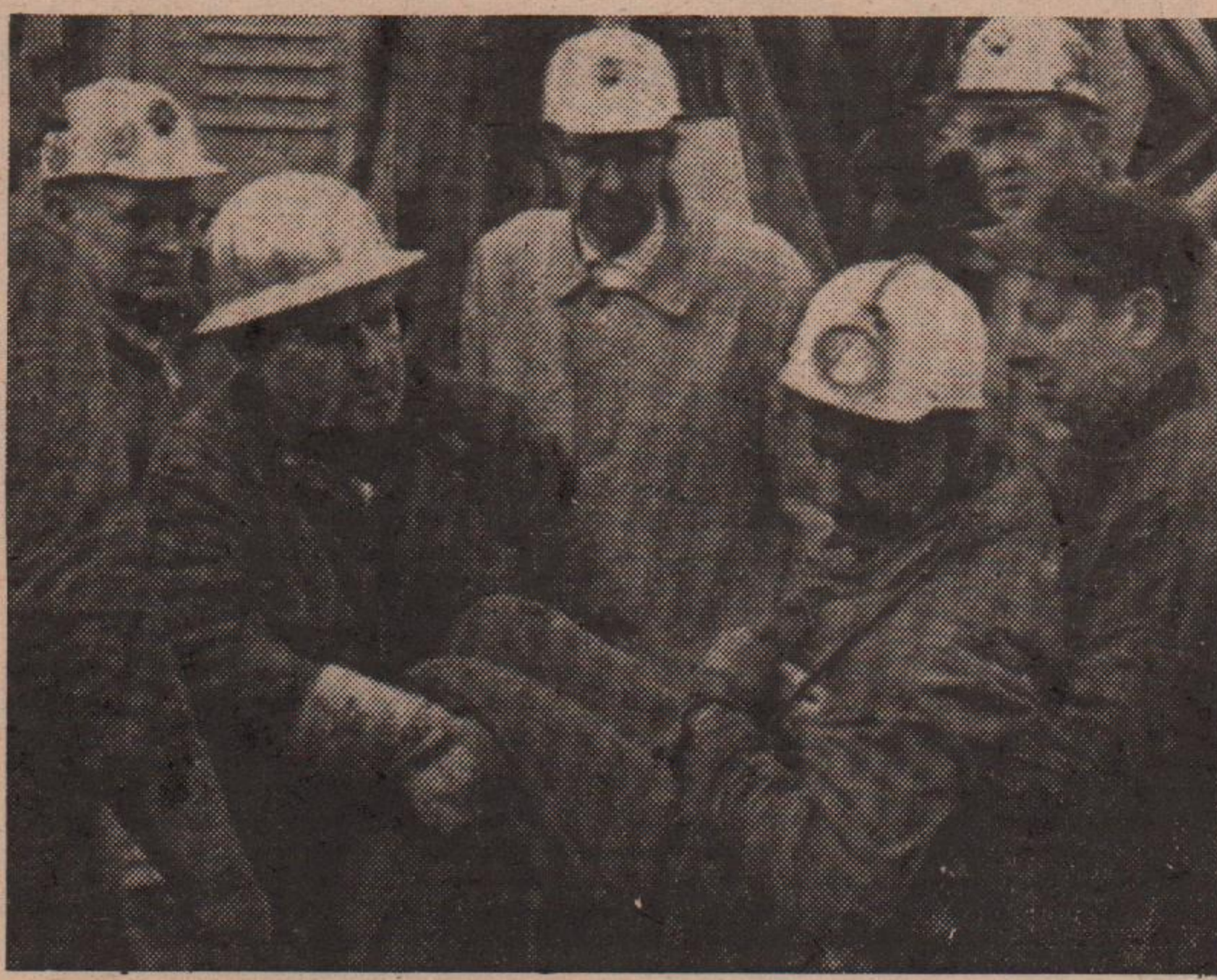
A modest 3½ days are lost from work each year through strikes, exactly a tenth of those lost by bronchitis alone, the condition of the chest known in other countries as the British Disease.

In America, where industrial lung hazards are even more advanced, the death rate for silicosis and emphysema has increased by more than four times since 1952, faster than any other disease and accounting for an overall majority of those on disability allowances.

Special risks

Part of the reason for such increases are new substances and industrial processes which carry with them special risks; new cutting oils in engineering which we know already can produce cancer of the scrotum, new high speed presses which generate an ink mist so fine that it carries straight down the finest tubes of the lung and stays there, new plastics which produce disfiguring reactions in the skin.

We know that the special risks associated with the fishing industry, the mines, the foundries and the textile mills remain as dangerous as ever. Many people are still required to work with known cancer-producing substances. While lung cancer was found to be the cause of death in 1.4 per cent of general industrial workers, it was no less than 21 per



If Black Lung doesn't get you, an accident will: an injured West Virginian miner being brought to the surface last year

cent among chromate workers, for example.

But we do not have in Britain an occupational health service to specialise in factory medicine. Indeed of the specialised industrial centres, the world-famous one on the Slough Industrial Estate was closed recently for lack of financial support from employers.

Those workers known to be killed and wounded each year and the unknown health hazards that every new process could be bringing with it, seem to me a suitable subject to get worked up about. But the Westminster men are in slumber and the Factory Inspectors hide their statistics away in obscure paragraphs.

Flying squads

The Confederation of British Industries most recent statement on industrial health contained a suggestion, meant seriously, that doctors ought to form flying squads to descend on people away from work with the flu to make sure that they were not capable of a day's graft after all.

The politician sighs, the baby cries, the miner dies. The Mirror and the Mail are frequently so worked up about a single small strike's impact on the balance of payments that they devote a full front page to a personal attack on trade unionists who down tools in disputes. But when the workers themselves are dropping dead in a record increase, it's the small circulation, socialist newspapers who are left to tell the tale.

Pollution is now, at last, taken seriously. But how much more important than the loss of greenery and wild life is the loss of man himself, mangled to death by machinery.

Perhaps this lack of interest isn't really so surprising. Those who own Britain still live in very tall houses. From their vantage point, the profit rate, the share prices and the export figures are a lot easier to see than the patches of blood.

After all, if Britain is to be made Great again, the majority will have to make sacrifices. Losing your life is only the most extreme form. You might be lucky enough just to lose

your job, your wage increase or your right to strike.

The management may pin up a safety poster while they continue to leave untouched long-standing hazards and increase the pace of production to a point where workers can't afford to take proper safety precautions.

But the action against health hazards usually comes when the workers' patience itself gets inflamed. Last year in West Virginia, miners took things into their own hands and shut down the industry for three weeks. They were protesting about Black Lung, their name for a combination of silicosis and emphysema which affects miners.

Silicosis is the destruction of lung tissues by the constant inhalation of fine dust particles. Over time these literally slice the walls of the lungs to pieces and make them vulnerable to things like TB. Emphysema is the eating away of the lining of the lungs, leaving scar tissue which gradually throttles off the supply of oxygen.

Starting from being short of breath you proceed slowly to being an invalid with just enough oxygen to stay alive. In the American mines more than 8000 men die and 80,000 are disabled by this deadly 'black lung' disease.

But the miners of West Virginia had to form their own organisation to fight the coal companies and the United Mineworkers' Union before it won at least some protective legislation. The men's union called the strikers "finks".

'Ink fly'

In Fleet Street, the printers' union SOGAT has been active on the shop floor against the new hazard of 'ink fly'. They have successfully insisted on the use of a new ink formulation and an investigation into the solvents used in the gravure industry.

Here the management and some medical policemen claimed that while undoubtedly inconvenient and unpleasant, there were no medical statistics to prove ink fly a hazard. They suggested the men should go on coughing and spitting until they set up an adequate experiment.

An American authority has suggested that fatigue on certain production lines is not just confined to muscular effort while on the job but that residual fatigue exhausts a worker and leaves him literally so run down that he is unable to do much more than prop up a TV set all evening. Shift work, especially the new triple shifts, have been shown to disturb the body's glandular rhythms to a degree that produces mental distress.

Researchers into automation have quoted examples of people so overcome by the monotony that they are unable to function properly in their own homes. Probably orthodox medicine, starting from the management's eye-view, would consider such people as malingerers or per-

haps badly adjusted.

We know nearly nothing about the effects of noise, constantly repeated identical movement and the new stress of modern production methods. The so-called science of relations in industry is largely concerned with 'motivating workers' with company loyalty and the re-education of movement to save time with profit in mind. Instead of the whips and the slave driver's drum, we now have the stop watch, the productivity deal and the time and motion study.

When I hear those golden words Productivity and the National Interest, I don't think of the Union Jack fluttering proudly again over the world's financial pawnshops or the Queen able to pay her grocery bill at last. I think of the people who will have to pull in their belts to keep up Mr Wilson's capitalist pantaloons.

The people who, in exchange for the miracle of the productivity deal, are now working shifts which break up their lives. They are being moved around the factory at the drop of a hat, doing the job at a measured faster rate and selling what are called restrictive practices, which are the only methods of control over the rate of speed-up — all this for a mess of pottage at pay-day.

It is my impression that many of the people on the receiving end of British industry's great leap forward are something less than enthusiastic about forcing up output and forcing down wages at the same time. No one knows what the figures for absenteeism or the records of technical hitches conceal in terms of human rebellion and sabotage.

Day off

Personally my heart soars when people take New Year's Day off, to the scowls of the newsreader. They are showing exactly what they think of the alleged national interest which always turns out to be that of seven bankers in Zurich.

It's scarcely surprising that people should try and exert some of their own control against the continuous demands of machinery. The miners in the Durham field who are said to have completely dismantled and removed a 200ft conveyor belt which was to cause redundancies seem to me the sane men and the Efficiency Expert and Progress Chaser the nut cases.

When the Luddites, a revolutionary and secretive society of the 1800s, broke up new machinery with big hammers named Lud, they were engaging in an act of collective bargaining by riot. There are the heroes and not the villains of the working-class movement and it's a pity the much-maligned 'militants' of today aren't so well organised.

When I see left-wingers on TV

use those easy words like 'exploitation', 'class struggle' and 'capitalism', I'm never very convinced that they actually have any experience of what they are talking about.

For me the image is very clear: a mining village hospital where every patient in one ward is a miner, now blue-faced and wheezing, propped up on five or six white pillows and coughing fit to die every few minutes. Men crippled by the dust breathed in a lifetime cutting coal.

That's exploitation to me. The class struggle has been the constant fight of the men against the owners (before and after nationalisation) for adequate protection and compensation which were, for the mining trade unions at least, as important as the fight to protect wages and unemployment. Capitalism is the bloody-minded system which must kill men to keep warm and doesn't even care much about it.

Exploitation of man by man was not buried along with old Marx in Highgate, nor was it concreted over in the 1930s. Today's villain may not be the aristocratic coal owner or the sweat shop boss but the smiling Time and Motion man with his stopwatch and the smiling union full-timer holding his hand.

But their business is the same—exploitation in the precise technical sense of the word. And these days they are still pursuing it hard. If necessary as far as the graveyard.

HOW THE SYSTEM ROBS YOU...

EVERY DAY you go to work you spend far more time producing profits for the boss than wages for yourself and your family.

In 1961, the last year of full available figures, the total wages of all productive workers, after tax, was £7½ thousand million. All the profits of private and public industries, all the wages of unproductive workers and all the waste expenditure, such as arms, amounted to £16 thousand million.

This means that for every £1 a worker produced for his own wage packet, he produces a further £2 for the boss. In a five day working week, one and two-third days go towards the workers' wages and three and one-third to the bosses' profits.

This fantastic rate of exploitation is analysed in an important article by Lionel Sims next week. Don't miss it.

International Socialism 42

The Stalinist States: Chris Harman

The Third World: Nigel Harris

Fascism: Peter Sedgwick

Socialists and the election

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'Fatal industrial accidents have gone up faster than the rate of growth'

