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 surpris-ingly, it was given little coverage by the millionaire press.
When a handful of dockers mar-

ched on parliament in 1968 to back Enoch Powell's racialist 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.

## 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 overby 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'

UNITED IRISH

DEMONSTRATION

against British imperialism in Northern Ireland

SUNDAY 22 March

Rally Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park 2, 30pm

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



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

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 frespect 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 goahead 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 gettogether.

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 freebooting 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 ratrace, the more it relies on the state

to bail it out. This does not mean an extension of socialist planning. It means the taxpayers' money is used to line the pockets of private industry, or to give them the laws and the economic policies they need to secure their profits in the world competitive scramble.

The real decisions are never taken in parliament. Its only purpose is to give the pious politicians the opportunity to tell workers who dare take their future into their own hands that they are 'going against the democratically elected majority in parliament'.

But business recognises no other law than its own strength. The shoddy hypocrisy of this week's outcry over 'union dictation' should remind us that the state is not an umpire but a weapon of the other side.

## Vital book for all

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

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

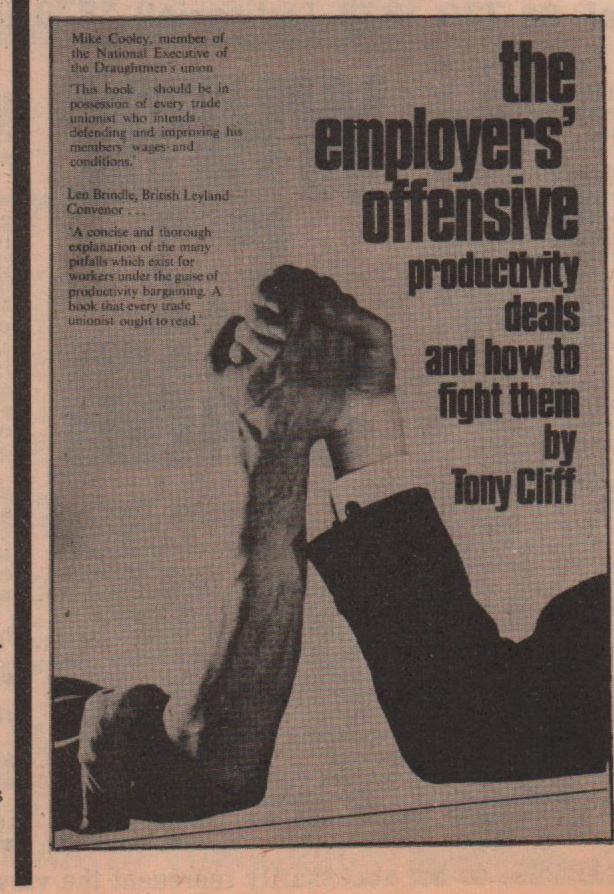
conditions. The drive to impose productivity agreements on the workers spotlights the gulf between capital and labour-our present system geared to maximise the profits of the few at the expense of the many, compared to the possibilities of a planned, humane society controlled by the workers themselves,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



London ardens S S



Panthers picketing a New York court where their members are on trial

## Learning from US socialists' mistakes

Charles Leinenweber has the last word in the Black Panther controversy

WHAT SURPRISED ME about the lebate at the IS Black Panther meetng was that it took place at all. Aside from several sects that IS would not care to be associated with, no one on the white American eft today questions the necessity for oppressed people to define the nature of their oppression themselves and to devise their own means of struggling against it.

This was no profound insight on our part. It was a lesson brought nome to us by the strength and vitality of organisations like the Panthers, as contrasted with the feebleness of our own 'black-and-

white-together' attempts, We could set up civil rights picket lines with a thousand whites but we always wondered where the blacks were. It turned out they were creating the Panthers.

If we had any understanding of the self-development of the black liberation movement-going back through Marcus Garvey to the resistance of slaves-we could have anticipated the Panthers. Instead, we operated on a very false notion of what liberation means-namely, our organising black or any oppressed people to achieve goals we set up for them.

#### Aroused

This was true in the 1950s and early 60s. It was equally true for white American socialists in the early 1900s, who assumed that black liberation would come as a by-product of the struggle for socialism.

And it was true during the 1930s when most white radicals, aroused by the tremendous surge of industrial militancy, demanded the subordination of black struggle to the struggle of the working class as a

whole. This, it seems, is where many of the British comrades are today. It is unfortunate, because it means that IS will be forced to undergo a whole series of shattering experiences, of which the antagonisms aroused at the Black Panther meet-

ing are only a mild warning. No one should try to tell oppressed people the truth of their situation, because those people are the

truth. Most of all, any marxist

should know better than to try. Those of you who were at the meeting should remember that there were no objections to my own presentation, which was highly critical

of the American Panthers' United

Front phase. As I remember, the

shit really hit the fan when one of

the white comrades began to explain how there are no ghettos in England. It continued to hit the fan each time a comrade tried to impose a definition of the situation or scheme for liberation that contradicted the real experiences of the black broth-

ers and sisters present. There are plenty of examples of this in recent letters to Socialist Worker. Ian Birchall (26 February) defines the situation of black people in Britain for them as one of 'formal equality' combined with 'subtle attempts' at segregation. He then goes on to specify how black people should struggle against this oppression.

Attempts to transplant the American experience won't do-presumably because such attempts would ignore the peculiar subtlety of British racism. Obviously referring to the British Panthers, Birchall suggests, 'We must clearly distinguish real revolt by the mass of black people from the artificial solutions of small groups who may be out of touch with the mass.' Even if he is uncertain about the Panthers, then, Birchall is at least in favour of 'real revolt'.

But, we can ask, why should there be any "real revolt by the mass" if racism is so subtle? Revolution, after all, is never made for trivial reasons. Birchall has the answer: There is no real revolt. He notes, 'There has been no mass immigrant response to Powell and his allies.'

Birchall is asking us to remain dubious of the Panthers because they do not represent the real revolt that does not exist. This is a problem with a lot of British comrades. They are too much into philosophy.

The fact is, there is revolt, it is. right under their noses where they are most likely to miss it. The Panthers are that revolt.

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## 'Back to Stalin' group seek power in Russia

#### by Chris Harman

IN THE LAST WEEK the western press has been full of stories about a crisis in the Russian government. Apparently a group of old-style Stalinists around Shelepin, Suslov and Mazurov are trying to oust Brezhnev and Kosygin.

The origin of the crisis lies in the inability of the Russian rulers to make industry and agriculture grow at the planned rate.

This was admitted in an important speech by Brezhnev at the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in December when he complained of short-falls below planned targets in coal mining, ferrous metals, cement, chemicals, paper, petro-chemicals, the railways and agriculture (particularly meat, milk and eggs).

## Nature

These failings are not accidental. They follow from the very nature of Russian state capitalism.

For 40 years the whole Russian economy has been subordinated to the needs of competition (chiefly military competition) with the west. In order to build up massive arms and heavy industry, all power has been concentrated in the leaders of the bureaucracy, with any element of control by other sectors of society, especially workers, destroyed.

Consumption levels of the mass of the population have been kept low. Increased production has been mainly of means of production, not of goods to raise living standards.

This is shown by the fact that although the Russian leaders today can build massive supersonic air-



BREZHNEV and. . .



. . . KOSYGIN challenged by . . .



craft, can send missiles into space, can deploy huge armies to invade

Czechoslovakia or threaten China, the Russian workers have an average wage of only £10 a week.

average floor space per inhabitant

In Russian city dwellings, the

is only about seven square metres (according to Russian sources).

Because they do not benefit from increased production and do not have any control over either industry or the state, the workers resent the continual attempts of those above them to force up production. The result is that, over the years, productivity has not risen nearly as much as planned.

The split between the Russian leaders is essentially a split over how to come to terms with this

problem. Since Stalin's death the major trend has been to try and introduce 'reforms' which, by marginally improving conditions for workers and by increasing the powers of local managers to step up incentives in the factories, will achieve higher

## **Split**

productivity.

The present crisis shows that this policy has not been nearly successful enough. Hence the increasing split within the Russian leadership between those who wish to carry out further reforms and those who want to return to many of Stalin's oppressive methods.

But, as the International Socialists have been urging for more than 20 years, neither group can solve the long term difficulties of the Russian economy. For the basic cause of these-the alienation of the workers from control over production and its output-can only be overcome by a massive social revolution.

Only when the economy is controlled by those who work, not by bureaucrats, and when its aim is the satisfaction of human needs, not competition with the west, will the present problems be solved.

#### LETTERS

## David Mercer's 'trivial and shadowy characters'

DAVID EAST'S review of David Mercer's television play The Cellar and The Almond Tree is actually an improvement on the play itself and, but for the review, I couldn't have forced enough interest and energy to write this letter.

David East asks how to explain the regular screening of Mercer's work, overgenerously attributing to Mercer a 'formidable contribution to

the socialist movement'. He sensitively puts a probing finger on Mercer's pessimism but doesn't carry out the essential surgery.

It is no accident that the Countess requires Volubin to enact the role of a lackey. That is how she senses him. Is he a lackey? Why must he seek the keys of the wine cellar from her?

More than wine we know is buried in that cellar. Our history? His history. So what. There are other people and other means to open cellar doors.

I think David East should take himself to see the live stage performance of Mercer's After Haggerty. Here he will perhaps be reassured, for the working class will not identify with or be depressed by the characters acting out the Haggery syndrome.

Haggerty, the fighter, is the ghost in the apartment and is symbolically insured against death by an unseen child whose hunger squeals and a soiled nappy (a new stage prop) intermittently remind the inmates of Haggerty's occupied home of its and fighter Haggerty's existences. All the shady characters owe their employment and sustenance to Haggerty or his subtenant and are curiously but effectively disconnected from the working class.

The father, solidly well acted, comes within recognisable concepts of a working-class-type character, but he, too, bound to his sub-tenant

by largesse, is also stripped of dignity and sterilised. These trivial and shadowy characters are set to act out their little dramas with a backcloth projection of places where real blood dripping revolt is in progress, until the final pieces of symbolism arrive in the shape of a wreath with which our sub-tenant character Bernard garlands his old Dad for Haggerty's sake. Finally the door is opened to give solemn or hilarious entry to the bearers of a coffin also in memory of Haggerty by Haggerty.

There was quite a bit of laughter from the audience but. I thought it had a note of Brian Rix audience participation. Not recommended for marxists-you will have to stick to Brecht and O'Casey yet folks, and you'll have to be content with reading these because you are going to wait long before seeing these serious and hilarious marxist dramas either on the stage or the telly.

I am convinced that Mercer raises no unsafe issues in his work and fails to create middle class revolutionary characters embedded in working-class roots. We must ask why. There is no historical shortage of such characters in their time and place.

But I look forward to more articles of this kind and quality from David East. I am an infinitely lazy writer. He drove me to sharpen my pencil. - ANN FORDYCE, London SW16.

#### CAPITALISM has nothing to offer mankind but exploitation, crises and war. The ruling classes of the world - a tiny minority - subordinate the needs of the vast majority to the blind accumulation of capital in the interests of competitive survival.

Imperialism condemns twothirds of mankind to famine and calls forth movements of national liberation which shake the system and expose its essential barbarism. The constant and mounting preparations for war and the development of weapons of mass destruction place the survival of humanity itself in the balance.

The increasing intensity of international competition between production. ever-larger units drives the workers' living standards and conditions of work, to anti-trade union and anti-strike laws. All of these show capitalism in deepening crises from which it can only hope to escape at the cost of the working class and by the organisations.

collective control of the working class over industry and society through a state of workers'

Only thus can the transition ruling classes to new attacks on be ensured to a communist society in which the unprecedented productive forces thrown up by capitalism can be used to assure an economy of abundance. Only the working class, itself the product of capitalism, has the ability to transform society destruction of all its independent in this way, and has shown its ability to do so in a series of The only alternative is revolutionary struggles unprecworkers' power - the democratic edented in the history of all

previous exploited classes. The working class gains the experience necessary to revolutcouncils and workers' control of ionise society by constant

struggle against the ruling class through the mass organisations thrown up in the course of that struggle.

To overcome the unevenness with which this experience is gained, to draw and preserve the lessons of past struggles and transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to bond the fragmentary struggles against capitalism into a conscious and coherent offensive, a revolutionary Marxist party of socialist militants is required, embracing the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle to build such a party is only part of the wider struggle to create a World Revolutionary Socialist International, independent of alloppressors and exploiters of the working class, whether bureaucratic or bourg eois.

International Socialists therefore fight for: Opposition to all ruling-class

policies and organisations.

Workers' control over production and a workers' state. Opposition to imperialsim and support for all movements of

national liberation. Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racialism and to all migration controls.

Files and student politics IT LOOKS as though Pete Glatter

(12 March) did not read my article on students of 5 March. I did not suggest that the revolt over files meant that students were moving en masse towards socialism. Iagree that by and large the movement has not moved beyond a critical liberalism.

Indeed the point of my article was precisely to point out some of the political implications of the files which the movement and many

of its leaders have not fully grasped. The difference between my approach and that of Pete Glatter's is that I tried to show how political questions are embedded in the files

conflict, while he relied on a completely abstract analysis of the functions of capitalist universities

Pete Glatter would have socialists cut themselves off from the mass movement and reduce themselves to propagandist parasites. Perhaps he needs reminding that most workers' movements are dominated by 'bourgeois ideas', just as much as the students'movement.

Would he suggest that socialists stop taking wage demands seriously and stand on the side as pure critics? Or are students expected to make a super-human leap straight to revolutionary consciousness, which we would not expect of workers? MARTIN SHAW, London N1.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the paper.

## 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.

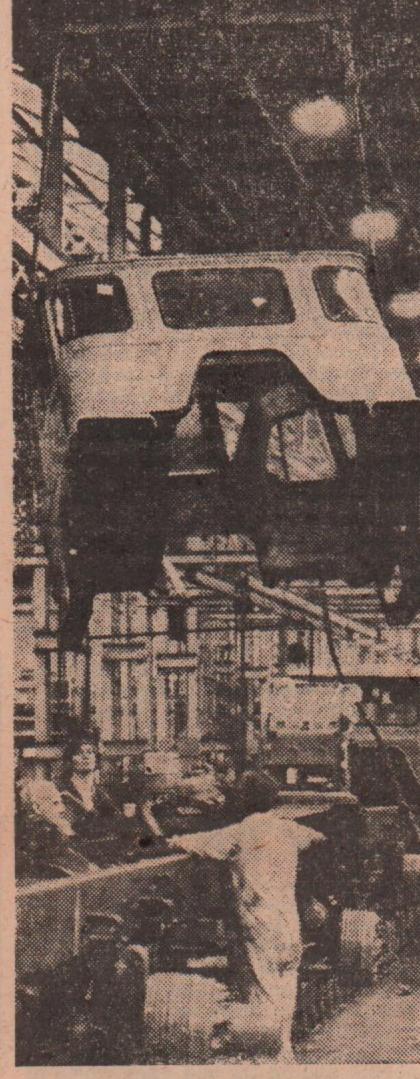
## 'Get rid of stewards' power'

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 me ans 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 mann-

## 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, Mitton, 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 BL-MC, forecast major redundancies within the following few years.

The vicious attack on militant workers that Lord Stokes launched in his recent speech to BLMC share-holders, 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

## 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.

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

## Exit the cowboy, waiting for the American dream to become reality removing the filmsone step further

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 folk-

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 counterrevolutionary 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 that 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 cultfigure of Clint Eastwood and tend in this sense to echo Hollywood by 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.

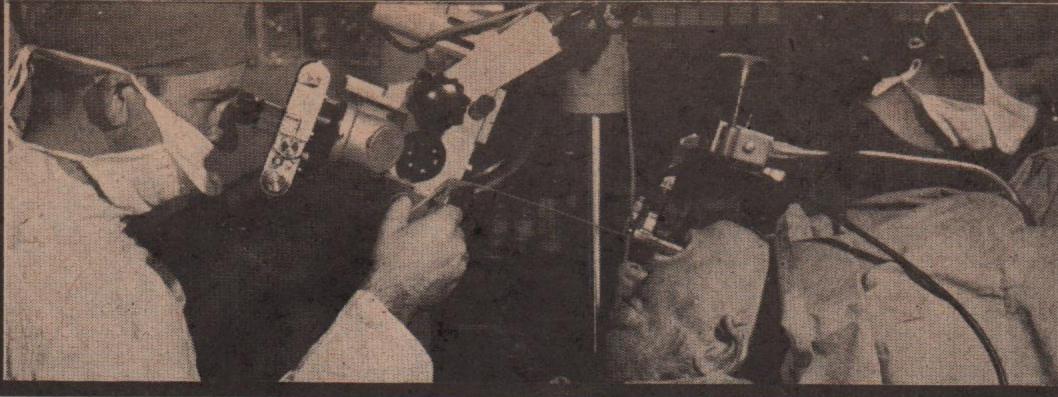
It is thereby underlined that the age of the romantic Billy the Kid figure had to come to an end to be followed by the era of Al Capone and organised crime. As capitalism modernised itself, so crime had to change its methods

The twisted, ironic 'American dream' that haunted the imagination of the cowboy-gangster was taken up and rewoven 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** 







## 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.

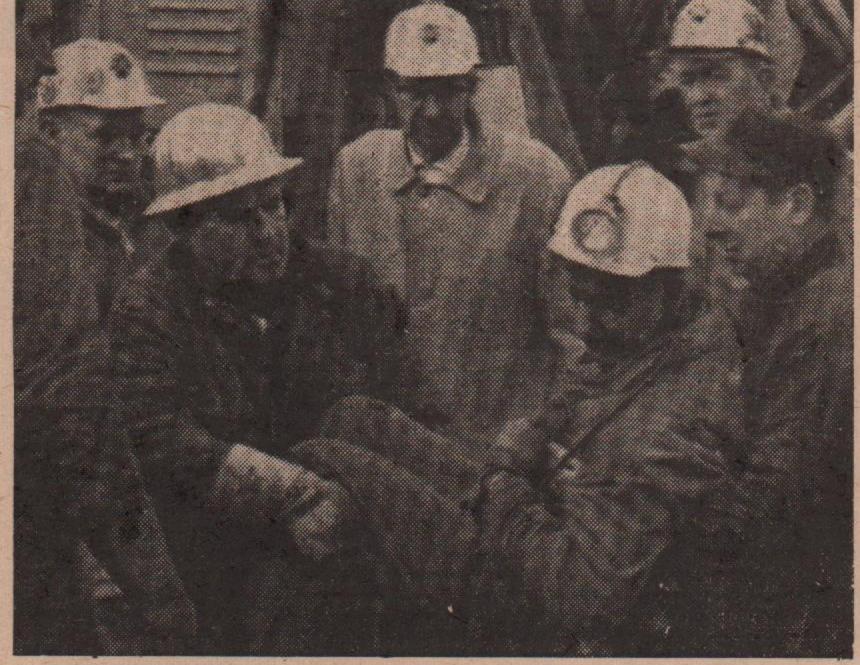
A modest 3½m days are lost from work each year through strikes, exactly a tenth of those lost by bronchitis alone, the condition of the chest known in other countries as the British Disease.

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 ialise in factory medicine. Indeed of the specialised industrial centres, hazards and increase the pace of the world-famous one on the Slough Industrial Estate was closed recently for lack of financial support from

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

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

production to a point where workers

occupational health service to specemployers.

can't afford to take proper safety precautions.

right to strike.

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 emphy-

your job, your wage increase or your

The management may pin up a

safety poster while they continue to

leave untouched long-standing

sema 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 perhaps 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 potage 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 'capital-ism', 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 sameexploitation 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'

## Building bosses and union chiefs gang up on militants

## First of two articles by Frank Campbell (ASW)

OPPOSITE the Houses of Parliament on the south side of the Thames stands the shell of the new St Thomas's hospital, a £13 million building contract.

To the employers such contracts mean more than just profits. They have the added attraction of national coverage by press and television on their completion - a bonanza of backslaps and free commercials.

Logically, the importance placed on them by employers can be understood, but such sites have also great importance for building industry activists. Logically, they view it from an opposite angle.

A five year contract means a chance of good site organisation. Good organisation means wages and conditions well above national average. It means setting wage levels that spur other sites to demand similar plus rate agreements.

On the St Thomas's site the contractor, Laing, decided to take no chances with 'disruptives' and initiated talks with union officials even before the job had started. They had consciously set in motion the back-door negotiations with the top union officials which have now led to one of the most disgusting sell-outs in the history of trade unionism.

### **Detest militants**

Laing, like other employers, know that the top union leadership of the Woodworkers, Painters and Decorators detest the militants and fear their rank and file organisation, the Joint Sites Committee. But they realise that under the present setup the dependency of the bureaucracy on the militants for membership inhibits their ability to discipline them.

Laing therefore set out to establish a site procedure agreement above and beyond the national working rule agreement. Such an agreement, though punitive in content. could not appear so in form. It must also concede 'gains' for the workers, negotiated not by stewards but by the 'responsible' union leadership.

These gains were as marginal as they were uncostly. Included were details such as the quality of the lino on the canteen floor and a pledge to clean the toilets twice a day. 'Management was determined to close off avenues for agitation' (Construction News March 12 1970).

Concessions like these, plus promises that Laing would not stand in the way of trade union membership on the site, was enough for the union bureaucracy to accept Laing's incentive schemes. This would enable Laing to hold wages at £28 to £30 a week. But a third of this would be earned on a productivity scheme on a work study basis.

Should any worker fail to reach 75 per cent of management's work level, a joint investigation by management and union would be held to decide any appropriate action.

A process of building in clauses specific to St Thomas's had been completed and signed by 24 October, 1969 containing all amenity procedural and incentive schemes.

### 'Breach of agreement'

Fortunately building workers on the site did not accept standards of work agreed on their behalf by the full time officials. Throughout the summer, resistance to them took the form of 'working to rule' to lower work norms.

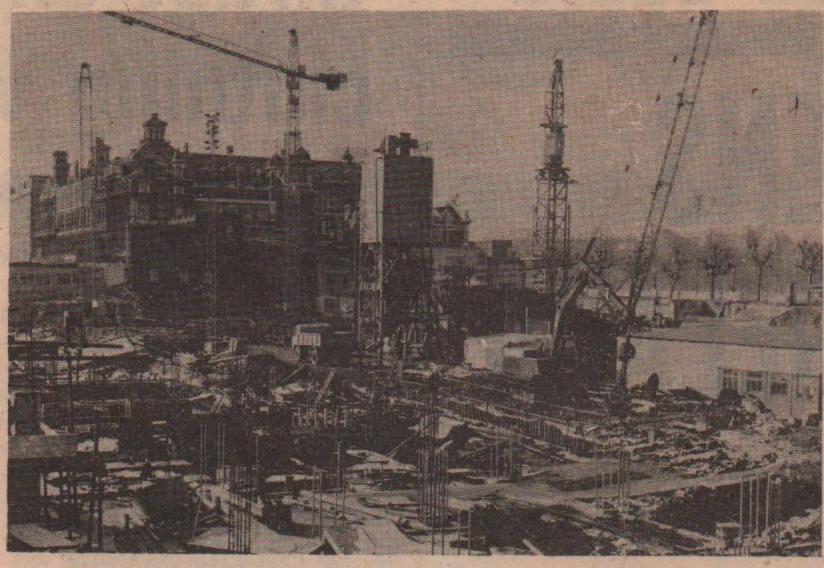
It was regarded as a serious breach of the site agreement in Laing's view. They claimed (ontheir figures) that production had dropped to three days' work in five.

The carpenters were now taking the lead in fighting the agreements foisted on them and other workers on the site. Laing's decided to give the early carpentry work to a sub-contractor called Whelan and Grant who at this time had two disputes with the union on other sites in London,

both pending a disputes panel.

The majority of Lain's carpenters would be found alternative work on other Laing sites-the company would decide who and where.

Needless to say, the young steward and the 'destructive elements' were made redundant. 21 carpenters



The St Thomas's site: the contractor feared that union leaders were on the turn

in all were dismissed and a picket was set up. This was 16 January. The strike was declared official by the ASW executive on the 26.

Much pressure had come from the union London Management (District) Committee. They fully supported the pickets. This was irksome to the executive because of the Management Committee's leftwing majority.

The employees of Whelan and Grant on the Fulham Hospital site had taken a decision to give full support to Laing's carpenters at St Thomas's and had stated they would refuse transfers to the site. It was beyond dispute that Whelan and Grant were using non-union labour.

Forced to give recognition through the growing support from the major sites the ASW were caught in a dilemma. To fight to win meant that their previous policy of acceptance of Laing's productivity scheme could not be held to.

They would be wrecking their own agreement and ending their influence on the site. The first task was to avoid a victory for the militants and the Joint Sites Committee.

An introduction to what happened next is best left to a director of Laing's. 'This was a device to beat the militant leadership. This was achieved as a result of a combination of the contractor and the top union leadership. For the first time something active had been done against these elements, instead of the usual stone walling' (Construction News 12 March 1970).

### **Exalted** praise

To gain such exalted praise from the employer, the policy of the ASW leadership was as follows:

In the third week of the dispute, while Whelan and Grant consolidated themselves on the job, two members of the executive met Laing's representative who informed and convinced them that Whelan and Grant were genuine registered contractors.

'The misinformation' had been the fault of the Management Committee and the organisers concerned. At the second meeting with Laing. ASW general secretary George Smith joined the two executive members. The following decisions were reached that they hoped would end the dispute.

1. Whelan and Grant were recognised as bona-fide sub-contractors. They would not contravene agreement. (What other answer could possibly be expected?)

2. Whelan and Grant would devise and operate an incentive scheme. The ASW would be given access to their employees with the aim of unionising.

3. ASW members made redundant by Laing would be found alternative employment on other Laing sites. 4. All future negotiations would be carried out not by the organiser or district secretary who supported the pickets, but by the full time National Productivity Officer of the ASW.

Construction News poses and answers the question, what's in it for Laing? 'Two years ago top Laing management was deeply worried, believing that the union leadership were on the run in London. The real significance of the St Thomas's settlement is an attempt to regain control by the union leaders.

Management praise was not confined to the ASW alone. Indeed they point out the assistance of other



George Smith, ASW general secretary, helped draw up the agreement that gave special rights to a 'lump' sub contractor and no rights at all to 21 sacked carpenters

building unions in keeping their members at work during the tricky phase of establishing the sub-contractor on the site.

It is also believed that the now unionised labour force of Whelan and Grant are having union dues deducted from their wage packets. This check-off system is completely contrary to union rule. The recently signed national agreement, with its clauses on flexibility of labour and its acceptance in principle of grading, can now be put into operation with a guinea pig labour force that was organised as its reward for blacklegging.

### Occupied headquarters

The reaction of the militants was immediate. Twice in eight days, the ASW headquarters were occupied by deputations of painters and carpen-

Graham Sharpe, the 21-year old steward, was not re-employed by isation was completely ignored by the ASW executive, indeed it must have been tacitly agreed to by them.

The ASW conduct in this matter cannot be explained away with the statement 'they're all bastards'. The real explanation involves and concerns the whole trade union struggle in Britain. They were victims of the overall policy not only of Laing but of the trade union right

The emergence of the 'left' bloc of the TGWU and the AEF has created problems for them. The creation of a similar right wing bloc is now of paramount importance to them.

ters. The decision, however, had been taken. The sell-out was complete. Laing. This blatant piece of victim-

> such places as Bournemouth. souls who chose Bournemouth.

THE RELIGIOUS and political establishment have for some time been bemoaning the declining fervour of religious observance in

## Cottons Column

TALK OF RICH and poor in our society has for some time been thought 'unfashionable' in parts of the labour movement.

It is held that if capitalism exists at all any more it is marked by a considerable growth of equality on income and wealth. The old extremes do not exist any more.

That would be an interesting tale to tell to former employees of British Sound Reproducers in Derry. They had their factory taken away from them some years ago by Dr Daniel MacDonald, boss of BSR, not because it was unprofitable but because he was against recognition of trade unions in principle,

The workers who fought a bitter, weeks' long struggle for recognition at BSR East Kilbride would have something to say about this as well. While average pay at East Kilbride is £16 a week and average dole in Derry less than £10 a week. Dr MacDonald has done well.

Last week he arranged to sell his four-fifths holding in BSR for £15% millions. A tidy sum. And one which will not be subject to tax since Dr MacDonald registered his holding in Bermuda and is, in any case, himself resident in Switzerland.

FOLLOWING publication of a statistical atlas on death rates in Britain, the medical officer of Bournemouth was asked to explain why his town was the healthiest in

'All the rich come here to retire.' he said. 'Wealth can buy health.'

Now as anyone knows, our society is based on freedom, the freedom of choice. And so just like the rich, the poor are free to huddle together in places like Tottenham or Billingham.

Free to live in areas where there are half the number of hospital beds per head of population—and still fewer nurses to tend the fewer beds, where ambulances take twice as long to answer emergency calls and where twice as many babies die in their first year of life as in

And it explains why we rush to get jobs in factories where the accident rates are enormous and where our lives will be 10 years shorter on average than those poor

#### On bended knee

society. One Tory delegate to a

conference declared the other day that 'the decline in Britain's fortunes in the world must have a connection with the fact that so many people have turned their back on our traditions, not least those of church and crown.'

The lady spoke in the true Tory tradition that prayer should have a tangible pay off. For those property racketeers, investors, City bankers and others worried about falling profits, herewith an 18th century prayer composed in 1727 by Mr John Ward, a Whig MP, for a prayer book.

'O Lord, Thou knowest that I have nine houses in the City of London, and that I have lately purchased an estate in fee simple in Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two counties of Middlesex and Essex from fires and earthquakes.

'And, as I have a mortgage in Hertfordshire, I beg Thee to have an eye of compassion on that county, and for the rest of the counties, Thou mayest do with them what Thou art pleased. O Lord enable the Banks to answer all their bills. and make all debtors good men. Give prosperous journey and safe return to the Mermaid sloop, because I have not insured it.

'And because Thou has said: "The days of the wicked are but short" I trust Thee that Thou will not forget Thy promise, as I have an estate in reversion on the death of the profligate young man, Sir J L.'

## Firemen see red

LONDON's firemen have taken their bosses to the High Court. Such is their enthusiasm for their employers that they wish to be instructed not to go through red traffic lights.

The employers, with their deep concern for the sanctity of human life, want them to be able, at their own discretion, to keep going through stop lights when they are on emergency calls.

After a working party had made its recommendations, the Home Secretary refused last May to change the law and establish a unified code for firemen. In many places they are prevented from going through the lights, but not in London. In the whole of the 131 Fire Brigades outside London, there were 22 accident cases recorded against drivers in the five years 1962-67. All the 15 cases that ended up in court happened at traffic lights.

But in London there were 53 such accidents in the same period, 44 at lights. Nineteen drivers arrived in court and 17 were found guilty and fined for dangerous driving.

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

ABERDEEN Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen ACTON Bob Cartwright 27 Bath Road W4 ANGEL Barry Hugill 154 Downham Road N1 ASHFORD Roger Crossley The Schoolhouse, Hamstreet nr Ashford Kent BARNSLEY Joe Kenyon 120 Standhill Crescent BATH Richard Newby 17 Burlington Street Bath BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 18 BRADFORD Neil Patterson 25 Fernhill Grove off Park Rd BRIGHTON Andrew Moir 29 College Road BRISTOL B R Horlock 26 Elmdale Road Bristol 8 CAMBRIDGE Tony Needham 12a Metcalfe Road CAMDEN EAST Richard Kuper 45 Falkland-Rd NW5 CAMDEN WEST Robert MacGibbon 22 Estell Rd NW3 CARDIFF Nigel Walby 35 de Burgh Street CHERTSEY Kevin O'Connell The Flat St Thomas' School Eastworth Rd Chertsey Surrey CLYDEBANK Eric Duncan 1221 Dumbarton Rd Glasgow W4 COVENTRY Dave Edwards 53 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon CRAWLEY T K O'Halloran 42 Haroldslea Drive Horley Surrey CROYDON Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
DEPTFORD John Ure
172a Deptford High Rd SES
DERBY Trevor Cave
80 Prospect St Alfreton Derbyshire DONCASTER Vaughan Harrington
28 Rockingham Rd Wheatley Doncaster
DURHAM Jane Mackay
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11a Rowan Ave Walley Range M16:
Brian White 49b Crescent Park
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Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

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## Socialist Worker

## FAR RIGHT TIGHTENS ITS GRIP IN N. IRELAND

## by Jimmy Greely and Pat Prenderville

AS WE GO to press, the ruling Ulster Unionist Party meets to consider the challenge from its extreme right wing.

Whatever the outcome of the meeting it is clear that the Paisley-ite forces under former ministers
James Craig and Harry West intend to get rid of Chichester-Clark. They regard him as too soft in the interests of Westminster and 'reform'.

Victory for Craig and West will almost certainly be accompanied by an increase in terrorist violence by the militia of the extreme right organised in the UVF and the UPV. The far right is gaining confidence in the face of evidence that Westminster is as anxious as Stormont to appease their demands for the weakening and delay of the programme of 'reforms'.

#### REPRESSION

Stormont has launched already a vicious campaign of repression against the republicans and the left. Members of both the republican movement and People's Democracy have been jailed, while rigged juries and biased judges have acquitted Paisleyite gunmen charged with terrorist offences.

And the authorities have refused to proceed against police officers indicted of murder of a civil rights supporter last year.

In Britain, too, the Special Branch have made their contribution in arranging the conviction of a number of republicans.

It is vital for revolutionary socialists and trade union militants in Britain to expose the role of British imperialism which holds both parts of Ireland subject and it is the Labour government which must take the full responsibility for the drift to civil war in Ireland.

### SOLIDARITY

Immediately our task is to build the solidarity movement with those struggling against imperialism and capitalism in Ireland. For this reason the International Socialists are supporting the demonstration called by Clan na h'Eirean, the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign and other bodies at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, at 2pm this Sunday.

After a meeting there will be a protest march to Downing Street to hand in a notice demanding the immediate release of all Irish political prisoners in Britain and Ireland and the ending of British imperialist domination of Ireland.

## Cold workers threaten occupation

EDINBURGH: On Thursday 12 March, 30 winders held a sit-in the transformer shop of Parsons-Peeble's engineering works. The men were protesting at the temperature of the shop, which was below the minimum laid down by the Factory Act.

The management was taken by surprise but quickly got the foremen and chargehand to appeal to the men to start work again. The workers went back to their machines when the foreman promised to

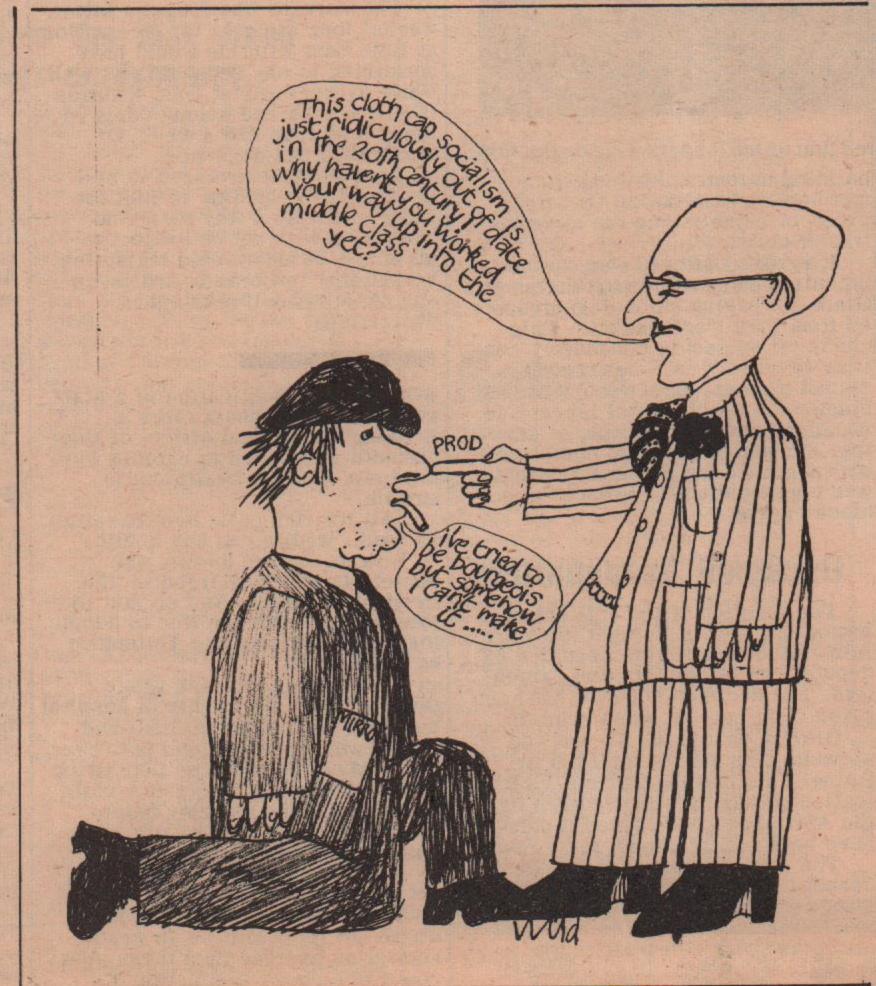
The management gave in to the workers' demand because they knew that other sections of the factory, which employs more than 2000, would have stopped work in solidarity and were prepared to occupy the plant.

DAY EARLY Socialist Worker will appear a day early next week for the Easter holiday.

## NOTICES

MERTON IS lecture series. Sun 22 March 8pm William Morris Hall, Wimbledon Broadway. Spkr John Palmer on The Permanent Arms Economy.

THE SPOKESMAN, a new monthly journal of the Left. Founded by Bertrand Russell. First issue (March) includes an interview with Bertrand Russell recorded shortly before his death Available from BRPF Publications, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham. Price 4/3d post free. Subscription (9issues) 30/-.



## DATA men accuse ASTMS of scabbing

by Dave Peers

MEMBERS of DATA, the draughtsmen's union, at C A Parsons, Newcastle, have been on strike for the last six weeks. The strike, which now involves 185 of the 820-strong membership, is the culmination of a dispute which has been smouldering for the last 18 months over 100 per cent DATA membership among technical staff.

The outstanding and disturbing aspect of this dispute is the role played by the supervisors' union, ASTMS, as a willing tool of the Parson's management. When DATA started its drive to recruit the unorganised sections of the monthly staff, ASTMS, which had no previous strength in the factory, suddenly appeared on the scene, and with company encouragement, started to enrol the same people.

The appearance of Clive Jenkin's union coincided with a new tough attitude adopted by Parsons towards DATA. This was signalled by the appointment of 'sack-'em' Jack Henderson as industrial relations manager, who proceeded to repudiate both written and verbal agreements made with DATA

#### Narrow attitudes

The traditionally anti-union attitudes of the higher qualified technical staff were problem enough without the intervention of ASTMS, which has based its recruitment on appeals to the same narrow and pretentious attitudes. The following extract from the factory bulletin of the ASTMS Office Group gives some idea of their style:

'Thus DATA will try to make everything seem rosy while recruiting, but afterwards the price will have to be paid, and it is the progressive levelling of salaries and status and the establishment of a parity between draughtsmen and technicians and professional staff.

'We would ask you not just to refrain from joining DATA, since this is purely negative and can only show results for a limited time, but to join ASTMS and make sure your voice is heard in constructive negotiations.

'STOP PRESS! At their national conference last week DATA has

agreed to amalgamate with the AEUthis completely ruins any credibility in their claim to be the union to represent professional staff.'

A mass meeting of DATA members from the division on 12 March unanimously condemned the action of the company and the employers' federation as a deliberate attack upon DATA as an organisation. It pledged full support for the Parsons members in their struggle.

Ken Gill, speaking on behalf of the union executive, gave their full backing to the dispute. He pointed out how the company was 'using ASTMS as a pretext to destroy DATA's organisation which has been so effective over the years'.

One final irony of the strike is that the overtime payments won by DATA for the monthly staff are subsidising the blackleggings. The bitterness of this dispute can be felt in the remark of Terry Rodgers, chairman of the joint office committee, when he referred to these men, many of whom are ASTMS members, as 'using our agreement to scab on us'.

# Crooked pay deal thrust on clothing workers

## by Vince Hall

LEEDS:- Many tailoring workers have been scratching their heads this week over their new pay offer. 25,000 clothing operatives were out on unofficial strike for three weeks in February. They went back on the demand that they should have a full shilling an hour rise backdated from the national agreement of 1 January.

The demand was backed up by the threat of a further strike by the militant Leeds clothing ladies. At first the talks between the tailors union, the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, and the Clothing Manufacturers' Federation were deadlocked but last week the new offer was announced.

Everyone was astounded at first when they heard that the union had got them more then they had demanded. But then a few of the older and wiser heads began to work out all the ins-and-outs of the new offer.

Originally the workers wanted a shilling an hour instead of the 5d for men and the 4d for women in the miserly 1970 agreement. The new offer added on to this 4d for men and 5d for women from 1 April and the same again from 30 September.

	Men	Women		
Jan 1	5d	4d		
April 1	4d	5 d		
Sept 30	4d	2d		
	1s 1d	1s 2d		

But when these hourly rates are summed up for each year then the so-called generosity of the employers is shown in its true light. It will take the women until the middle of 1972 to reach the level of the old demand and the men until the beginning of 1974.

New Pay Offer			Old Pay Demand			
1970	Men £78		men 78		Both £104	
1971	£190	13 4 £1	99 6	8	£208	
1972	£303	6 8 £3	20 13	4	£312	
1973	£416	£4	42		£416	

As the old story goes, you don't get something for nothing. This is why the strike liaison committee militants are advocating keeping the old demand, scrapping the 1970 agreement and then pushing for a big interim payment before 1972.

The offer is to be discussed at the recall conference of the NUTGW at Easter. Some of the delegates—mainly the old shop stewards, male cutters and right wing—are in favour of the new offer plus all the strings of the 1970 agreement.

#### Tear it up

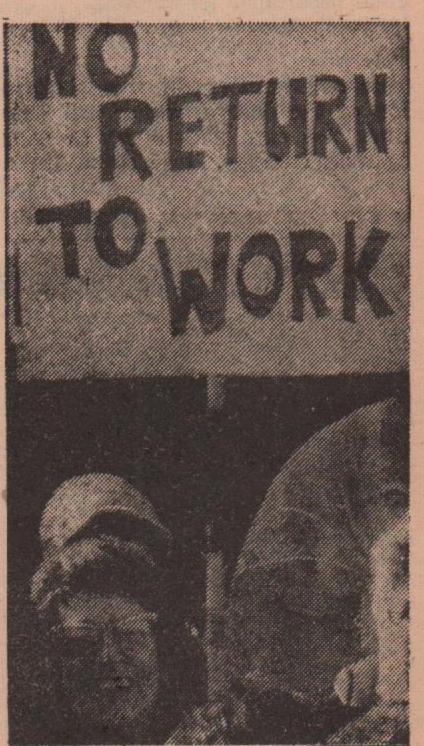
The militants and the vast majority of Leeds workers are in favour of tearing up the agreement, with its productivity and standard-timing clauses, and getting the straight shilling. Leeds no 1 and no 2 branches have passed resolutions to this effect and nos 3 and 4 will almost certainly follow their lead.

The union has tried all kinds of twists and turns to keep militancy under control. Its latest manoeuvre was to nominate replacement delegates for the conference—an entirely unconstitutional move.

Workers have elected their own representatives in opposition to this.

The union are claiming that they have won a great victory for the tailors. But the members in Leeds remain unimpressed.

Jack MacGougan, the union general secretary said in the union magazine The Garment Worker in February that: 'Generally speaking, the



Determined women workers during the February strike

agreement was well received by our membership'. This man has never been elected to his office but moved up when the last president retired early.

'The major issue for this union in the 1970s is that of equal pay for work of equal value. . . If this long-sought after goal is to be a reality rather than an empty principle a great deal of new thinking will be required within the industry and by our members'.

This was published when 20,000 women were on strike against his lousy, unequal pay deal.

The workers in Leeds have been and must continue to get their delegates ready to put their demands at Easter. The new crooked deal must be thrown out.

When women have more than £8 to make up to get equal pay with men and are only offered a 1d an hour more, then the dynamite has already been laid for the next explosion.

## 'Tyred' union buster gets busted

A NEW get-tough-with-the-workers personnel manager at Dunlop's Speke factory decided to keep a close eye on 'troublemakers' who were planning to mount a picket at the plant during a dispute.

He arranged for a police car to be kept 'discreetly' near the gates on the morning when the picket started. He also planned to get up early and take a look at the men.

But he was not used to early rising. He overslept, drove furiously to the factory—and was arrested for speeding by the policemen in the discreetly placed patrol car.

## Militant Scots teachers demand parity with England

#### by Kathie Finn

FOR A LONG TIME, Scottish teachers have been lagging behind in wage awards. The government has enforced its income policy on this weak section of the community.

Now, at last, an attempt is being

England and Wales have separated pay scales from Scotland. Scottish teachers have fallen further and further behind the English scales. Now, with their £120 pay award. the

English teachers are 25 per cent

ahead at least on the primary scales.

The Educational Institute of
Scotland (EIS) are fighting for a
27½ per cent increase but already

are showing signs of compromise.
They have never at any point said they were fighting for parity with England despite pressure from their members.

Only the rank and file has kept them from accepting the 15 per cent. Schools sent in telegrams, letters and phone calls telling the negotiating committee not to accept 15 per cent.

This militant upsurge is mainly due to the fighting example shown by English teachers. Their campaign has been followed with great interest and has proved the inspiration for the campaign now being conducted in Scotland.

Interest is also being shown in the role of the paper Rank and File and an attempt is being made to establish a Scottish edition.

Edinburgh has established the most successful Rank and File group by leafletting schools called out on strike and inviting them to a meeting. This is also being done in Glasgow and Aberdeen. A meeting in East Kilbride has produced a useful core of militants.

Rank and file supporters have decided to campaign within the EIS to demand the full 27½ per cent. They are also campaigning for the EIS to affiliate to the Scottish TUC. Only when teachers recognise themselves as members of the working class, with the need to fight on a class basis, will they achieve their

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