

* Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



The inside story of how the bureaucrats ignored the shop floor

FORD WORKERS FIGHT UNION CAPITULATION

JIM LAMBORN Dagenham, Wednesday

ON MONDAY FEBRUARY 24, Ford workers, led by the shop stewards movement, will begin the first trial of strength with the employers since 1962, when 17 stewards were sacrificed and the union bureaucrats walked by on the other side of the road.

Three hundred and fifty stewards voted on Tuesday night to back the convenors' weekend call for strike action unless the management offers an improved wage plan.

Last autumn, when the rising cost of living and a widening gap with Midlands car rates created great pressure at shop-floor level for a pay increase, Ford refused to negotiate. Management said that a two-year pay deal signed in July 1967 could not be altered.

A one-day token strike was fixed for October 18 but it was suspended when the rank and file were told the company had written to the unions offering to talk on pay and a 'guaranteed week'—the right to be paid while laid-off through outside disputes.

Treated with derision

When Ford's proposals were published they included penalties of loss of sick pay and lay-off pay for 'unconstitutional action'. Such demands were treated with derision by the rank and file and under their pressure the union members of the negotiating committee went back for fresh talks.

They returned with proposals of 9d and 10½d an hour increase, £20 more in holiday bonus and two-thirds more pay for lay-offs. Sick pay and pension offers were withdrawn and holiday bonus increases and lay off pay were still subject to each worker not taking part in 'unconstitutional action' during the year.

The strings still angered the men on the shop floor. They could not understand how the unions could reject similar proposals in the Donovan report on the unions but accept them when Ford cracked the whip.

Voted to accept

On February 11 there was a hurried meeting of the national negotiating committee. Fifteen out of 22 union representatives turned up and, without consulting their members, voted by seven votes to 5 with one abstention to accept the pay offer.

There was uproar when the news reached the shop floor. The idea that management could take any action it liked against the men and then cut £20 from their pay if they retaliated struck at the heart of every working man's principles.

The praise lavished on the plan by union tycoons Mark Young, ETU—'bold and imaginative proposals'—and Jim Conway, AEF—'for once the trade unions are being constructive'—stuck in the men's throats.

The convenors' meeting last Sunday gave total support for strike action. The resentment towards the union executives who accepted the agreement against their members' wishes was felt throughout the plant.

The Transport Workers' union which abstained from voting, decided the strings were not acceptable and said negotiations should be re-opened. The AEF (engineering section) voted against the deal and said they would not sign and would support their stewards. The General and Municipal Workers voted for the package.

What a farcical situation! The three major unions vote three different ways, yet their members are unanimous in opposing the deal. The union bureaucracies are completely out of touch with the rank and file.

Jim Conway said on Monday after the convenors' meeting: 'They are just convenors and have no negotiating rights'. In other words, the rank and file are second-class citizens and should be kept in their place.

Contrary to what Bro. Conway says it is time that negotiations were conducted from the shop floor. The convenors move among the

turn to back page



Police with steel-tipped batons seen charging an anti-government demonstration

Student-worker revolt shakes Ayub

From a Special Correspondent

AFTER TEN YEARS of tyranny, events in Pakistan seem to be moving with a rapidity similar to that of France in May 1968—with one basic difference.

The Pakistani ruling class, unlike its French counterpart, is in a state of total disintegration and there is a three-way split in the ruling Ayub faction itself.

The struggle was detonated by Left-wing students at universities in both east and West Pakistan. Students came out on the streets to protest against the arrest of Zulfiqar Bhutto, the former Foreign Minister, who has recently been taking a 'radical' position.

Bhutto's arrest sparked off riots throughout west Pakistan last November. Since then universities and schools throughout the country have been shut.

The amazing thing, however, is that despite the arrest of virtually every single student leader in the country, the struggle continued unabated and new representatives were elected on to action committees.

The main demands of the student movement are:

1. The overthrow of the Ayub regime—they have pledged to continue the struggle until this happens.

2. The release of all political prisoners.

3. Nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and major industrial units.

As the student struggle developed and as the student movement showed no signs of being crushed, the workers began to emerge onto the streets.

BYPASSED

There were sympathetic strikes by workers in both east and west Pakistan, strikes which completely bypassed the official union leadership and finally forced the Maoists to come out in clear-cut opposition to the Ayub regime.

The emergence of the Maoists, belated though it is, has undoubtedly revolutionised the struggle. In Lahore, 50,000 railway workers came out on strike and marched through the streets with red flags chanting 'smash capitalism'.

In Dacca (E. Pakistan) more than 50,000 jute-mill workers ransacked managing directors' offices in various jute mills. Significantly they left the machinery

intact and the army had to be called out to disperse them. Several workers were shot dead.

The situation at the moment is extremely fluid—more than 50 workers and students have been killed by the dictatorship and it seems that more will lose their lives.

The ingredients of a revolutionary situation are present—but unfortunately there is no disciplined Bolshevik party in Pakistan. It is possible that the Ayub regime will be overthrown in the next few weeks and a new bourgeois opposition coalition government will take power.

This government will undoubtedly include Mr. Bhutto, who is emerging as the Keren-sky of Pakistani politics. The movement still needs and still waits for a revolutionary alternative.

Nixon visit

LEFT-WING groups met in London on Monday to plan protest demonstrations against US President Richard Nixon who arrives in Britain on Monday. Supporters are asked to assemble in Grosvenor Square on Monday, February 24, at 7.30 pm

UNITY IN ACTION

EDITORIAL

NEXT WEEK is an important one for the socialist and trade union movement. The Ford strike starting on Monday and the one-day national strike on Thursday are significant examples of the growing determination of sections of workers to defend their rights and improve their conditions against an alliance of government, employers and union leaders.

February 27 is a strike against the government's White Paper on trade union reform. No doubt the numbers who stop work will be counted in thousands rather than millions—nevertheless it will be the first national political strike since 1926.

Workers are linking up across industrial boundaries to challenge the right of the government to interfere in their unions. The fragmented and isolated nature of working-class resistance since the war is beginning to break down.

Streamline

Why is the government prepared to sever its few remaining links with the trade unions by introducing new legal sanctions? Wilson and company are modernisers in the sense that they wish to streamline society as it exists, not to fundamentally change it.

They accept that industry must be competitive in world markets. Profits must be increased—and workers' wages must be held down to ensure this.

But the incomes policy has not been altogether successful. Last year, earnings rose by six per cent, largely through 'wage drift', that is the efforts of shop floor bargainers to win local increases and bonus schemes.

That is why the government is keen to bring in legal sanctions to take power away from shop stewards and place bargaining power solely in the hands of safe and reliable full-time officials.

Shackles

The widening gap between rank and file and union officials is seen most clearly at Fords. The giant car firm made £200m profits last year and is the pace-setter in Measured Day Work that has led to its workers' wages rising at a much slower pace than other car workers'.

Now Ford has offered a pay deal not so much with strings but with cast-iron shackles.

Ford workers will get an increase if they agree to ban 'unconstitutional' (unofficial) strikes. Women workers can have equal pay if they agree to tear up the Factories Act, work night shifts and disrupt their family life.

Convenors and stewards have rejected the deal but a majority of union officials voted to accept it, knowing that such a plan would put power back into their hands to police their members for the employers.

Determination

The rejection of this miserable betrayal is an inspiring example of the determination of the rank and file to fight for their rights. We hope the Ford workers will join the lobby next Thursday to express their solidarity with those prepared to fight the government as well as the employers.

As the dockers have shown this week, determination can bring the bosses to heel. A united working class can bring the system to a halt and pose the alternative of workers' power. February 27 is a move in that direction.

Ulster call to break new law

From SEAN REED

THE CIVIL RIGHTS Campaign in Northern Ireland which sparked off the present crisis inside the ruling Unionist Party here took the stage again last Sunday.

More than 100 delegates from many parts of the province gathered in Belfast for the annual meeting of one of the three main organisations in the movement, the Civil Rights Association.

One proposal made was that when the new Public Order Act is passed, Civil Rights meetings should be held at all major centres

throughout the province, with a mass demonstration in Belfast, possibly with supporters marching in from outlying districts.

Challenge

A committee of 14 was elected with three new members, Michael Farrell, and Kevin Boyle of Peoples Democracy, the militant student group and Vincent McDowell, a leading Left-wing member of the Labour Party. Michael Farrell is the Peoples Democracy candidate for Bannside, where he is challenging Prime Minister O'Neill.

A series of resolutions were passed which called for a study in depth by the executive of a campaign of mass civil disobedience. Another resolution called for the demand of 'one man, one job' and 'one family, one house' to be given equal value to the demands of 'one man, one vote'.

IN DERRY, an ad-hoc group has been formed called 'Save the Civil Rights' campaign and is collecting signatures on a petition calling for the resignation of John Hume and Ivan Cooper from the Derry Citizens Action Comm-

tee.

Cooper, chairman and Hume, vice chairman of the committee are contesting seats as independents in the election.

Split vote

Hume has split the vote for Eamonn McCann who is standing as a Labour candidate against the leader of the Green Tories, Eddie McAteer. Hume and Cooper both say they are not using the movement for their own ends. Both opposed the march from Belfast to Derry, both supported the truce with O'Neill.

bruary 27 + Hands off the unions + Defend the rank and file + All out on February 27 + Hands off the unions + Defe

Industrial militants under the hammer to boost bosses' profits

by MIKE McGRATH
Building worker AUBTW

WHAT IS THE meaning for socialists of the government White Paper on trade unions—In Place of Strife—and the flood of Prices and Incomes Board reports?

It is vital that we understand that these documents are not written objectively. Those who write and enforce them have one aim—to make British capitalism competitive in the world markets.

To do this they must hold back your wage increases while their profits rise.

This is achieved by decisively weakening shop-floor organisation and absorbing the trade unions into the state structure, to form the much talked of 'unholy alliance' of government, employers and trade unions. Let us see what the White Paper proposes:-

REGISTERED

1 That eventually all union agreements should be registered. 'The Manpower and Productivity Service of the Department of Employment and Productivity will use the registered agreements to ascertain where improvements are most needed and where advice will be most helpful and will take the appropriate follow-up action' (my emphasis).

2 Legally enforceable contracts between unions and employers if they so wish. We can be sure our present sorry lot of trade union leaders will be quite prepared to make these contracts binding—with a little pressure from the employers—say an extra 1/2 an hour.

3 Workers' representatives on boards of directors. If we can't beat them, let's absorb them.

NO APPEAL

4 Imposition of fines on trade union stewards through an industrial board if procedure is not followed completely. There is no means of appeal, and fines will be deducted straight from the pay packet (you won't even have the option of going to jail). The effect of going through procedure, a 28-day cooling-off period and a strike ballot on a build-up site for instance would often result in the employer getting half the job done on the cheap with no guarantee of a 'favourable result for the workers in the end.

5 A 28-day cooling-off period during which the situation returns to that which existed before the strike. A strike is often caused by an accumulation of conflicts, so who is say how far back the dispute

goes before the 'status quo' is reached? Most important of all the enthusiasm that gave rise to the strike will be weakened.

6 Imposition of ballots before official strikes with the state determining the form of question on the ballot paper. The government is particularly anxious to ward off national strikes. The one-day engineering strike last year accounted for 30 per cent of days lost through disputes. Tremendous pressure would be put on workers by the way in which questions were phrased—and such ballots would approach workers as individuals. We believe that strike decisions should be taken by mass meetings in the factories.

APPROVAL

7 Unions must submit their constitutions to the industrial board for approval on matters concerning admissions, discipline, disputes, elections, strike ballots, appointment and function of shop stewards, on pain of financial penalty.

No model rules are given but we can be sure they won't be in our favour. For example, the government wants all executive union members to be full-timers for greater 'efficiency', elected for longer periods of office. How about stewards being approved by their unions in order that militants may be weeded out? 8 Unions should be liable to be sued in court for all cases other than a 'trade dispute'. Who defines a trade dispute—the unions or the employers? 9 Penalties on employers for sacking non-union workers in closed shops—i.e. effective opposition to 100 per cent shop floor organisation.

The White Paper also makes provision for unfairly dismissed employees to appeal to an Industrial Tribunal. So in future, when a militant is sacked, his fellow workers will be told not to strike by their union official as the matter will be sent to arbitration.

The militant may be awarded compensation but not reinstated and the shop organis-

ation would be broken. What firm wouldn't pay say £100 to get rid of a militant and avoid a strike.

The legislation is designed to enforce and lengthen procedure while leaving the unions to police the agreements with the state in the background.

This means a drastic weakening of shop-floor organisation, as full-time officials increasingly dominate the picture.

Can we on the Left realistically hope to defeat the legislation? The answer must be no.

The government will steamroller it through as it did the closely related incomes policy. However, the fundamental conflict between we who create the wealth and those who own and control it will continue and will find expression in new forms.

Many militants, especially those in the Communist Party, will no doubt go on advising us that the solution lies in electing 'Left-wing' union officials.

But the increasing hostility towards union officials and their sell-outs makes this attitude hard to accept.

RESTRICTED

In any case, union leaders, right or 'Left', are restricted by circumstances beyond their control (see points 2, 4 and 7 above) and the PIB imposes the sole criterion for wage increases—more productivity (i.e. more work from each equals less work for all).

While not advocating complete withdrawal, revolutionary socialists should be selective in their trade union activity.

Attention should be focused on the sole remaining expression of a genuine labour movement—the shop stewards who are directly elected by the rank and file.

They may fight job evaluation on one front, combine to fight a single but powerful employer in several places, unite across a single industry and eventually find a common strength across many industries.

This is not 'pie in the sky'

or an idealisation of shop stewards. It is simply that all other options are now closed.

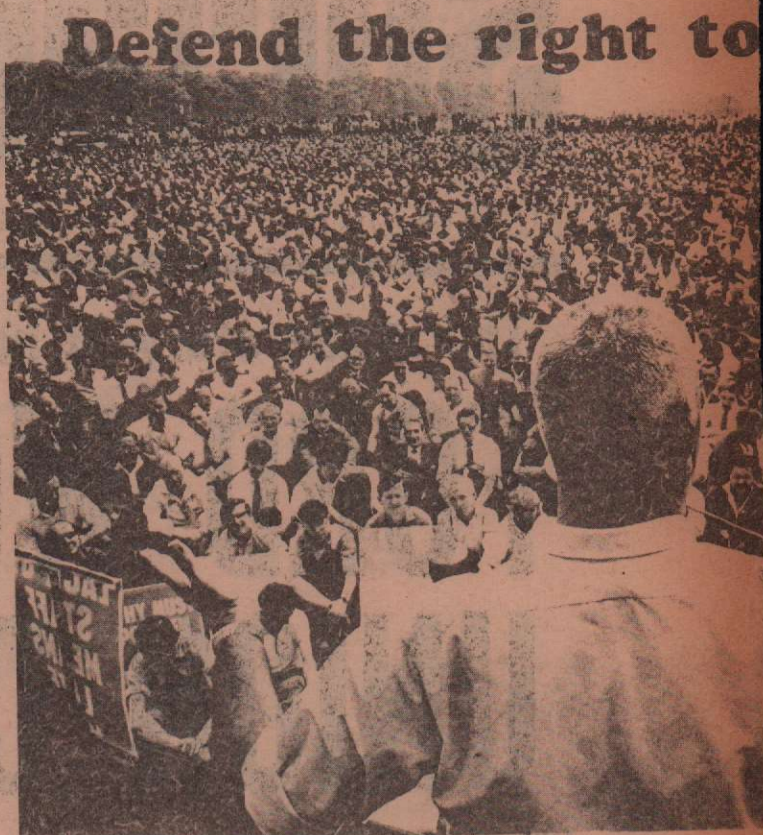
The union officials will be let off the hook of rank and file pressure ('look, lads, I'd like to help, but it's illegal') and a change of government will only mean more repressive legislation.

The coming struggle will be seen as a political one because the movement will grow out of the rejection of unions as the main arena of struggle.

The role of revolutionary socialists will be to propose the creation of shop stewards' combine committees, to fight wherever possible for their political ideas, and to service the movement with research and production of leaflets.

Opposition to the proposed legislation should begin immediately with all-out support for the national one-day strike on February 27 originally called for by the Scottish miners.

Militants will not be fooled into thinking that the class struggle can be watered down into mere 'strife' and then mopped up with yet another soggy White Paper.



Defend the right to
More and more sections of the organised starting to challenge the employers' and 'Incomes Policy', a policy designed deliberately to reduce workers' wages and conditions in order to encourage investment. The fight back is and butter' demands. Now as factories, prepare for a national strike against anti-three militants analyse the employer/gov

Productivity—the new tool to screw that threatens jobs

by CHRIS DAVIS
London busman

TEN YEARS AGO the employers stock reply to our wage claim was 'No, I can't afford it'.

We knew where we stood and if the employer was ICI or Unilever or almost any other industrial giant we could show with ease that they could afford it.

Today the boss says, 'Yes, of course you can have an increase BUT because of the Prices and Incomes Board and in the 'national interest' you will have to pay for it with increased productivity'.

Individual employers have always adopted an 'incomes policy'—usually to give as little as they can get away with. They have also sought to offset wage increases with speed-up and other methods of work intensification.

Rulers' advantage

What is new is the close partnership of government and the employing class as a whole in an offensive against workers' standards, conditions and organisation.

Central to this offensive is the 'productivity deal'. By presenting the issue as one of 'productivity' rather than 'wage freeze' the ruling class are at a considerable advantage, particularly in terms of propaganda.

They hope to convince workers that the person we would once have denounced as a greedy employer trying to tie strings to a wage deal is really only a patriotic gov'nor, improving efficiency in the national interest.

Through the press and TV they wish us to believe that the selling of conditions is the 'normal' method of getting a wage increase.

Now, they hope, instead of workers' representatives presenting a list of demands it will be the employers who put forward a list of 'concessions'.

Already the 'leaders' of London's busmen have, in recent wage talks, been given just such a list—each item

priced in pounds, shillings and ounces.

Apart from the direct gains to the employer resulting from specific concessions in any productivity deal, he knows that there are other, less specific but potentially more important things to be gained.

By replacing piece work by measured day work, where applicable, and cutting out systematic overtime, he can eliminate two fields in which the shop steward has considerable power.

Under the cover of negotiating a productivity deal the boss will hope to get the stopwatch into every part of the factory where, under normal conditions, it would be strongly resisted.

With each turn of the wage screw, trade union leaders have found themselves in an increasingly awkward dilemma. How can they win wage increases that will even partially satisfy the rank and file membership without a direct confrontation with the employers and the government—a confrontation which their commitment to state controlled capitalism prevents them from even considering.

Limited value

As the railwaymen have found to their cost, the bluff of industrial brinkmanship has a very limited value.

Productivity solves the dilemma. Frank Cousins can happily oppose wage freeze that maintains our working conditions at the cost of declining real wages yet at the same time extol the virtues of productivity deals that maintain our real wages at the cost of our conditions.

The interests of employers and the trade union bureaucracy converge in their desire to call the rank and file to order. Under the demand for experts to evaluate, implement and police the deal, productivity provides the opportunity to achieve this.

For the Labour government, committed to salvaging the British economy for the ben-

efit of the ruling class, productivity deals are of tremendous importance.

If workers can be persuaded to pay for their own increases, which in any case will rapidly be eaten away by inflation, and at the same time sell some of their jobs (through redundancy or 'natural wastage') then not only will industrial costs be cut and British goods become more competitive in the economic battlefield, but the 'pool of unemployed', so beloved by economists, will help in the task of disciplining the workers.

Unity of interest

The great pressure for productivity deals becomes an unparalleled unity of interest between the individual employer, the employing class in general, the government and the trade union leaderships.

As workers we should conclude that the sweet talk of benefits for all is just eyewash. What we get out of any deal will, as with any other negotiations, depend entirely on our strength, organisation and determination to fight.

Is it correct then to maintain a complete and absolute opposition to productivity and all its works? Should the employers be told what they can do with their productivity deals?

For both tactical and political reasons such a negative approach is wrong.

The majority of workers, without access to the experience of other productivity deals, will tend to look at their own proposed deal at face value.

They see relatively large increases offered, they welcome the chance to maintain earnings without overtime, they tend to undervalue any conditions that are to be lost—at

least until it they will nee cing that a their own sh ation.

By just a rank and file very real r isolated. T weapon for the workers to 'We'd have better offer that deal'.

Even me taking a neg hand the em ganda victory talk of 'effi isation', 'sc ning', all workers are ted to. But a reply is 'No'.

By raising productivity forcing politi floor. We m challenge.

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SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-

WHERE WE STAND

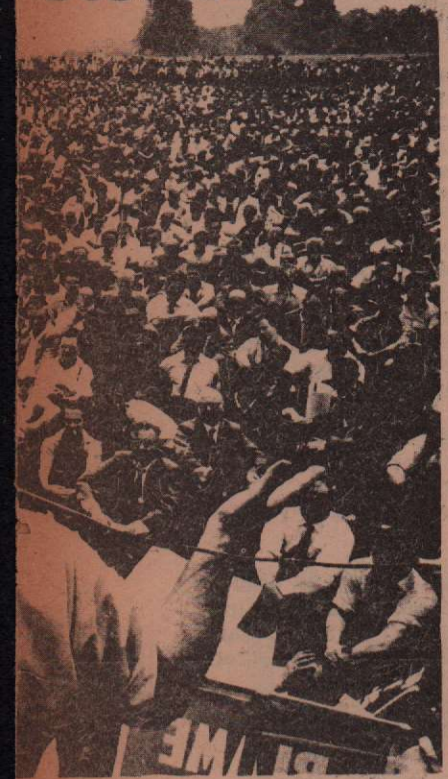
mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

strike



Labour movement are Labour governments erately to cut back on to increase profits and going beyond 'bread mines and shipyards union laws on Thursday, ernment attack

Turn of the wages and conditions

SON TGWU

is too late, and ed some convin- deal will weaken op-floor organis- saying 'No', the e leaders run a sk of becoming ey provide a e most backward str up trouble-- been £4 a week you'd accepted e important, by ative attitude, we ployers a propa- on a plate. They ency', 'modern- ence' and 'plan- working because the social disadvantages outway the economic benefits--that's our definition of productivity. In other words we use the socialist idea of 'production for use' as our counter to the demands for increased productivity.

Faise guise

By raising these questions we demonstrate to our own trade union members how false is the guise adopted by the employer and so strengthen our position in facing the productivity deal itself. Again the offensive is the important tactic. Demands must be raised from the beginning that will either be conceded and allow the shop stewards to draw the teeth from the deal or they will be refused and begin to convince workers of how much is to be lost through the deal. Such initial demands must include:
1. A cast iron 'no redundancy' guarantee.
2. The right to reopen past productivity improvements and be paid for them.
3. No negotiations without the presence of shop stewards.
4. The stewards of shops concerned in any change of practice must negotiate.

Winning seats and wooing 'progressives' - the CP's road to disaster

by TOM HILLIER
Engineering worker AEF

WILL PAYNTER, former miners' leader and communist has defected from the Labour movement and accepted a post on the newly formed Commission on Industrial Relations. No one should be surprised on the Left. It is astonishing that it took the Labour government so long to recognise and reward his valuable contributions to industrial peace in the mining industry in a period of pit closures and large scale sackings. For my money he should have received the Queen's award to industry.

GUILTY

But Paynter should not be singled out for this individual act of betrayal. His former colleagues on the executive of the British Communist Party are equally guilty. Their loyalty to Moscow and its programme of co-existence with capitalism, could only lead to compromise and betrayals. The party's adoption of The British Road to Socialism and its reaction to anti-communist propaganda in the 1950s resulted in a frantic and vulgar desire to gain a respectable image. Respectability demands placing the party's main emphasis on parliament and wooing the middle class instead of fighting to build a mass industrial base. Yet

the party did disastrously in the last election and the sales of the daily paper have slumped since the name was changed from Daily Worker to uncommitted, respectable Morning Star. The party has wooed all those in the upper and middle class it considered to be 'progressive elements'. Marx in the Communist Manifesto described them well: 'Economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole in the corner fanatics of every imaginable kind.' But even Marx didn't envisage hordes of priests and curates attending meetings called by the Christian-Marxists. What price the opium of the people, spooned out in generous doses by the Vanguard Party? Naturally participation in middle-class movements was the logical outcome of such a liaison. After first denouncing the anti-bomb marchers of CND, the party changed its mind (No doubt influenced by the numbers and its connections with many of the reformists in CND's ranks) and jumped on the bandwagon. Thus we had the spectacle of the party supporting a march against the 'capitalist' bomb while stoutly defending the Soviet Union's right to retain its 'workers' bomb.

But the policy of uniting with middle-class progressives (itself a declaration of abandonment of class struggle) wasn't followed by a call for unity of the fragmented working class. **ISOLATION** Industrial battles were fought in isolation and were, as now, mainly unofficial. The alleged advantages of having a 'Left' official in your union were not apparent. The role of the Left in persuading men to return to work and leave the negotiating to them differed in no meaningful way from that of the Right-wingers. Many of these struggles were led by Communist Party militants, often against the Party's instructions. Attempts by the workers themselves to control their struggles and to develop links with other workers were denounced by officials Left and Right as Trotskyist adventures. The former president of the Electrical Trades Union, Communist Frank Foulkes, denounced unofficial movements in the electrical industry 'because they could ruin it'. He never said who for. Not to be outdone, Will Paynter slated miners for absenteeism in March 1967. The main theme of the CP's industrial strategy has been and remains still the winning of official positions in the union hierarchies. Such positions are almost wholly bureaucratized and integrated into the capitalist system but that doesn't deter the party. Even the most radical official cannot escape from the straitjacket which the union structure imposes on him. The union members gain little, if anything, from such exercises. The CP's attitude means that the role of the rank and file is not to develop their political knowledge and organisational strength in order to challenge the employers and prepare the class for the overthrow of the capitalist

system and the building of the new socialist society. They are not required to link up their struggles above and beyond the limits of their particular area of industry. They are relegated to the passive role of electing Communist and Left officials and rallying support for them. This is not a call to abandon the trade unions to the reformists and the Right wing-but it must be recognised that the real strength and potential lies not with the top sell-out merchants but with the rank and file.

SOLD OUT

Let the supporters of 'Left' officials compare the actions of the Left-controlled unions with those of the Right. Can anyone honestly say there is any marked difference? Progressive resolutions or a democratically-worded constitution count for little when productivity deals and strikes are sold out year in and year out. The flirtation with reformism and an industrial strategy based on 'leadership from above' has led to a situation where the working class is

totally unprepared politically and organisationally for the life and death struggles it will be forged to engage in. In a period when wage freezes and rising prices cut into workers' living standards, when their rank and file organisations are weakened by productivity deals, when the power to resist through their union organisations is in mortal danger because of the anti-strike legislation, the already fragmented class is left without a revolutionary leadership.

In such circumstances the CP cannot grumble if other Left tendencies challenge their title of 'vanguard of the workers'. While the party is numerically and organisationally stronger than all the groups combined, its politics force its members to act as a dead hand on rank and file militancy. It is no coincidence that on many issues the small revolutionary socialist groups take the initiative. Compare the silly posturings last April of a CP docker standing between two priests, asking them to abandon Powellite racialism, to the 2000 strong march on May Day of workers and students against Powell.

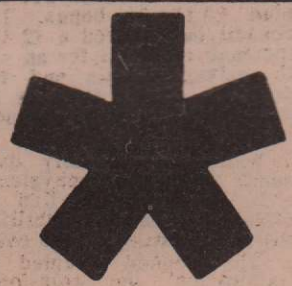
What should our attitude be towards the CP? In my view we must expose the reformist policies of the party leadership in the most ruthless fashion. It is a major error to believe that without this the workers will abandon reformism. Pandering to the existing level of consciousness on the part of the CP is one of its most dangerous characteristics. By posing alongside their reformist policies and tactics, the revolutionary socialist alternative, by participating in the struggles of the workers, we must endeavour to both attract the young workers and students in and around the party and at the same time influence the broader masses. An all-out campaign against the anti-strike laws will inevitably bring out the politics of the situation. If the International Socialists miss the opportunity to win leading militants to revolutionary socialism by not challenging reformism we will merely become an extension of such policies. We must support the February strike and all other campaigns directed against the union laws. We must also go beyond the reformist policies of the CP and raise the level of consciousness of workers involved in the campaigns. Our aim must be to win communist militants from Stalinism and work consistently for the revolutionary party.



PAYNTER
Deserved Queen's award

Join the International Socialists

- ABERDEEN Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen
- ACTON Hugh Finn 6 Vaughan Ave Stamford Brook W6
- BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 658 6552
- BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
- BRADFORD Bob Kornreich Flat 1 7 Oak Avenue Bradford 8
- BRIGHTON Micky Adams Flat 4 85 St. Aubyns Hove
- BRISTOL David Rose 25 Sydenham Rd Bristol 6
- BOLTON F Canavan 11 Sutton Rd Sutton Estate Deane Bolton
- CAMBRIDGE Peter Smith 65 Glisson Road
- CAMDEN Chris Barker 36 Gildea Road NW5
- CHERTSEY Chris Wickenden Langmead Pirbright Brookwood 3003
- COLCHESTER Ian Noble 12 Coach Rd Arlesford Wivenhoe 272
- COVENTRY Dave Edwards 53 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon
- CRAWLEY Deborah Ward 2 Weddell Rd Tilgate
- CROYDON Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
- DURHAM A Beard 35 Hallgarth Durham
- EAST LONDON Bob Light 2 Oster Tce Southcote Rd E17
- EDINBURGH Jim Smith 25 Pitt St (Leith) Edinburgh 6
- ENFIELD Gill Pressman 34 The Chine London N21
- FULHAM Jackie Taylor 41 Perham Road W14
- FOLKESTONE Dave Cowell c/o 18 Station Rd
- GLASGOW Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1
- HAVERING Terry Ward 91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk
- HORNSEY Valerie Clark 18 Dickinson Rd N8
- HULL Paul Gerhardt 52 Freehold Street
- ILFORD Lionel Sims 99 Belgrave Road 01 SEV 6991
- IPSWICH Malcolm Bezzant 45 Melbourne Road
- ISLINGTON/ANGEL D Phillips 2 Chapel Mkt Grant St N1 01 BRU 1026
- DALSTON/SHOREDITCH B Hugill 154 Downham Rd N1
- HIGHBURY Keith Ellis 8 Archibald Rd N7
- KENTON Kevin Simms 56 Salisbury Road Harrow
- KILBURN Sean Dunne 18 Lithos Road NW3
- KINGSTON Roger Crossley Flat 2 6 The Avenue Surbiton
- LAMBETH Andy Smith Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2
- LEICESTER Shirley Abrams Flat 3 26 St Albans Road
- LEEDS Vince Hall Flat 3 25 Bagby Road Leeds 2
- LOWESTOFT Ron Mallet 30 Cotmore Road
- MANCHESTER Jack Sutton 11a Rowan Avenue Valley Range M16
- MERSEYSIDE Ross Hill 5 Lothair Rd Anfield Liverpool 4
- MERTON Fred Milson 119 Wolsey Crescent Morden
- MIDDLESBROUGH Chris Chard 32 Bedford Terr Billingham
- NEWCASTLE Tony Corcoran 26 Lesbury Road
- GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters, c/o 1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex
- NORTHAMPTON Alan Druker 21 Ardington Road
- NORWICH Gerald Crompton 220 College Rd Norwich NOR 54F
- NOTTINGHAM Robert Abrahamson 15 Wellington Square Derby Rd
- OXFORD Steve Bolchover 181 Ilffley Road
- POTTERIES John Whitfield 5 Grosvenor Rd Newcastle U Lyme
- READING Miriam Belsey 22 Redlands Rd Reading
- RICHMOND Peter Glatter 3 Burlington Ave Kew
- RIPLEY & ILKESTON C Burnett 75 Heage Road Ripley Derbys
- SELBY John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
- SHEFFIELD J Wilkin 15 Raven Road Sheffield S7 1SB
- SOUTHAMPTON John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
- STEVENAGE Michael Downing 57 Trumper Road Trots Hill
- STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson 73a Forest Range M/C 19
- STOKE NEWINGTON Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
- SWANSEA Pete Branston 33a Uplands Crescent
- TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
- TOWER HAMLETS M Renn 58 Merchant St Bow E3
- WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Carpenders Avenue Carpenders Park
- WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Avenue Hindley
- WOOD GREEN Helen Wigley 332 High Road N22
- WOLVERHAMPTON Dave Spilsbury 274 Penn Road
- YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate



Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address

All out on February 27!

JUST A FEW DAYS to go! On Thursday, February 27, workers throughout Britain will stop work in protest against the Labour government's plans to shackle the trade union movement with reactionary legal restrictions.

The call for a one-day general strike came from the Scottish miners and was taken up by engineers, electricians, shipyard workers, builders, printers and busmen up and down the country. More and more workers are realising that only political and industrial action will stop the government and prevent any further inroads into the hard-won rights of the labour movement.

It's not too late for you to join the strike. Move resolutions calling for a stoppage at your place of work and either join the lobby of TUC executives in Croydon or organise a demonstration in your area. February 27 fires the warning shot at the government. It must be the start of a massive campaign to defend the unions from Labour and its friends, the employers.

Join the lobby at Croydon's Fairfields Hall from 9 am onwards, followed by a further lobby at the House of Commons in the afternoon. International Socialists will assemble at East Croydon station at 9.30 am and march to the hall. Bring your branch banners with you.

CLYDESIDE WILL MARCH AND BACK LOBBY OF TUC

From PETER BAIN
GLASGOW:- The industrial scene is hotting up on Clydeside as workers increasingly feel the effects of government measures.

Encouraged by the demonstration and strike by 15,000 workers from Clydebank factories on February 12 against closures and redundancies, militant trade unionists seem more prepared for action than for many years. The abortive demonstration 'organised' by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions on February 15 has made militants determined to make the February 27 strike a huge success.

Many members are also being snapped out of the hypnosis which gripped them when they heard of the proposed wage rates at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS).

Two hundred 'red leaders' (workers who cover metal with red oxide paint) recently lost their two-year employment guarantee after taking unofficial strike action. The boilermakers, who have been the first to implement the new productivity deal, are dissatisfied with the way the scheme is operating and are now threatening to take further action.

They have been told that the Department of Employment and Productivity is keeping a close watch on the situation, and will intervene if necessary.

Support for the strike on February 27 is mounting and a widespread stoppage of work seems certain. The AEF Glasgow District Committee is calling on all members to strike, while the UCS joint stewards committee is making a similar recommendation to the company's 15,000 workers.

Seven separate shop meetings attended by thousands of Rolls-Royce workers have agreed to stop work at 2 pm on the 27th and Glasgow corporation electricians and ICI site workers at Grange-mouth are also coming out.

At the first emergency meeting of the Glasgow District Trades Council to be called in many years, 200 delegates decided (with one vote against) to support workers taking action against the government's anti-union legislation. Shop stewards representing workers coming out on the 27th met in Glasgow

Massive support on Merseyside

From ROSS HILL
LIVERPOOL:- Massive support is building up on Merseyside for the one-day strike on February 27.

An ad hoc committee of trade unionists and students from all Left-wing organisations has been set up to mobilise support. They have organised a tour of sites, docks and factories by stewards to explain the position to other workers.

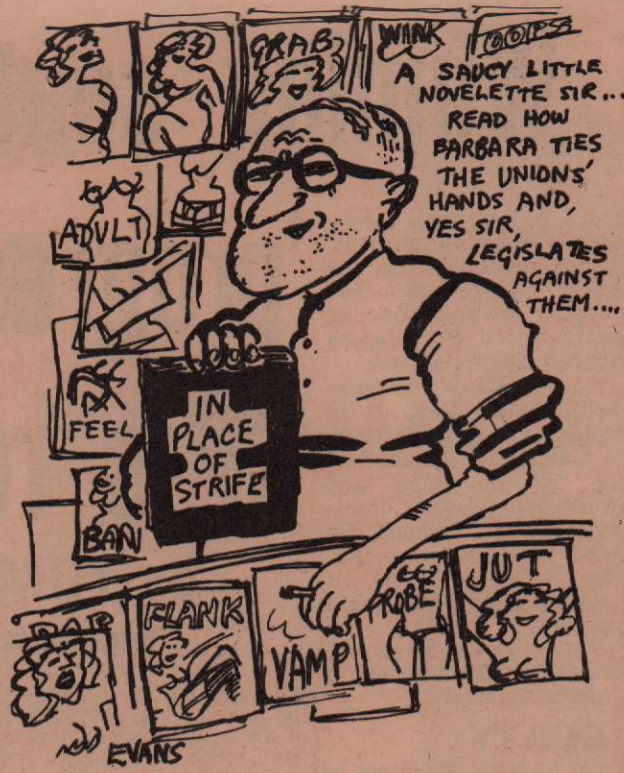
So far the campaign has the backing of the North West Construction Workers Committee, the Mersey district of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, Liverpool Trades Council, Birkenhead Trades Council, Wallasey Trades Council, and Huyton, Kirby and Prescott Trades Council.

The demonstration, planned to leave Islington Square at 11 am on Thursday, looks like being one of the biggest ever seen on Merseyside. It is likely to be joined by workers from two large English shipbuilding firms who are working on the same day against the same measures within the industry.

this week to plan the demonstration to take place in the city, and a trainload of workers is going to the lobby of union executives.

As the situation develops in the next few weeks and increasing numbers of workers come into active opposition to government policies, socialists must stress three main points:

1. The openly pro-boss role of the government
2. To warn against any compromise or vacillation by the official union leadership.
3. The necessity to fight for a society based on workers' power.



We want more pay

'We want more pay,' said the High Court judges 'Without delay,' said the High Court judges. They set to work with their legal brains Three thousand pounds they got for their pains Did the High Court judges

'We want more pay,' said the Members of Parliament, 'And straight away,' said the Members of Parliament. So the very first thing in the Commons they did was to vote themselves two thousand quid Did the Members of Parliament.

'We want more pay,' said the National Health doctors 'Or we'll all go away,' said the National Health doctors. They cried so hard on their daily rounds That they ended up with a thousand pounds Did the National Health doctors.

'We want more pay,' said the manual workers 'Four shillings a day,' said the manual workers. 'You greedy wretches—three per cent must be your fair emolument That's what you'll get That's what you'll like!'

I wonder why they go on strike? Do the manual workers.

G. Alex Glasgow 1968. Alex Glasgow

Ivy Bridge prepares for homeless siege

Socialist Worker Reporter

AS THE LOCKOUT at the Ivy Bridge development at Isleworth, Middlesex moves into its 17th week, Turriff, the contractor, is left with only one reliable ally—the Labour Government.

Roy Hattersley, one of Barbara Castle's henchmen, went out of his way in a Commons debate to whitewash the employer's actions. The only criticism he could find for Turriff was its 'weakness' in granting the men additional bonus payments.

At a meeting in London last week, Turriff again failed to come up with a date for reopening the site. So the lock-out committee is preparing, in co-operation with squatters organisations, plans for the occupation of the site.

Difficult

Indignation at the lockout, which is holding up accommodation for over 1,000 families, has been growing fast. Even the national press, well-experienced in the art of smearing workers involved in a dispute, has found it difficult to justify Turriff's actions.

In a last desperate bid to win support from the newspapers, Turriff held a press conference in a plush London hotel, at which it tried to pretend that all trouble was due to a small group of known militants. The story was so implausible that even the most reactionary papers threw it out.

Turriff is trying to negotiate a 'water-tight' agreement with the leaders of the building unions which will curb the power of the men on the site. There are disturbing signs that some union leaders are prepared to accept a settlement which suits the employer.

The Department of Empl-

oyment and Productivity and the other building employers are watching the situation with interest. If Turriff can win at Ivy Bridge, it will be a signal for building employers throughout the country to attack union organisation.

The fact that this 'experiment' in industrial relations is conducted at the expense of homeless families, is a totally irrelevant consideration for the bosses.

What has now become clear is that even if the gates at Ivy Bridge open once again to the workers, it will merely be a prelude to a much bigger battle.

Move to ban 'rights' march

GLASGOW:- Magistrates discussed on Tuesday the outright banning of Saturday's march through the city in support of civil rights in Northern Ireland.

A deputation led by veteran militant Harry McShane saw the magistrates at the city chambers and answered questions about the possible 'inconvenience' to the general public and possible counter-demonstrations. Pastor Jack Glass has said he is 'prepared and organised'.

The magistrates decided to invoke the 1936 Public Order Act against the march only if the marchers decide to go down Argyle Street, Glasgow's main shopping street.

But the final decision on the route of the march will be taken by the marchers themselves in Blythswood Square

on Saturday. There have already been indications of considerable police opposition to the march. Last Friday, members of Clann Na Eireann (the Irish republican movement) were followed from their office by the police and arrested for flyposting. The posters found their way into the magistrates' committee room.

Support

International Socialists in Glasgow, who have been very active in preparing for the demonstration, ask for support from socialists in Scotland and England. Aberdeen is as far from Glasgow as Leeds and to put our point over against all manner of opposition will need determination and numbers.

LSE OPENS BUT GATES STILL UP

From MARTIN SHAW Inside LSE Wednesday

TODAY STUDENTS marched back in to the London School of Economics where the authorities are apparently seeking an immediate showdown. The steel grills to which students objected have been re-erected.

The day before the reopening, the Director sent letters to the students under court injunctions, telling them they may only go to the library, lectures, and classes and to toilets and cloakrooms. They have no right to attend political meetings or union meetings, still less to speak at them.

The victimised students intend to defy these restrictions of basic rights. Other students are preparing to occupy LSE in support of their demands.

The issue comes before a union meeting today

Price change

THE PRICE of Socialist Worker will be increased to 3d next week to offset increased postal charges. It is hoped that increased revenue will enable the paper to expand to six pages later this year.

Announcements

North West Regional Weekend School. Sat/Sun 22/23 Feb. University of Keele in Lindsay Hexagon. Economic and Industrial perspectives and Politics of IS. Spkrs include Dave Clark, Nigel Coward, Fred Lindop, Duncan Hallas, Dave Purdy, Dave Spencer, Roger Rosewell. Details from Poteries IS branch.

FIND OUT about Ulster. London meeting to plan solidarity with Peoples Democracy. Spkrs inc. Michael Farrell and Eamonn McCann, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1, Saturday March 1st, 10.30-4.30.

IS Industrial Conference, London, Saturday March 1st. For details contact your branch secretary or write to John Phillips, 60 Longland Court, Avondale Sq, London SE1.

TRIBUNE—the leading socialist weekly. Absolutely essential reading for every socialist, radical and revolutionary. You won't agree with everything we say—nobody does, nobody ever has. But workers by hand and by brain need Tribune and we hope you will be one of the many who will help us to break the monopoly of the dustmen.

Dust strike may spread

Socialist Worker Reporter

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' union London Trade Group voted on Tuesday to ask dustmen throughout the capital to back their Lambeth colleagues who have been on official strike for nearly a month.

FORD

from page one

men and are subject to annual elections. They mix with the sweat and dust of the factory and are the people to negotiate.

The distance between executives and operators is too great. Workers' control of the unions is a dream of the past that must become a modern reality to avoid further fiascos and sell-outs by the bureaucrats.

The dispute flared up over the Tory council's decision to end 'toting'—the salvaging of refuse by the dustmen.

Three Powellite Tory councillors called for the sacking of all 230 men concerned and the local press has backed up the council's lies about a £25 basic wage.

Denounce

The real rates are £15 14s plus £3 18s 6d bonus. The council has offered a £2 15s increase in return for an end to salvage rights and the council's 'right' to sack 40 men in the name of productivity.

While they piously denounce 'toting' as unhygienic and uneconomic a firm of private salvagers, Phillips Mills, is waiting to take over.

The council decided to 'rationalise' the work-force

Tenants link up to fight rent rise

From GERALD CROMPTON

NORWICH:- Council tenants face stiff rent increases in the capital of the area where wages are the lowest for any planning region in England.

One of the last acts of the Labour council that controlled Norwich since the early 1930s was to put council rents up by an average of 25 per cent. This worked out at 6s 6d a week—safely inside the PIB limit of 7s 6d.

But the second instalment of the rise was left to the new Tory council, which added the amount to its own long-planned increase. Tenants are now threatened with an extra 4s 3d a week.

The Tories are itching to introduce the rebate scheme recommended by the Labour government. The new rise would take a further £1/2m from the tenants as a whole, with an estimated £90,000 to be doled back in rebates to those who pass a means test.

The last rent rise provoked the tenants into taking action to defend themselves. In spite of opposition from Labour councillors, Norwich's first city-wide tenants' association has been organising a campaign against all rent rises and all rebate schemes.

Moneylenders

For the first time tenants have been hearing why these continual rent increases are 'necessary'—to meet the spiralling cost of paying the big building firms, the land speculators and, above all, the moneylenders who already take half the rents that Norwich tenants pay.

Norwich has a total debt of £24m for housing. Almost all of the threatened rent increase is due to the extra cost of interest payments on the debt in the last year.

The tenants' association staged a protest meeting on Thursday and is demanding a rent freeze, the abolition of the Prices and Incomes Board, interest-free loans for council housing and an extension of the Rent Acts to cover council tenants.

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